



THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

V O L. XXV.



L O N D O N,

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C O N T E N T S

OF THE

TWENTY-FIFTH VOLUME.

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THE
MODERN PART
OF
Universal History.

C H A P. LXXII. *Continued.*

The History of Naples.

S E C T. V.

Divers Revolutions in Sicily. Jane, Queen of Naples, is put to Death by Charles, Duke of Durazzo, who receives the Crown from the Pope.

AFTER the barbarous execution of Conrad, Charles endeavoured to gain the affections of the Apulian barons by profuse donations, and bestowed several fiefs on some French lords, whom he had prevailed upon to remain in Apulia. As he had entirely quieted his new dominions, he made preparations for joining his brother St. Lewis in an expedition to Africa. Accordingly, next summer, he sailed with a fleet to Tunis, which was then invested by an army of French crusards. An epidemical distemper having seized the Christian troops, and cut off the king of France, Charles, with the other generals, thought proper to conclude a peace with the king of Tunis. The Moorish prince agreed to pay an annual tribute to king Charles, equal to the quit-rent required by the holy see for the kingdom of Sicily, on condition that the Tunisiens should enjoy the freedom of navigation in the Sicilian seas,

A.D. 1270.

*The king of
Tunis be-
comes tri-
butary to
king
Charles;*

and be allowed to trade to Sicily ^a. After the conclusion of the treaty the crusards left Africa, some of them proceeding, under the command of the son of the king of England, to Palestine, while Charles, with his nephew Philip, the new king of France, set sail for Sicily. A few months after their arrival they went to Viterbo, to urge the cardinals to proceed to the election of a pope. Gregory X. was accordingly elected on the 1st of September, after a vacancy of thirty-three months. The new pope arriving next summer at Apulia from the Holy Land, was received with great honour by Charles, who conducted him, through Capitanata and Abruzzo, as far as Campania di Roma. Charles, about the same time, having been a widower three years, married the daughter, according to Costanzo, of Baldwin, the titular emperor of Constantinople, but, according to Malaspini and Sigonius, of the duke of Burgundy ^b.

*who sup-
presses the
Ghibellines
of Rome
and Tus-
cany.*

In the course of the following year Charles went to Rome, where he destroyed several castles belonging to the Ghibellines. He afterwards proceeded with some troops, under the banner of the church, to Tuscany, and reducing almost all the Ghibelline cities, waited upon the pope at Florence, who being bent upon relieving the Christians in Syria, endeavoured to reconcile the two factions in Italy, and had appointed a general council to be held at Lyons. Charles hoped to prevail with the pope to favour his pretended expedition again Constantinople; but Gregory's views being wholly upon a crusade, and Palæologus offering to unite the Greek to the Roman church, Charles was disappointed in his expectations, and returned dissatisfied to Naples, which city, from his arrival in Apulia, he resolved to make the capital of his dominions. The foundation of its present magnificence and grandeur was first laid by Frederick II. who instituted the university. He frequently made it the place of his residence; and the two popes, Innocent IV. and Alexander IV. residing in it a considerable time during their contest with Manfred, Charles, upon his arrival, found the city in a flourishing state. Being pleased with its situation, he immediately caused Castel Nuovo to be rebuilt after the French fashion, and adorned the city with several new churches and monasteries. He repaired and strengthened the fortifications; caused the streets of the city to be finely paved with square stones, taken out of the Via Appia; and, to encourage traffick, made a new market-place, much larger than the former. He particu-

A.D. 1273.

^a Spond. Annal.
Regn. Ital.

^b Sab. Malaspin. ut supra. Sigon. in

larly enlarged the university, and bestowed upon it many new prerogatives and privileges, promising his royal protection to the youth of all nations who should go thither to study. He honoured many of the citizens with the order of knighthood, invited the barons, lords, and great officers of the kingdom to make it the chief place of their abode, and repaired and beautified the seggi, or *tribunal of the nobles*, to whom he confirmed their ancient prerogatives (A).

A.D 1274.

*Complaints
against the
king in the
council of
Lyons.*

While Charles was thus employed in embellishing Naples, the rest of the kingdom groaned under oppression; so that the archbishop of Capua, in hopes of interesting the pope in favour of the Apulians and Sicilians, made a public recapitulation of their grievances in the general council of Lyons. Gregory, who before he left Tuscany, had admonished the king, ordered two prelates, after the dissolution of the council, to repeat the admonition; and being offended with Charles for requiring duties from some ships belonging to the Templars and Hospitalers, which had been loaded with corn in Sicily for the Holy Land, he threatened to proceed against him in a judicial manner^c. The council being dissolved, Gregory returned, in the end of the following year, to Italy, but died in the beginning of January. Ten days after his death Innocent V. a native of Tarantaise in France, was elected, to the great satisfaction of king Charles, who expected to find him

^c Malaspin. ut supra.

(A) These Seggi, or Piazzæ, formerly called Phratræ, are very ancient in Naples, and some other cities on the Italian coast, which owed their original to the Greeks. They were nothing else but some particular places of the city, for the most part near the gates, where the noble families of the ward met for the sake of conversation, to discourse of the public affairs. In process of time they assumed a kind of rank and jurisdiction, scrupling to admit the commons into their society, and taxing themselves separately from them. In the time

of Charles there were twenty-nine Seggi in the city, but at present they are reduced to five, and on that account are become more illustrious and considerable. These five enjoy many prerogatives; they create the syndic, who in general parliaments, and in other public functions, in the presence of the viceroy, represents not only the city but the whole kingdom: they chuse the deputies, who, with the deputy of the people, govern the city, and exercise many jurisdictions, particularly that of naturalizing strangers (1).

(1) Tutin dell' Orig. de Seggi, cap. 13. Costanzo. Summonte. Giannone, ut supra.

favourable to his ambitious views. He accordingly exercised his senatorial authority in Rome in a more absolute manner than ever, and received many favours from the pope, who died, however, before he had enjoyed his new dignity six months.

A.D. 1276.

Charles acquires the title of king of Jerusalem.

A few days after the death of Innocent, Charles shut up the cardinals in the Lateran palace, according to a canon made in the council of Lyons, to oblige them to hasten the election. Being desirous to procure a pope in his own interest, he sent in bread and water for the members of the conclave, but privately supplied the French cardinals with plenty of victuals, that they might be able to weary out the opposite party. His design, however, proved ineffectual for Adrian V. a Genoese, was elected, who died in thirty eight days after his elevation^d. To avoid the insolence of the king, he had removed his court to Viterbo, where upon his death, John XXI. or XXII. was elected, and crowned on the 20th of September. During his pontificate which lasted only about eight months, Mary, the daughter of the prince of Antioch, made a formal renunciation of her rights to the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch, in favour of Charles, who was with great solemnity crowned by the pope^e. Upon the death of John the Roman see was vacant six months, during which interval king Charles used his utmost endeavours to procure the election of a French pope; but as there were only three French cardinals in the conclave, cardinal Cajetan, of the family of Orsini, a man of abilities, and of an aspiring temper, was elected pope, and took the name of Nicholas II.

A.D. 1277.

Makes preparations for an expedition against Constantinople.

The king, about the same time, sent Roger Sanseverino to take possession of the territories subject to the prince of Antioch, and made great preparations both by sea and land against Jerusalem, and likewise against Palæologus, the Greek emperor, in favour of Philip, emperor of Constantinople, who was in possession only of Negropont, and some maritime places of Greece. Charles, at this time, according to Villani, was the most powerful prince in Christendom. Besides his kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and his dominions of Provence and Anjou, he received tribute from the kingdom of Tunis and the city of Florence; was despotic governor of Rome; had great influence in the Guelf cities of Italy; was acknowledged king of Jerusalem, in possession of the island of Corfu, and very formidable by his numerous forces by sea and land. But he ha

^d Blond. dec. ii. lib. viii. Trithem. in Chron. ut supra. Rainald. ad ann. 1277. Nangius in Chron.

^e Gianon

entirely lost the affections of the Sicilians, by his arbitrary and oppressive government, and disobliged the pope, by disdainfully refusing to give his daughter in marriage to one of the Orsini. Nicholas, piqued at his refusal, resolved A D. 1278. to humble his pride; and obliged him to resign the vicariate of the empire, and the dignity of senator of Rome^e. *Pope Nicholas resolves to humble him.* Charles, being wholly intent upon his expedition against Constantinople, was easily persuaded to resign these offices; and having received the promise of assistance from the pope, and France, prepared an immense armament against Greece. His fleet consisted of upwards of one hundred galleys, thirty large ships, two hundred transports, besides many other smaller vessels, on board of which he intended to embark ten thousand horse, and a numerous army of infantry^f.

The rumour of this vast preparation greatly alarmed Palæologus, who used his utmost endeavours to render the expedition ineffectual. What chiefly contributed to his security was his negotiation with John di Procida, a noble Salernitan, lord of the isle of Procida, in the bay of Naples, who had formed a scheme for a general revolt in Sicily. John, though a nobleman, was likewise a physician, and had been counsellor to Frederic II. Manfred, and even to king Charles^g. Being stript, however, of his estate by the king, on pretence of treason, and his wife being debauched by the French, he retired to Constantia, in Arragon, where he was created a baron of the kingdom of Valencia by her husband king Peter, and lord of Luxen, Benizzano, and Palma. Being greatly exasperated against the French, he employed spies both in Apulia and Sicily, where he had many friends; being informed of the disaffection of the Sicilians to that nation, he repaired to the island in disguise, and concerted a plan with the most powerful of the malcontents for a revolution in favour of Constantia. From thence he went to Constantinople; and having secret conference with Palæologus, persuaded him, as the most probable means to defeat the expedition of Charles, to assist the king of Arragon and the Sicilian malcontents. Palæologus supplied him with a large sum of money, and, upon his departure, sent one of his secretaries along with him, who, landing in Sicily, had a conference with the chief conspirators. John, having received letters from them to the king of Arragon, disguised himself in the habit of a Franciscan, and went to Suriano, in the neighbourhood of Rome, knowing the declared en-

Enters into a conspiracy with John di Procida against him.

^e Ricard. Malaspin. Spon. Annal. ^f Vide Auct. supra citat. Villani. ^g Collenut & Summont. Hist. Neap.

mity of the pope to Charles, he disclosed his design to his holiness, who readily entered into his measures, wrote to Peter to hasten his armament, promising him the investiture of the island as soon as he should take possession of it; and by refusing his promised succours to Charles, obliged him to delay his expedition. In the beginning of the following year John returned to Arragon; and shewing the letters from the pope and the Sicilian barons, prevailed on Peter to embark in his design, by assuring him of the assistance of Palæologus. The king of Arragon prepared a formidable fleet, under pretence of invading Africa, and even received twenty thousand ducats from king Charles, who perhaps wanted to have the merit of assisting in a war against the infidels^h. John immediately returned with the Greek ambassador to Italy, to have farther conference with the pope, when his enterprize was unexpectedly disturbed by the death of Nicholas, which happened in the month of August.

A.D. 1281.

*Martin IV.
espouses his
interest.*

The succeeding pope, Martin IV. was a Frenchman, and entirely in the interest of king Charles, on whom, he conferred the senatorial dignity of Rome. Procida, however, still resolved to prosecute his scheme; and leaving Italy, had another conference with the conspirators in Sicily, from whence he again went to Constantinople in disguise, and obtained from Palæologus thirty thousand ounces of gold, with which he directly returned to Arragon. The death of Nicholas had damped the ardour of Peter; but being urged with great earnestness by John, he renewed his preparations, which began to alarm the pope and the king of France, who sent to him, desiring to know against what Saracens he intended his expedition. Peter refusing to satisfy them, they earnestly counselled Charles to guard against an invasion; but the king, in great security, neglected their advice, and was wholly intent upon forwarding his expedition against Constantinople, being encouraged by a revolt which had happened in Greece. To facilitate his enterprize, he prevailed with Martin to denounce a sentence of excommunication against the Greeks, under pretence that they had broken the articles of union concluded a few years before in the council of Lyons.

Peter, in the mean time, continued his preparations with great diligence, intending to put to sea in the following summer. Procida had returned to Palermo, to wait for a favourable opportunity of putting his design in execution, which was quickly afforded him by the French. On Easter

^h Costanzo, ut supra.

Monday, the chief conspirators had assembled at Palermo; and, after dinner, both the Palermitans and the French went in a grand procession to the church of Monreale, about three miles without the city. While they were sporting in the fields, a bride happened to pass by with her train, who being observed by one Drochets, a Frenchman, he ran to her, and began to use her in a rude manner, under pretence of searching for concealed arms. A young Sicilian, inflamed with resentment, stabbed him with his own sword, and, a tumult ensuing, two hundred French were immediately murdered. The enraged populace then ran to the city, calling out, "Let the French die, let the French die!" and, without any distinction of age or sex, massacred all those of that nation, even those who were in the churches. The conspirators then left Palermo, and excited the inhabitants to murder the French all over the island, excepting in Messina, which city at first refused to be concerned in the revolt. But being invited by the Palermitans to throw off the French yoke, a few weeks after, the citizens, in a tumultuous manner, massacred some of the French; pulling down the arms of king Charles, and erecting those of the city; they chose one Balduin for their governor, who saved the remaining French from the fury of the populace, and allowed them to transport themselves, with their wives and children, to Italy¹ (B). Eight thousand persons are said to have been murdered on this occasion.

*The French
are massacred by the
Sicilians.*

¹ Barthol. de Neocastr. ut supra. Giachet. Malaspin. apud Murator. tom. viii. Memoriale Potestatum Regiensium, apud eund. tom. viii. p. 1151. Nichol. Special. Hist. Sicul. apud eund. tom. x. p. 924 & 925.

(B) This is the account given us by Giachetto, Malaspin, Nicholas Specialis, Bartholomeo de Neocastro, and the anonymous writer of the Chronicon of Regio, all four authors contemporary to the transaction they relate, and the two last of them only lately published in the collection of Muratori. They vary in some trifling particulars; but Fazellus, Spondanus, Giannone, and several others, relate, that on the same day, and the same hour of the day, at the ringing of the bell

for vespers, or evening prayers, the French all over the island were massacred, without distinction of age, sex, or rank, not only by laymen, but also by the Dominicans, Franciscans, and other monks; and that the rage of the murderers was so furious, that they did not even spare their own relations, but ripped up those Sicilian women who were with child by Frenchmen, and dashed their infants against the walls; the whole massacre being over in two hours.

The archbishop of Monreale, upon the first tumult in Palermo, immediately sent an account of it to the pope, who was then in Tuscany, attended by Charles. The king was greatly alarmed at the news, and, in a rage, threatened to make the rebels feel his severest resentment. Having asked the assistance of the pope and Florentines, and sent for succours from his nephew the king of France, he returned to Naples, and sent four gallies to join seven of Messina, which were blocking up Palermo. They had hardly sailed when he was shocked with the news that Messina had revolted, and that their gallies had taken those he had sent from Naples. The Palermitans, in the mean time, before they knew that the Messinians had joined in the revolt, sent an ambassador to Barcelona, with an offer of their allegiance to Peter of Arragon, as they despaired of pardon from king Charles, and the pope had rejected their offer of subjection to the apostolic see. The ambassador, after he had proceeded as far as Minorca, was driven by a north wind to the coast of Africa, where he found king Peter, who, at first, seemed to condemn the proceedings of the Sicilians; but scrupled not, however, to accept of the offered allegiance. His first difficulty was to prevail with his army of crusards to engage in his design. Many, awed by the dread of the pope's resentment, and the formidable power of Charles, absolutely refused to invade Sicily, and returned to Spain; but the rest were easily persuaded to assert the rights of Constantia and her children.

Mean while Charles, whose resentment was now chiefly directed against the Messinians, having received six hundred horse from Florence, and succours from France, and many cities in Lombardy, on the 10th of June arrived at Catena, on the coast of Calabria, with an army of ninety thousand foot and twenty-four thousand horse, besides his forces by sea, consisting of upwards of two hundred vessels, great and small. On the 25th of July, he transported the greatest part of his army over the Straits, and invested Messina both by sea and land, which, though badly fortified, made a most vigorous defence. As the pope had sent a cardinal legate to Sicily to act as mediator, they solicited him to prevail with the king to pardon them; but Charles rejected their conditions, and insisted upon their surrendering at discretion. After he had continued six weeks before the place, and lost a great many of his men, about the middle of September he sent a carte blanche to the governor, on condition he would deliver up the city.

He now began to find the rebellion more formidable than he expected; for his competitor landed with his forces at
 Tapani;

The Sicilians offer their allegiance to Peter king of Arragon.

Charles besieges Messina.

Trapani; and, being immediately joined by the Sicilian barons, was conducted to Palermo, where he was crowned king of Sicily with great solemnity. Charles, apprehensive that his retreat to Italy would be cut off, as great part of his sailors had died, pillaged and destroyed the churches about Messina, and on the 27th of September raised the siege, and with great precipitation transported his army to Calabria. He had been informed that the Arragonian fleet was advancing to the Straits, under the command of Roger di Loria, a refugee Calabrian, who actually arrived the day after he had transported his army, and took twenty-nine of his galleys; then, proceeding to Catena and Reggio, burnt eighty of his transports in presence of his army, Charles, for anguish, biting the rod he held in his hand, and praying to God not to heap adversities upon him so fast^k.

Peter is crowned at Palermo.

Charles evacuates Sicily.

Messina, being thus unexpectedly relieved, Peter advanced towards the city, and entered it in triumph in the beginning of October. A few weeks after a Dominican friar came to him as ambassador from Charles, accusing him of perfidy for invading his dominions in time of peace, and, according to Bartholomeo, challenged him to decide the dispute by single combat. Other authors say, that Peter, in his answer to this embassy, challenged Charles. However it be, both the kings agreed to meet the following year, on the 1st of June, at Bourdeaux, then subject to the king of England, attended each by one hundred knights, and to decide their quarrel by arms^l. The king of Naples appointed his son prince Charles as lieutenant of Apulia during his absence, and in the following spring sailed from Lucca to Marseilles to fulfil his engagement. Peter, in the mean time, sent for his queen Constantia to Sicily, with his two sons, Don James and Don Frederic, and one of his daughters, Violante; and proposing soon to go to France, he caused the Sicilians to swear allegiance to Don James, as his lawful successor and heir. Thus Charles, having neglected to use vigour in crushing his rival, and imprudently agreeing to a duel, the two kingdoms were formally disjoined; Naples becoming the royal seat of the French, and Palermo the residence of the Arragonians.

The two kings agree to decide their quarrel by a duel.

Peter employed the following spring in making conquests in Calabria. At length, being urged by his brother, he left Italy; and having settled the affairs of Sicily, on the 11th of May set sail for Valentia, where he arrived on the

A.D. 1283.

Peter invades Calabria.

^k Malaspin, Villani, ut supra.
tom. i. p. 226.

^l *Fœdera Conventiones, &c.*

19th of the same month. As he had only a few days to perform the rest of the journey, he immediately ordered his knights to assemble, and, in the mean time, endeavoured to inform himself of the proceedings of his competitor. The pope had prohibited the duel under pain of excommunication, and in the end of March this year, deposed Peter from all his dominions. Edward, king of England, had peremptorily refused to secure the place of combat, and the king of France had accompanied king Charles within a day's march of Bourdeaux with three thousand horse. Peter resolving to save his honour, and at the same time to elude the designs of his enemies, disguised himself in the habit of a squire, and accompanied three of his knights, likewise disguised, to Bourdeaux, where, on the morning of the day appointed for the action, he presented himself before the marshal of the king of England, as a messenger from Peter, to excuse his non-appearance, because Charles had broken the articles, by filling the place with his enemies. At the end of his harangue he discovered himself; and leaving his armour, sword, and lance, with the marshal, and a writing, with his seal affixed, to testify that he had appeared on the day appointed, immediately mounted his horse, and returned with all speed to Arragon^m. The French authors allege, that Peter never appeared; others affirm, that he presented himself to the marshal in the evening, after Charles and his knights had rode all day in the field waiting for him. Peter thus eluded his enemy; and by making him lose a campaign, established his own authority in Sicily without opposition. Charles, and his nephew, king Philip, returned vexed and disappointed to Paris. The pope, likewise enraged that his favourite had been thus baffled, again denounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against Peter, ordering a crusade to be preached against him, and conferring his hereditary kingdom of Arragon upon Charles Valois, the second son of the king of France, on condition of his becoming a vassal of the holy see, and paying the yearly quit-rent of five hundred livresⁿ. Peter treated this sentence of Martin with great contempt, appealed to a future pope, and threatened to transport an army of Moors into France and Italy.

A.D. 1284.

Don James, in the mean time, quelled an insurrection of some barons in Sicily, and the famous Roger di Loria gained several advantages over the fleets of the enemy. He surprised twenty Provençal galleys in the harbour of Malta,

^m Fœdera, &c. Barthol. de Neocastr. ⁿ Rainald. ad an. 1283, sect. 25.

and, after a desperate engagement, took ten of them; in consequence of which victory the castle surrendered, and the whole island acknowledged Peter. From thence he immediately sailed to the coast of Naples, being informed that prince Charles had given orders to equip a considerable fleet in different places of Apulia. Having intercepted a small vessel, by which he found that Charles had put to sea with a fleet from Provence, he immediately sailed to the harbour of Naples, and by his bravadoes, tempted the prince and the Neapolitans to come and give him battle. As Loria had done a good deal of damage on the coast, and his fleet was not numerous, Charles, contrary to his father's orders, put to sea with a considerable number of gallies, attended by a great many of the French and Neapolitan nobility, who, confident of victory, ordered a grand entertainment to be provided for the evening. Loria, pretending to fly, drew them a good way from the shore, then attacked them with great resolution, and soon gained a complete victory. Many of the gallies flying, and others coming over to him, he surrounded the prince's galley, and took him and his retinue prisoners^o. Two days after this action, which happened on the 23d of June, king Charles arrived with fifty-five armed gallies, and many other vessels, at Gaeta. Being informed of his son's captivity, and that, after the engagement, the mob in Naples had run through the streets, calling out, "Down with king Charles, and up with Roger di Loria!" he immediately hastened thither with intention to burn the city; but was prevented by the intercession of the cardinal legate and the nobles. When he landed, however, he caused about one hundred and fifty of the chief rioters to be hanged, and pardoned the rest^p. The prince of Salerno, in the mean time, was condemned to be beheaded by a general assembly of the Sicilian deputies, by way of reprisal for the execution of Conradin; but Constantia, with great generosity, saved his life; making the cruelty of Charles thereby appear more detestable.

The Neapolitan fleet defeated, and prince Charles taken prisoner.

King Charles, as a condition of his pardon to the Neapolitans, obliged them to fit out a considerable number of gallies, and having reinforced his fleet, sailed in the month of July with one hundred and fifty-eight vessels towards Messina, with the design to make another descent upon the island; but the Sicilians declaring, if he landed any men, they would immediately put the prince of Salerno to death, he steered his course to Calabria, and besieged Reggio,

Charles fits out another armament against Sicily.

^o Barthol. de Neocastr. ut supra. Mauroloco. Nicol. Special. Malaspin.
^p Malaspin. Nicol. Special.

which

which in the beginning of the former year had been taken by Peter. Though he invested the place by sea and land with a powerful army, yet, by the vigour of the besieged, his attempt proved fruitless, and he was obliged to retire with his forces to Catena, where, a few weeks after, his whole fleet was almost destroyed by a storm^a. Loria, in the mean time, took and plundered several places on the coast of Calabria. After Charles had retired with his forces towards Naples, he passed over to Africa, and gained several advantages over the Moors, many thousands of whom he carried slaves to Sicily.

His death. During his expedition in Africa, Charles was making great preparations against the Sicilians; but falling sick at Toggia, on his way to Brindisi, after a short illness he died in that city on the 7th of January. According to a certain author, he was so oppressed with melancholy and despair, that he strangled himself with a halter^r; but Villani affirms he died with great penitence, and received the viaticum. As his son and heir was then a prisoner, Charles, by his last will, left his cousin the count of Artois, who had come with a reinforcement of troops from France, as regent of the kingdom^s. Pope Martin, however, under pretence that the king, when passing to Bourdeaux, had left the administration of the kingdom to him, immediately appointed the cardinal legate as governor^t, who, of his own authority, called a parliament of the barons and prelates at Melphis, Mary, the wife of the captive prince, and the regent, being obliged to wink at his usurpation^u.

The king of France invades Aragon. Roger di Loria, in the mean time, harrassed the Neapolitan coasts with continual descents. He took Cotrone, Catanzaro, Callipolis, Taranto, and several other places; but the king of France having invaded Catalonia with an army of near one hundred thousand men, he left the coasts of Italy, and, at the desire of Peter, sailed with his fleet for Spain, where he arrived on the 26th of September. The king of France, by this time, had taken Perpignan, and Girone; but an epidemical distemper carrying off great part of his army, and likewise raging on board his fleet, he resolved to march back with all haste to France^w. Roger, after having a conference with Peter in Barcelona, sailed from thence with forty-eight galleys. On the 1st of October at night he attacked the French fleet in the harbour of

^a Malaspin. Nicol. Special. Barthol. de Neocastr.

de Pumes de Privileg. & Jur. Imper. p. 222.

^r Nicol. Special. ut supra.

^s Enail. in Phil. 111.

^t Barthol. de Neocastr.

^u Rainald. ad an. 1285. Collenut. lib. v.

^w Giannone, ut supra.

Roses, and took and burnt upwards of forty vessels. Three days after, meeting with a rich galleon and twelve gallies, coming with money and provisions to the French army, he hoisted French colours; and going on board them with his men as friends, immediately made prize of them. These losses so affected the king of France, that he secretly repassed the Pyrenees, and died a few days after at Perpignan. Peter survived him only a few weeks: dying on the 11th of November at Villa Franca, he left the kingdom of Arragon to his eldest son Alphonfus, and Sicily to Don James, who, in case Alphonfus should die without male issue, was to enjoy both kingdoms.

Peter of Arragon dies.

The news of Peter's death being brought to Sicily by Roger di Loria, Don James was crowned at Palermo on the 2d of February with great solemnity, when he created four hundred knights. Soon after he sent two ambassadors to pope Honorius, who a few months before had succeeded Martin, to desire his holiness to pardon the Sicilians, and to accept of his obedience. Honorius, however, refused to grant the request of the ambassadors, and excommunicated both king James and his brother Alphonfus. Meanwhile Charles, prince of Salerno, who was now a prisoner in Arragon, being desirous of regaining his liberty, prevailed with Edward, king of England, to treat with Alphonfus for that purpose. The two kings accordingly had a conference at Oleron, in Bearn, where a treaty was drawn up for the prince's liberty; but the articles of it displeasing the pope, in the beginning of March he wrote to Charles, severely blaming him for treating without the consent of the apostolic see. Honorius died a few weeks after at Rome, having, during his short pontificate, governed the kingdom of Naples as sovereign, and made many statutes for the immunity and benefit of the ecclesiastical state; for levying taxes and subsidies concerning murder, theft, the alteration of coin; and many other cases in which the prerogative of the king was greatly retrenched. The Roman see continued vacant near eleven months.

Don James crowned king of Sicily.

A.D. 12

In the mean time, while Roger di Loria was absent with a few gallies ravaging the coasts of Provence, the cardinal legate, at the persuasion of two friars, who had been spies in Sicily, embarked five hundred horse and one hundred and fifty foot, who landing on the island surpris'd the city of Agosta. The Sicilians were greatly alarmed; and Loria arriving at Messina, they murmured loudly against him for neglecting the defence of the coasts; but the admiral, by working night and day in the dock, and even persuading the women and children to give their assistance, in six days repaired

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D. 1288.

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D. 1289.

Charles is
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repaired and refitted forty gallies, and on the 13th of May surprised Agosta, after a most obstinate dispute. Having left king James besieging the castle, he went in quest of the enemy's fleet; and, arriving at Sorrento, entered the harbour in the disguise of a fisherman, where he found upwards of eighty gallies, and a formidable army encamped on shore, with intention of embarking for Sicily. Returning to his fleet, he sent a challenge to the Neapolitan admiral to come out and give him battle. The Neapolitans, trusting to their numbers, accordingly put to sea, the cardinal legate encouraging them by indulgences, the gallies also being commanded by counts, and attended each by two smaller vessels with a spare crew. Notwithstanding the manifest superiority of his enemies, Loria, after he had drawn them about six miles from shore, made no difficulty of attacking them; and though at first they obtained some advantages, he in the end gained a complete victory, and took forty-two of their gallies, on board of which were upwards of five thousand men. The cardinal legate, upon this defeat, being afraid of an insurrection of the Neapolitans, at their request agreed to a truce betwixt them and the Sicilians for two years.

As several cities in Calabria were possessed by the Sicilians, James, in the beginning of the following year, transported thither four hundred horse and ten thousand foot, and reduced several other places. The city of Gaeta he invested and besieged for a long time; but could not subdue. While he was employed in this enterprize, Charles, prince of Salerno, arrived at Rieti, where he was crowned king of Sicily by pope Nicholas, the successor of Honorius.

King Charles had recovered his liberty in consequence of a treaty concluded with Alphonfus by the mediation of the king of England. He was released on giving his second son, with his two brothers, and sixty Provençal knights, as hostages for the performance of the treaty made at Oleron, the principle articles of which were, that he should prevail with Charles of Valois to renounce his right to Arragon, persuade the king of France to agree to a peace with Alphonfus, solicit his holiness to take off the interdiction from Arragon, or, if these articles were not performed, he should return again within three years to his prison*.

Charles, upon recovering his liberty, went directly to France, to persuade king Philip and his brother Charles to a peace with Alphonfus. His endeavours, however, being unsuccessful, he proceeded to Italy, and used his interces-

* Rymer's Fœdera.

sion with the pope in behalf of Arragon. But Nicholas, seeing the king now at liberty, conceived new hopes of recovering Sicily; therefore, instead of hearkening to proposals of peace, he absolved him from his agreement with the king of Arragon. After having crowned him king of the Two Sicilies, he raised a large body of crusaders and Guelfs from Tuscany and Lombardy, and sent them with a cardinal legate to Gaeta, against king James. Bartholomeo informs us, that there were women, and even dogs, enlisted as crusaders in this expedition, and that he saw the women cut to pieces by the Messinians, and dogs licking their blood ^y. As king Charles likewise arrived at the siege with a reinforcement from Naples, James, in his turn began to be hemmed in, and made proposals for an accommodation. An ambassador arriving at Rome from the king of England, accusing the pope of being the incendiary of Christendom, and threatening, that if he did not agree to a peace with James and his brother, that his master would espouse their cause, Nicolas sent a legate with the English ambassador to the siege, who prevailed on both the kings to agree to a truce for two years, to the great discontent of the count d'Artois, and the other French lords, who, judging that Charles had thereby put it out of his power ever to recover Sicily, returned in disgust to France ^z.

*A truce
concluded
betwixt
king
Charles
and king
James.*

After the departure of the Sicilians, Charles, in consideration of the vigorous defence made by the Gaetans, exempted them from all taxes for five years; and upon his return to Naples, in the month of September, being informed of the death of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, without issue, caused his eldest son, Charles Martel, to be crowned sovereign of that kingdom, in right of his mother queen Mary, sister of Ladislaus. The king of Sicily in the mean time was solicited earnestly by the pope to engage in a crusade for the relief of the Holy Land; but his old counsellors, after having recapitulated the perfidiousness of the holy see to his great grandfather, Frederic II. and represented that Nicholas, during his absence, would probably endeavour to cause a revolution in Sicily, James sent John di Procida to Rome, to urge his holiness to be reconciled to the Sicilians, and to accept of his obedience. Nicholas, however, still remained inflexible: and told Procida, that he could determine nothing as to Sicily, as he had already commissioned two legates to go to Aix in Pro-

*The eldest
son of king
Charles
crowned
king of
Hungary.*

^y Barthol. de Neocastr. ap. Murator. tom. xiii. p. 1153, 1154.
^z Villan. lib. vii. cap. 133. Giannone, ut supra. Anton. tit. 20. cap. 6. sect. 7.

A.D. 1290.

 vance, to treat of a peace betwixt the king of Arragon and the king of France and his brother. Upon the return of Procida, James sent two plenipotentiaries to the congress, ordering them to proceed first to Arragon, and urge his brother Alphonfus not to consent to the restitution of Sicily to the family of Anjou. Though, in order to forward the peace with Alphonfus, king Charles left Naples, and proceeded to France; yet the negociations for some time proceeded very slowly. At length the pope's legates pressing the king of France and his brother to suspend their warlike preparations against Arragon, and Charles even declaring, that, if the war continued, he would return to his prison, a peace was concluded on the 2d of February betwixt Alphonfus and the French, without including the Sicilians, to whom Alphonfus promised to give no farther assistance.

A.D. 1291.

A peace concluded betwixt the king of France and Alphonfus.

After the ratification of the treaty, Charles went to Genoa, where he hired sixty galleys, to be ready by the following year for the invasion of Sicily, and afterwards went to Figueres in Spain, where he had a friendly interview with the king of Arragon. The Sicilians in the mean time were greatly alarmed to find themselves abandoned by the Catalans; but an unexpected event in some measure relieved them from their apprehensions, and baffled the designs of their enemies. Alphonfus, who had sent ambassadors to England, to conduct his queen, the daughter of king Edward, to Arragon, died about the middle of June, after a short illness. The news of his death soon arriving in Sicily, king James immediately appointed his brother Don Frederic as regent of the island, and embarked for Spain, where he landed about the middle of August, and, being solemnly crowned at Barcelona, entered into an alliance with the king of Castile, and married his daughter Elizabeth^a.

A.D. 1291.

King James, upon the death of Alphonfus, succeeds to Arragon.

A few months after this transaction, the Sicilians, being alarmed with the news of the armament of the Genoese, and a rumour prevailing that the galleys of Genoa had begun hostilities against the Sicilian vessels, Don Frederic sent an ambassador, to represent to the republic the imprudence of contributing to the aggrandizing of the French; in consequence of which embassy, the Genoese were persuaded to lay aside their armament, and confirmed an ancient law against making war upon the Sicilians. Roger di Loria, about the same time arriving from Catalonia, sailed to the coast of Calabria, and, landing with some of his sailors, attacked and defeated a body of French

^a Barthol. de Neccastr.

who had marched thither against the cities subject to the Sicilians. From thence directing his course towards Greece, he took the islands of Corfu, Malvasia, and Chios, probably because the emperor had allowed some of the maritime places to be garrisoned by French. Returning to Sicily about the month of October, he had a conference with Don Frederic, and proposed to attack the coasts of Naples in the following spring with a powerful fleet ^b.

King James, in the mean time, having refused to stand to the treaty concluded betwixt his brother and the king of France, Arragon was again threatened with an invasion. The French, however, were prevented from acting by the death of Nicholas, and soon after by a difference betwixt king Philip and Edward of England, which quickly broke out into an open war. While the Roman see was kept vacant by the dissensions of the cardinals, and the attention of the French was engaged upon the dispute with the king of England, king Charles received secret intelligence of the designs of Loria against Amalfi and the Neapolitan coasts. As his disposition was naturally pacific, and his kingdom had suffered greatly by the bad success of the war, he began seriously to think of peace, and sent the master of the Teutonic order to Arragon, with preliminary articles of an accommodation, proposing an immediate cessation of arms, which should continue for a year after the election of the pope. The Sicilian deputies remonstrated with great warmth against this proposal; but James, having then some secret view, accepted of the offer, and in the month of November had a conference with king Charles at Juncaria, near the Pyrenees ^c.

He agrees to a truce with king Charles.

In the month of June, of the following year, Celestine V. an old monk of great austerity, was elected pope, after the Roman see had continued vacant twenty-seven months. Charles pressed him to accept of the dignity, and received him with great honour at Naples, hoping, that as he had been one of his subjects, he would obtain from him whatever he desired. The humility of the pope, however, disappointed his expectations; for Celestine, after he had enjoyed the pontificate five months, resigned his dignity; but at the king's desire, before his abdication, he conferred the cardinal's hat upon seven Frenchmen and five Italians, all devoted to the interest of Charles. By the influence of these twelve cardinals king Charles procured the election of

A. D. 1294.

^b Nicol. Special. xiv. cap. 16.

^c Id. ibid. Surit. lib. ii. Marian. lib.

Boniface VIII. who is said to have used some artifices to prompt Celestine to resign ^d.

A.D. 1295.

*Boniface
VIII. medi-
ates a peace
betwixt
them.*

Boniface, who was of a disposition very different from that of his predecessor, and had distinguished himself by his activity and skill in the management of affairs, in order to shew his gratitude to Charles, in the beginning of the following year ordered king James to resign the kingdom of Sicily, under pain of being excommunicated, and deposed from his kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia. The king of France, and Charles of Valois at the same time making preparations for another expedition into Arragon, James, by the advice of his nobles, sent four ambassadors to Rome, desiring the mediation of his holiness. A perpetual peace was accordingly concluded, in the beginning of June, on these conditions: that the pope should declare the marriage of James with the daughter of the king of Castile null and void; that king James should marry the daughter of king Charles, restore Sicily, and all the places he possessed on the other side the Pharo, to him; that Charles of Valois should renounce all pretensions to Arragon, in lieu of which he should receive the counties of Anjou and Forcalquier; that the hostages for king Charles should be set at liberty; that the pope should take off the interdiction from Arragon; and that James, king of the Baleares, should be restored to his dominions^e. What were the motives which induced king James to desert the Sicilians, and to assent to this surprising peace, is uncertain: it is probable he was influenced by the hopes given him by the pope, of being put in possession of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia.

The Sicilians refuse to assent to the treaty.

After the conclusion of the treaty, Don Frederic, with Roger di Loria, John di Procida, and several other Sicilian lords, arrived in the neighbourhood of Rome, where they were earnestly solicited by the pope to agree to the surrender of the island. The grand-daughter of the emperor Baldwin, and heiress of the empire of Constantinople, was offered in marriage to Don Frederic; and the pope promised to use all his interest and power to put him in possession of Greece, on condition he would assent to the peace. Frederic refused to give his consent before he should consult the Sicilians, whom, upon his return to Sicily, he found in the greatest commotion, on account of the news of the

^d Villani, lib. viii. cap. 6. Anton. tit. xx. cap. 7. sect. i.
^e Villani, Nicol. Special. Surit. lib. ii. Marian. lib. xiv. Fazel. dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. 2.

peace.

peace. By the advice of the queen dowager Constantia, deputies were immediately sent to Arragon, who, having in vain endeavoured to prevail with king James not to abandon the Sicilians, obtained a formal renunciation of his right in writing, and returned to Sicily. They had no sooner published the answer of the king of Arragon, than the lords and people, with great unanimity and zeal, declared Don Frederic king, and appointed the 25th of March for his coronation. Boniface, in the mean time, in hope of persuading them to submit to king Charles, sent a carte blanche by a legate, sealed with the pontifical seal, desiring them to make their own terms; but one of the nobles, drawing his sword, ordered the legate immediately to quit the kingdom, and declared that they would procure peace by their swords, and not by parchments.

Chuse Don Frederic for their king.

Frederic, after the ceremony of his coronation, declared his intention of prosecuting the war with vigour, and received the most affectionate assurances of the assistance of his subjects. Having ordered Roger di Loria to equip the fleet, he passed over from Messina to Reggio, and, assembling an army, advanced into Calabria. There he took Squillace, after which exploit he reduced the city and county of Catanzara. Several other places surrendered to him; but being informed that his brother, king James, had arrived at Rome, where he had obtained from the pope the investiture of Sardinia, and was appointed standard-bearer of the church, with the design of assisting king Charles against the Sicilians, he left his army in Calabria, under the command of Blasco de Alagona, and returned to Sicily. After his departure, Roger di Loria took Lecce and Otranto; the last of which places he fortified, and afterwards made a bold, though unsuccessful attempt, upon Brindisi.

A.D. 1296.

He invades Calabria.

King James, in the mean time, having in vain endeavoured to draw his brother to a conference in the island of Ischia, sent for his mother and her daughter Violante to Rome, where, in the following spring, the young princess was married to Robert, duke of Calabria, the second son of king Charles. John di Procida and Roger di Loria accompanied Constantia to Rome, in which city Procida spent the rest of his days. But Roger, having the year before had several differences with Frederic, which were inflamed by his enemies, now deserted his party, and, by the intercession of the pope and James of Arragon, was reconciled to king Charles, who, upon his return to Naples, not only restored him to all his ancient lands in Calabria, Basilicata, and Principata, but gave him many others,

A.D. 1297.

Roger di Loria deserts to king Charles.

others, and appointed him high-admiral of both kingdoms. Frederic, being informed that Roger had entered into the service of king Charles, immediately proclaimed him a traitor, and besieged the castles belonging to him in Sicily, which were quickly reduced. Roger, exasperated against Frederic, proceeded to Calabria with a large body of horse, and besieged Catanzara, which willingly surrendered; however, before he could reduce the castle, Blasco de Alagona arrived with some forces to its relief. Roger immediately attacked him; but was received with such resolution and courage, that his troops were entirely routed, and he himself being wounded, and his horse killed, with great difficulty made his escape^f.

A.D 1298.

*Is defeated
in Calabria.*

*The king of
Arragon
takes several
places
in Sicily.*

As the king of Arragon about the same time had arrived at Rome with a considerable fleet, Frederic appointed Conrad Doria, a Genoese, his admiral, and, going on board in person, sailed with seventy-four galleys to the coasts of Naples, to intercept his brother. He thought proper, however, not to wait for him, but returned to Sicily, and was immediately followed by James and Loria, who made a descent upon the island, and reduced Patti, Melazzo, Nucera, Monteforte, and several other castles in that neighbourhood. As that coast was dangerous in winter, they left garrisons in the places they had taken, and sailed through the Pharo to Syracuse, which city they invested by sea and land. The city making a vigorous defence, they employed their army in reducing Buacura, Palacioli, and several other towns and castles. Frederic in the mean time arrived with his army at Catania, where he was soon alarmed with the news that three castles belonging to one Beresius, and one of them in the middle of the island, had revolted to king James. Roger di Loria likewise ventured to march by land with three hundred horse to recover Patti, which had expelled the Catalonian garrison, while his relation John di Loria sailed round from Syracuse with twenty galleys. John, upon passing by Messina, was attacked by the galleys of that city, and, after a sharp engagement, taken, with sixteen of his ships; upon which disaster, the king of Arragon, as he had already lost eighteen thousand men before Syracuse, thought proper to re-imbark his army, and return to Naples. After his departure, Frederic quickly reduced almost all the places he had taken; and, being informed that James was making preparations for a second invasion, immediately equipped forty galleys, and put to sea. The two fleets met off Capo

A.D 1299.

^f Nicol. Special. ut supra. Villani, lib. viii. cap. 29.

Orlando on the 4th of July, when Frederic with great resolution attacked the enemy, though greatly superior to him in number. The success, however, did not answer his eager hopes; for, after a most bloody engagement, he was entirely defeated, and lost twenty-two galleys, the officers of which were cruelly put to death by Roger di Loria, in revenge for the death of his relation John, who had been executed as a rebel. The king of Arragon, after this signal victory, returned with the Catalan vessels to his own dominions, alleging, that the affairs of the Sicilians were now so desperate, that his assistance would be no longer needed; though he is suspected by several authors of never having been really zealous for the success of the war, and to have retired, to prevent his brother from being entirely ruined.

Gains a signal victory over the Sicilian fleet.

Frederic, upon his return, being comforted by the Messinians, ordered the whole island to prepare for the most vigorous defence. The duke of Calabria and Roger di Loria in the mean time landed their troops; but the first city which they summoned refused to surrender. The duke, by the advice of Loria, retired from thence, and marched to Adernio and Paternio, both which places, though inaccessible, and strongly fortified, surrendered to him without opposition; by which means his army, which began to be in great want, was furnished with plenty of provisions. Several other places imitated the example of these cities. At length Catania revolted, and was followed by Ragusa, and many other cities; so that a report prevailing, that more than one half of the island had declared for king Charles, Boniface sent the cardinal Gerard of Parma thither as his legate, to persuade the Sicilians to surrender without farther opposition. Roger di Loria assured the duke, that the Sicilians were not to be subdued by excommunications and the tinkling of a mass-bell; he therefore sent for fresh succours from Naples. His brother, the prince of Tarento, accordingly embarked with six hundred horse and one thousand foot, and landed in that part of Sicily called the Valley of Mazara; but a few days after, on the 1st of December, he was attacked at Falconara by Frederic, and entirely routed, he himself being taken prisoner, with the greatest part of his men.

Great part of Sicily surrenders to the duke of Calabria.

His brother is defeated, and taken prisoner.

Upon the news of this defeat, Boniface wrote to king Charles, reproving him severely for having committed the care of the war to the young princes who had no experience, and at the same time he sent for Charles of Valois from France, allowing him the tithes of the ecclesiastical revenues of that kingdom to support his expedition, ex-

pressly

A.D. 1300. preſſy prohibiting king Charles to make any convention with the Sicilians till the arrival of his couſin. Charles, to appeaſe the pope, publiſhed an edict, ordering all the Saracens of Lucera to embrace Chriſtianity, or leave his dominions. Loria in the mean time had returned to Naples, to haſten more ſuccours, charging the duke not to venture an engagement with the Sicilians during his abſence. Frederic, however, found means to draw a large party of the French and Neapolitans into an ambuſcade, and entirely cut them off; which victory gave freſh ſpirits to the Sicilians, who again put a fleet to ſea, conſiſting of thirty-two gallies, under the command of Doria. After having ravaged the Neapolitan coaſts, he imprudently ventured an engagement with Roger di Loria, who ſailed from Naples with forty-eight gallies, and, after a ſhort diſpute, he was obliged to ſurrender to Roger, and loſt twenty of his gallies. Soon after this event, duke Robert, being informed that the Meſſinians were diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, ſailed with his army from Catania, and encamped before their city, while his general in Calabria inveſted Reggio, and his fleet lay before both cities. Meſſina was quickly reduced to great diſtreſs; but being relieved by Frederic, and the army of duke Robert beginning in its turn to want proviſions, the ſiege was raiſed. By the interceſſion of Violante, Robert's wife, and ſiſter to Frederic, the two princes had a conference at Syracuſe, and agreed to a truce for ſix months. Robert, leaving his wife with her infant ſon in Sicily, immediately ſailed with Roger di Loria to Naples, promiſing quickly to return with a ſtrong army. He was detained, however, longer on the continent than he expected; and the truce expiring in the beginning of the following year, Frederic renewed his hoſtilities.

*He beſieges
Meſſina
without
ſucceſs.*

A D. 1301.

Charles of Valois in the mean time, arriving in Italy, had a conference with the pope at Anagni. As he had lately married the only daughter of Philip, the titular emperor of Conſtantinople, Boniface gave him hopes of ſucceeding to that empire; in order to which ſucceſſion, he ſhewed him the neceſſity of firſt reducing Sicily, that his couſin king Charles might be at leiſure to aſſiſt him: great preparations were accordingly made for invading the iſland with a formidable armament in the ſpring; and, in the mean time, Boniface created him Paciare, or pacificator, of Tuſcany, as though the empire had been vacant ².

² Villani, lib. viii. cap. 48. Blond. dec. ii. lib. ix. Nicol. Special.

After Charles had spent three or four months at Florence, he returned to Naples in the spring, and, embarking with a formidable army, attended by the duke of Calabria and Roger di Loria, landed in Sicily, in the Valley of Mazara. Frederic, not being able to oppose him in the field, kept at a distance with his army, and by frequent skirmishes, and intercepting convoys, soon reduced his enemy to great distress. Charles, finding it impossible to execute any enterprize of importance, as he had lost almost all his horses; and considering that, if he could put an end to the war, he would be assisted in his expedition against Constantinople, both by Frederic and king Charles, persuaded the duke of Calabria to propose an accommodation, and afterwards had a personal conference with Frederic. A congress being agreed to, the peace was at length concluded on the 31st of August, on these conditions: that Frederic should marry Eleonora, the daughter of king Charles, and should keep possession of the kingdom of Sicily, under the name of Trinacria; that he should restore all the places he held in Calabria to king Charles, who should immediately evacuate Sicily; that all prisoners should be set at liberty, and those who had changed sides during the war should be reciprocally deprived of their estates in each kingdom, excepting Roger di Loria, who should be allowed to hold the castle of Jacia in Sicily, and Vinciguerra, who should still retain three castles on the coast of Calabria; that king Charles should prevail with the pope to ratify the peace, and to grant Frederic the investiture of Sardinia or Cyprus; that this prince, upon obtaining possession of either of these two islands, should deliver up Sicily to king Charles, who on that consideration should pay him one hundred thousand ounces of gold^b. Violante, who is said to have been instrumental in effecting this accommodation, died before the conclusion of the treaty, when her husband had become heir apparent to the kingdom of Naples by the death of his eldest brother, Charles Martel, king of Hungary. Both parties soon after sending ambassadors to the pope, desiring his ratification of the treaty, Boniface confirmed the articles, on condition that Frederic should pay fifteen thousand florins yearly to the holy see for the island of Sicily, take the oath of allegiance to the pope both in temporals and spirituals, and leave to him the supreme power in all spiritual and ecclesiastical matters within his dominions.

A.D. 1302.

*Charles of
Valois sails
with a for-
midable
army to
Sicily.*

*Concludes
a peace
with Fre-
deric ;*

A D. 1303.

*which is
ratified by
the pope.*

^b Rainald. Annal. ad an. 1302. sect. 3. Nicol. Special. ap. Murator. tom. x. Villani.

Thus ended the war in Sicily, which had been maintained with great vivacity by the Sicilians for twenty years, against the most powerful enemies. The peace was allowed to be very advantageous and honourable for king Frederic; but Charles of Valois greatly hurt his reputation by agreeing to the treaty, and was ridiculed by the Italians, who remarked, that he had fomented new quarrels at Florence, where he went to make peace, and had concluded a dishonourable peace in Sicily, wherè he went to make warⁱ. Upon his return to Italy, he was prevented from prosecuting his expedition against Constantinople; but was recalled to France by his brother, who had a difference with the pope, whom this year, in the month of September, he surprisèd at Anagni, and kept prisoner some days. Boniface was so affected by the indignity, that he died a few weeks after. On the day of his death, king Charles arrived at Rome with fifteen hundred horse and eight thousand foot to his assistance. He continued at Rome for some time, and protectèd the cardinals till the election of the following pope, Benedict XI. who enjoyed the pontificate only a few months, being poisoned at Perugia in the beginning of July. His successor, Clement V. was a Frenchman, and transferred the papal court to Avignon, where it continued upwards of seventy years, to the great prejudice of Italy.

*Charles of
Valois re-
called to
France.*

Charles, upon his return to Naples, employed the remaining years of his reign in cultivating the arts of peace. He enlarged and embellished Naples, increased the privileges of the university, and invited thither the most famous professors of Italy, to whom he gave large salaries^k. He not only adorned his capital with useful structures and magnificent edifices, but also built several stately churches and large monasteries in different parts of his kingdom: he published several new and useful laws, and regulated the offices of his court with splendor and magnificence. While he was thus, by his wise administration, promoting the happiness of his kingdom, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off, on the 4th of May, in the sixty-first year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. His body was interred with royal pomp in the Dominican church in Naples; and was soon after transported to Provence, and buried in a monastery of nuns built by himself in the city of Arles; his heart, however, being left behind with the Dominicans in Naples. His death was universally lamented, as he had gained the affections of his subjects by

A.D. 1309.

*Charles II.
dies at
Naples.*

ⁱ Villani.

^k Giannone, ut supra.

his clemency, courtesy, and liberality, on which account he was distinguished by the name of the second Alexander ¹ (M).

Upon the death of Charles II. a dispute immediately arose about the succession, between his grandson Carobert, king of Hungary, and his son Robert, duke of Calabria. The affair was strongly debated in the college of cardinals; and at length, on the 1st of August, the decision was given in favour of Robert, in a public consistory. Robert had then arrived with a splendid retinue at Avignon; and, having taken the oath of fealty and homage to the pope, and received from him the investiture both of Apulia and Sicily, according to the usual form, on the 8th of September was crowned king in Avignon, with great pomp and solemnity ^m. It was the desire of his father that Robert should be his successor; and if the claim of Carobert had been looked upon as valid, Italy would have probably been involved in great disorder, as Naples in that case would have been governed by Hungarian viceroys, whose manners were very different from those of the Italians ⁿ.

Robert, duke of Calabria, declared his heir, and crowned at Avignon.

Robert, after having received many marks of favour from the pope, particularly the remission of a debt of three hundred thousand ounces of gold, contracted by his father and grandfather to the see of Rome, left Avignon, and re-

A.D. 1310.

¹ Villani, Costanzo.
15. 34. 70. 104.

^m Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. tom. i. cap.
ⁿ See Giannone, & spond. Annal.

(M) Charles married Mary, the sister of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, by whom he had nine sons and five daughters. His eldest son, Charles Martel, died in 1301, and left the crown of Hungary to his infant son Carobert. Lewis, his second son, in consequence of a vow, became a monk. Robert, the third son, succeeded his father in the throne of Naples. Philip, the fourth son, was prince of Tarento and Achaia, and, by the pretensions of his wife, the daughter of the despot of Greece, emperor of Constantinople. Raimond Berlingier, his fifth son, was count of An-

dria. John, the sixth son, died in holy orders, while a youth. Tristan, the seventh son, was prince of Salerno. John, his eighth son, was duke of Durazzo, on the coast of Morea; and Peter, the youngest son, was count of Gravina. His eldest daughter, Clementia, was married to the count of Valois; Blanch to James, king of Arragon; Leonora to Frederic, king of Sicily; Mary to James, king of Majorca; Beatrice, the youngest, to Arzo de Este, marquis of Ferrara; then to Beltramo del Balzo, count of Andria, and, lastly, to Robert, dauphin of Vienne (1).

(1) Giannone, Bonfin. Hist. Hungar.

turned to Italy, where, to shew his gratitude to his holiness, he made a progress through several cities, encouraging the Guelphs, and declaring that he would be an enemy to all those that should offer to disturb the ecclesiastical state. Upon his arrival at Naples, he was received with universal joy; not only every province, but all the cities and towns in the kingdom, sending their syndics to compliment him. After he had made a progress through his own dominions, he created his only son Charles duke of Calabria, and honoured many great barons with the title of count.

*He opposes
the emperor
Henry in
his march
to Rome.*

Next year, being informed that the emperor Henry VII. after having received the crown of Italy in Milan, had arrived at Genoa, he sent two ambassadors to him, to treat of an alliance by marriage betwixt their two families. Robert at the same time, jealous lest the emperor should establish his authority in Italy, and thereby become a check upon his ambition, privately entered into an alliance with the Florentines and Guelphs to thwart and oppose him in his expedition to Rome. He had sent his marshal to Florence with four hundred horse, who with great diligence fortified that city, and increased his forces with new levies. His brother John, prince of Morea, had likewise proceeded to Rome with a large body of troops, to raise a party in that city against Henry. The emperor complained of these proceedings to the Neapolitan ambassadors, who, finding their embassy ineffectual, left Genoa without taking leave. Henry about the same time sent Lewis of Savoy to Rome, who, being supported by the Colonna family, and created senator, counterbalanced the authority of the prince of Morea and the family of the Orsini. As the attention of Italy was chiefly engaged upon the motions of the emperor, Frederic, king of Trinacria, thought proper to cultivate his friendship, and, after the departure of the Neapolitan ambassadors, sent a splendid embassy to Genoa, with a massy silver table, and several other rich presents for Henry. It was supposed by some, that Frederic desired the title of king of Sicily; and others alleged, that he proposed an alliance with the emperor against the kings of France and Apulia; but the conferences of the ambassadors were kept secret.

A D. 1312.

Henry, after some stay at Genoa, proceeded in the following spring to Pisa, where he received another embassy from Frederic: in consequence of which, he sent two am-

* Histor. August. Mussat. ap. Murator. lib. x. Iter Ital. Henr. VII. Ferreti Vicentini ap. Murat. tom. ix. Villani, ut supra.

bassadors to Sicily, to propose a match betwixt his daughter and Robert's son Charles, duke of Calabria. This negotiation, however, seems to have had no effect; for Robert refused to recall his brother from Rome, great part of which, by the assistance of the Guelfs, he had fortified against the emperor. Henry, notwithstanding these fortifications, made his way, and was received in Rome by Colonna and the Ghibelline faction with great rejoicing. As the other faction were in possession of St. Peter's church, and that part of the city on the north side of the Tiber, Henry again sent several embassies to king Robert, desiring that his forces might be ordered to evacuate Rome. Robert returned a friendly answer to the emperor, and in some measure promised to agree to his just demand; but at the same time he ordered his admiral to attack seven Pisan galleys which were transporting five hundred bowmen to Rome for the emperor's service. He likewise sent a strong reinforcement of horse to the prince of Morea; but in their march through Campania they were attacked by the imperial party near Tipherno, and entirely routed.

Henry in the mean time, by the permission of the pope, was crowned on the 1st of August, with great solemnity, in the Lateran church, and immediately after received another embassy from Frederic, king of Sicily, with a large sum of money. The Sicilian ambassadors, concluded a treaty of marriage betwixt Frederic's son and the emperor's daughter; and as Henry was resolved to make war upon Robert and the Tuscan Guelfs, Frederic entered into a strict alliance with him, and promised to give him a yearly subsidy of fifty thousand florins during the continuance of the war^p. Henry, upon his return to Pisa, summoned king Robert, as a vassal of the empire, to make his appearance before him, at the same time citing also all the cities of the Guelf association, which had refused to acknowledge his authority^q. In the end of April, he published a manifesto, in which, after recapitulating the various hostilities committed against him by king Robert, he deposed him from all his dominions, and put him to the ban of the empire as a rebel.

Though the legality of this sentence may in some measure be questioned, as the kingdom of Naples was never reckoned subject to the empire, yet it appears plainly, that Henry had received just provocation for declaring war against king Robert. He therefore appointed his ally Frederic, king of Sicily, admiral of the empire; and made

A.D. 1313.

An alliance concluded betwixt the emperor and Frederic, king of Sicily.

They declare war against king Robert.

^p Iter. Ital. ut supra.

^q Idem ibid.

great preparations to invade Calabria. He sent to Germany and Lombardy for a reinforcement of troops, and prevailed on the Pisans, Genoese, and the Venetians, to fit out a formidable fleet. The pope had hitherto affected to observe a strict neutrality with regard to the differences betwixt the emperor and the king of Naples; but upon receiving a copy of the sentence against Robert, he published a bull, prohibiting every one from attacking the kingdom of Naples by sea or land, under pain of excommunication. It would appear, however, from the words of a certain bishop, then by the pope's order attending on the emperor, that Henry had private encouragements from Clement to proceed in his expedition^r. He accordingly, in the beginning of August, began his march from Pisa to Apulia; but dying at Buon Convento, in the neighbourhood of Sienna, on the 24th of the same month, all his preparations were rendered ineffectual. About the time that he left Pisa, Frederic, king of Sicily, made a descent upon Calabria, and took Reggio, and several castles in its neighbourhood. From thence, by the emperor's desire, he sailed towards Gaeta, to join the united fleets of Pisa and Genoa; but upon his arriving at the islands of Lipari, he received the melancholy news of the emperor's death. He immediately called a council, and determined to proceed to Pisa, where, upon his arrival, he was requested earnestly to accept of the sovereignty of the city; but finding the Germans and Ghibellines in great confusion, he declined the offer of the Pisans, and returned to Sicily, to guard against an invasion from king Robert, whose resentment was inflamed against him on account of his alliance with the emperor.

The emperor dies.

A.D. 1314.

Sicily is invaded by the king of Naples.

Frederic, being informed of Robert's great preparations, desired the citizens of Trapani, one of the strongest fortified cities in Sicily, to make a secret offer of surrendering the place to him; and having induced him by this stratagem, to direct his armament thither, he put a strong garrison into the city, which he furnished with provisions, and other necessaries, for a most vigorous defence. Robert, accordingly, having embarked two thousand horse, and an immense number of foot, on board of one hundred and twenty gallies and as many transport ships, set sail for Sicily in the month of August, and landed in the neighbourhood of Trapani. He immediately took Castello a Mare by storm, and invested Trapani, which he expected to be surrendered to him without delay: but the citizens, who had entered into a correspondence with him, kept him in sus-

^r Iter Ital. ut supra.

pense for several weeks on various pretences, till at length an epidemical sickness seized his troops, in consequence of a wet season, and his fleet was greatly shattered by a severe storm. His enemy in the mean time assembled a considerable fleet and army, and intercepted his convoys. Perceiving at last that it was impossible to take the city, which had no intention of surrendering, he agreed to a truce for three years, and on the 1st of January returned to Naples *. Robert, during the continuance of this truce, sent assistance to the Florentines against the Pisans; and, being obliged to visit Provence and Tuscany, committed the care of the kingdom of Naples to his only son Charles, who about this time married the daughter of the archduke of Austria.

A truce concluded betwixt him and Frederic for three years.

The truce being expired, hostilities were immediately renewed in Sicily. Frederic besieged and made himself master of Castello a Mare; but the count of Squillace arriving with a formidable fleet and army, Frederic was obliged to retire to the middle of the island, while the enemy, without opposition, ravaged the whole kingdom. The whole island, it was believed would soon have been reduced; but by the mediation of pope John XXII. who had been elected in the beginning of the year, a second truce was concluded for five years, or, according to some authors, for three years only. In consequence of this armistice, the Neapolitan troops evacuated Sicily; and Frederic delivered Reggio, and the other places he held in Calabria, into the hands of the legates, who quickly restored them to king Robert, under pretence that he was appointed vicar or lieutenant of the holy see †.

A.D. 1317.

Hostilities are again renewed.

They are suspended by a second truce.

Robert was prevailed upon to agree to this truce, that he might be at leisure to attend to the affairs of Lombardy, where the Ghibellines in several cities were again recovering strength and authority. In Genoa, however, the Guelfs prevailed, and on the 10th of November expelled the Ghibellines, particularly the families of Doria and Spinola, the two most powerful houses in Italy of the imperial faction †. These two families, who before were at variance, now united; and having entered into an alliance with Maffeo Visconti of Milan, and all the other Ghibellines of Lombardy, and by their influence and money assembled a powerful army, they returned in the spring and besieged Genoa. The inhabitants being quickly reduced to great distress, sent an ambassador to beg the assistance of Robert, who had ad-

A.D. 1318.

* Ferret. Vicent. ut supra. Nicol. Special. Villan. t Villani. Nicol. Special. ut supra. Spond. Annal. ad ann. 1317.
† Idem ibid.

*Robert
sails to the
relief of
Genoa.*

vised and promoted the revolution. Robert immediately fitted out twenty-five gallies, and upwards of fifty transports, on board of which he embarked with one thousand two hundred horse, accompanied with two of his brothers, and many barons, and on the 21st of July entered Genoa. A few days after his arrival, the Genoese resigned the sovereignty of their state, on certain conditions, to the pope and him for ten years. By his vigilance and activity he recovered some places in the neighbourhood of the city from the besiegers, who, in the beginning of the following year, withdrew their troops. Robert, soon after, in the end of April, set sail with forty gallies for Avignon, where he had a conference with the pope.

A.D. 1320.

*A fleet sent
from Sicily
to the as-
sistance of
the be-
siegers.*

The Ghibelline exiles, who had entered into alliance with the emperor of Constantinople and Frederic, king of Sicily, returned a few months after to the siege, and made themselves masters of the suburbs. The attacks continued betwixt the two parties till the following spring, almost without any intermission. A Sicilian fleet of forty gallies, with eleven belonging to the Ghibellines, arriving at Genoa, the city was reduced to great distress; but Robert, sending fifty gallies to the relief of the besieged, the Sicilian fleet sailed to Pisa, and from thence to the bay of Naples, and made a descent upon the island of Ischia, which they plundered. They returned a second time to Genoa, to avoid the Neapolitan fleet which followed them, and were soon after recalled by Frederic to Sicily, without having being able to effect any thing against the besieged. Frederic, having exhausted his treasury by the expences of this armament, laid a tax upon the ecclesiastical revenues of Sicily; which the pope was no sooner informed of, than he denounced a sentence of excommunication and interdict against him and his dominions^w. The king, to shew his disregard of this sentence, the year after assembled the barons of the island at Palermo, and in their presence caused his eldest son Peter to be solemnly crowned.

A.D. 1321.

*Frederic
causes his
eldest son
Peter to be
crowned.*

Robert still continued his assistance to the Genoese; and about three years after, returning to their city from Avignon with fifty-six gallies and three hundred horse, he received a prolongation of the sovereignty from them for six years^x. Then he proceeded to Naples, where he made great preparations for invading Sicily. In the end of May, the duke of Calabria arrived at Palermo with one hundred and thirty gallies, besides a great number of transports, on board of which were three thousand horse, and a very nu-

A.D. 1325.

*Palermo is
besieged by
the Nea-
politans.*

^w Nic. Spec.

^x Villani, lib. ix. cap. 248.

merous army of foot, being attended likewise by the greatest part of the nobles and barons of Apulia. He ravaged the whole country in the neighbourhood; but all his attempts against the city were ineffectual, the garrison, which was very numerous, making a most vigorous defence. That the army might not be destroyed by fruitless attacks, on the 18th of June, by his father's orders, he raised the siege, and, dividing his troops into several bodies, marched through the island without opposition, cutting down the trees, destroying the corn, and burning the villages. Having in this manner made a progress through the valley of Mazara, and the neighbourhood of Syracuse and Catanea, he arrived in the beginning of August at Messina, and embarked in the end of the same month with his army for Naples ^v.

They ravage Sicily.

Next year, Lewis of Bavaria, who, contrary to the pope's inclination, had been elected emperor, being invited by the Romans and Ghibellines to visit Italy, John again created Robert vicar of the empire in that country. The king accordingly sent considerable reinforcements to Lombardy and Tuscany, to the assistance of the Guelfs. Being resolved, however, to pursue his plan of reducing the Sicilians by famine, in the month of May he sent another fleet of ninety galleys against Sicily, under the command of the count of Novello, who made several descents upon the coasts of the island, from Palermo round to Syracuse: having ravaged and burnt many towns and villages, he returned through the Pharo, and, in the end of July, failed to the assistance of the Genoese against Castruccio Castracani, tyrant or governor of Lucca. The duke of Calabria, about the same time arriving at Sienna, was complimented with the sovereignty of that city for five years. In the succeeding year, Robert sent another fleet against Sicily, under the command of the count of Coriolani, who performed nothing of consequence, and was soon recalled. The Genoese about the same time arrived with nineteen galleys, and made a descent in the neighbourhood of Agosta, in hopes of surprising the city; but they were themselves intercepted, and the admiral and a great many men being made prisoners, the rest returned to Genoa.

A.D. 1326.

Sicily is again invaded.

A.D. 1327.

Mean while the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who had been excommunicated and deposed by the pope, arrived at Trent, where he held a diet with the chiefs of the Ghibellines, and the ambassadors of Frederic of Sicily. From thence he proceeded to Milan; and receiving the crown of Italy in the church of St. Ambrose, began his march to

The emperor Lewis arrives in Italy.

Rome. His army being considerably reinforced after his arrival in Italy, Robert was apprehensive of his designs against Naples. He therefore resolved to oppose him to the utmost of his power, and, if possible, to prevent his entry into Rome, for which purpose he sent his brother, the prince of Morea, with one thousand horse, to take possession of that city. The Romans, however, refused to admit him, and even repulsed him with loss, when he endeavoured to force his passage. As the emperor's party appeared the most powerful in Rome, Robert recalled his son, the duke of Calabria, to defend the frontiers of his kingdom. Lewis, in the mean time, being received with great honour by the Romans, was solemnly crowned by the deputies of the people on the 17th of January. Instead, however, of immediately marching to Naples, he trifled away his time at Rome in making an antipope, and gave Robert an opportunity to take the necessary precautions for the defence of the kingdom. While he continued at Rome, Frederic of Sicily, though he refused to acknowledge the antipope, fitted out a fleet of fifty galleys, which, being joined by thirty Genoese vessels, sailed under the command of king Peter towards the Tiber, to assist in the invasion of Naples. On the coast of Gaeta, they made a descent, and ravaged its territories. They likewise landed at Astura, and, in resentment of the treachery of the Castellan to Conradin, pillaged and burnt the castle. By delaying, however, to join the emperor, who was in great want of the money, they obliged him to abandon his design against Naples. About the end of July, he returned with his army from Campania to Rome, and, leaving the city about three weeks after, marched to Pisa, and from thence in the following year proceeded to Germany. Peter, after having a conference with Lewis, set sail for Sicily with his fleet, which suffered greatly in a severe storm².

A.D. 1328.

*Is crowned
at Rome.*

*He is pre-
vented
from in-
vading
Naples.*

By the departure of the emperor, Robert was freed from his apprehensions of a war in Naples. He therefore resolved to prosecute hostilities against the Sicilians with great vigour; but his design was interrupted by the death of his only son the duke of Calabria, which happened on the 2d of November, in the 31st year of his age. As the duke left no male issue, the death of this prince was a great affliction to the whole kingdom, as well as to his father, who foreseeing the calamities that the nation would be involved in, exclaimed, "The crown is fallen from my head." This accident was a fatal interruption to the prosperity of Ro-

² Summont. Hist. Neapol. Villani.

bert, who, by his interest with the Guelfs in Lombardy and Tuscany, had become very powerful.

About five years after this event, he renewed his hostilities against the Sicilians, but with little or no advantage. As he now began to feel the infirmities of old age, and had no male issue, he was anxious to settle the succession of his kingdom. Reflecting, perhaps, that the king of Hungary, the son of his elder brother, had a claim to the kingdom by hereditary right, or being influenced by some other motive, he resolved to restore the crown to that branch, by contracting a marriage betwixt one of the king of Hungary's sons, and Joan, or Jane, the eldest daughter of the late duke of Calabria. The king of Hungary joyfully accepted of the proposal, and arriving at Naples with his second son Andrew, the ceremony of betrothing was performed on the 26th of September, Andrew being at that time only seven years of age, and Jane five ^a. Robert being disgusted with temporal grandeur, proposed to resign the crown, and to spend the remaining years of his life in the habit of a Franciscan; but, at the intreaty of his nobles, he was prevailed upon still to retain the administration of the kingdom ^b. In the end of the following year he lost his great patron pope John, who had possessed the pontifical chair eighteen years. His successor Benedict XII. having seemed to favour the king of Sicily while he was cardinal, Frederic immediately sent three ambassadors, one of whom was Nicholas Specialis, to congratulate him upon his promotion, and to desire his mediation for a peace. Benedict received the ambassadors with great kindness and familiarity; but declaring his intentions to proceed in the steps of his predecessors, they returned disappointed to Sicily. Frederic, however, still hoping to procure the pope's favour, sent two other embassies to Avignon; but his holiness still persisted in the answer he had given to the first ambassadors ^c.

A.D. 1333.

Robert again invades Sicily.

The second son of the king of Hungary appointed his successor.

A.D. 1335.

Another invasion of Sicily.

While Frederic was thus endeavouring to gain the friendship of Benedict, a Neapolitan fleet of sixty gallies arrived at Sicily, under the command of the count of Coriolano and the count of Claramonte, which last, upon a disgust, had deserted from Frederic, and, as he had many friends in the island, expected that they would join him, and declare for king Robert. His hopes were however frustrated: though the Neapolitans landed in several parts of the island, they were joined by none of the Sicilians, being unable to make themselves masters of any fortified place, they ravaged the open country, and, in the end of August, returned to

^a Bonfin. & Thuroz. Hist. Hung. Villani, lib. x. cap. 224.

^b Spond. Annal. ^c Nicol. Special.

A.D. 1337.

*Frederic
dies, and
is succeeded
by Peter.*

Naples^c. The war on both sides was now carried on in a very languid manner, a circumstance owing to the age and infirmities of both princes. Frederic, who had long been grievously afflicted with the gout, about two years after this invasion died, in the neighbourhood of Catanea, on the 24th of June, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the forty-second of his reign. Upon his death, which was universally lamented by the Sicilians, great troubles ensued. His successor Peter, on account of his imprudent conduct, was believed by many to be seized with madness, an opinion which encouraged the count of Ventimiglia to revolt. This nobleman was a relation of the count of Claramonte; who having received an injury from Frederic, immediately upon his death, declared for king Robert, and sent one of his sons to Naples. Having acted, however, with too great precipitation, before he could receive assistance from the continent, all his castles were reduced, two of his sons were taken prisoners, and he himself with another son was killed^d.

A.D. 1338.

*Sicily again
invaded.*

Robert, in the mean time, had solicited his sister Eleonora, to prevail with her son Peter to quit his pretensions to Sicily, promising to assist him in the conquest of Sardinia. He had likewise requested Benedict to send an apostolic legate to Sicily, for the same purpose. The pope accordingly sent two legates thither; but the Messinians not allowing them to land, and shooting arrows into their galleys, they threw the pope's bull on shore, and, renewing the sentence of excommunication and interdict against the island, immediately departed^e. Eleonora also, in her answer to her brother, begged of him to look upon Peter as his own son, and to appoint him his successor in Apulia^f. Robert being thus disappointed, renewed his armaments, and in the beginning of May fitted out a fleet of sixty galleys and transports, which he sent, with one thousand two hundred horse, to harraass Sicily. After these troops had landed, he sent a second and more numerous embarkation, under the command of Charles of Durazzo, his brother's son, who joined the former troops at the siege of Tremole, which city, with great difficulty, he made himself master of. Though the count of Lentino, one of the first barons of the kingdom, revolted to them with all his castles, yet they were not able to make any other conquest; and after pillaging some of the open country, they returned in autumn to Naples. Robert at the same time was not a little dis-

^c Nicol. Special. Villani. Fazel. dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. 3.
lani. ^e Fazel. ut supra.

^d Villani. ^f Giannone, ut supra.

turbed by insurrections in his own kingdom, where opposite factions were formed in several cities, and being headed by counts, openly commenced hostilities against each other.

In the course of the following year, Robert sent another fleet against the island of Lipari, under the command of the count of Squillace, who defeated the Messinian fleet, and made himself master of the island; but, upon his return, he was driven by a storm into Corsica, where he lost four of his gallies^g. Robert judged that the possession of Lipari would enable him to reduce Melazzo, and thereby straiten Messina. Having, therefore, prepared another fleet of forty-five gallies, he sent it, the year after, against Sicily, under the command of Roger of Sanseverino. The troops having landed at Melazzo, threw up an intrenchment across the peninsula, to prevent any succours from entering the city. Peter, however, made an attempt to relieve the place; but the besiegers receiving continual reinforcements from Calabria, repulsed him with great loss. The city at length surrendered upon^h capitulation, on the 15th of September, to the great joy of Robert, who had spent upwards of fifty thousand ounces of gold upon the siege. Peter survived the loss of this place not quite twelve months, but died in the beginning of the following August, in the 6th year of his reign, leaving the kingdom to his son Lewis, then only five years of age, and appointing the duke of Randatium, his uncle, regent during his minority.

Upon the death of Peter, the Sicilians, who, with surprising courage and constancy, had maintained almost a continual war for fifty years against the family of Anjou, were upon the point of submitting to their old masters. Robert held a correspondence with several barons, who were now as much discontented with the government of the Catalans, as their predecessors had been with that of the French. The chief of these were the family of the Palizzi, and the counts of Antioch, Lentino, and Ventimiglia, some of whose ancestors had been concerned in the conspiracy against king Charles I. The Palizzi, by surprise, made themselves masters of Messina, and immediately sent for assistance from Robert, to whom they swore allegiance: but the king, from dilatoriness or avarice, delaying to send them succours, lost that opportunity of recovering the island; for the regent in his turn surprised the rebels in Messina, and expelled them from the cityⁱ. Others attribute the delay of succours to the king's sickness, who, before the arrival of the messengers from Messina, had received extreme unction, and died on the 19th of January, in

A.D. 1340.

The Neapolitans take Lipari and Melazzo.

A.D. 1342.

Peter of Sicily dies.

Great part of the island declares for Robert.

^g Villani.

^h Idem.

ⁱ Giannone, ut supra.

A.D. 1343.

*Death of
Robert.*

the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. Robert, according to Villani, was reckoned the wisest and most learned prince that had reigned in Christendom for five hundred years. He was a great philosopher, and deeply skilled in divinity, which a little before his time first began to be formed into a system. He was courageous, just, liberal, eloquent, and modest. Towards the end of his life he was inclined to avarice. However, in his old age, he did not remit his studies, but published a Treatise on the Moral Virtues, in Tuscan rhimes, often regretting, as Petrarch relates, that he had not sooner applied himself to the study of poetry^k.

*Queen
Jane suc-
ceeds to the
throne of
Naples.*

Robert, before his death, had appointed his granddaughter Jane as his successor in the throne; and as she and her husband Andrew were both minors, he nominated some of the chief nobles as administrators of the government, with the approbation of the pope. Jane accordingly, after his death, was immediately crowned and proclaimed queen, Andrew still retaining only the title of duke of Calabria. A few days, however, produced an amazing alteration in the state of public affairs; for the Hungarians, particularly friar Robert, the preceptor of Andrew, directly assumed the whole of the administration, which presumption and insolence disgusting the princes of the blood, they retired from court. As Andrew discovered no princely and noble qualities, but wasted his time in indolence and sloth, the Neapolitan gentlemen, instead of prosecuting the war against Sicily, went and joined Robert, prince of Tarento, in an expedition to Greece, who, by their assistance, conquered as far as Thessalonica. Robert, in the mean while, to establish his own authority, sent to Lewis, king of Hungary, pressing him to come to Naples to marry Mary, the other grand-daughter of king Robert, and to take possession of the kingdom of Naples, as heir to his great-grandfather Charles II. To prevent this alliance, the duke of Durazzo, nephew of the late king, obtained a dispensation from the pope, and, in the month of April, married the princess Mary^l.

About the same time Elizabeth, the queen-dowager of Hungary, arrived in Apulia, to visit her son and her daughter-in-law. This lady being eminently pious and devout, was greatly displeased with the immodest and inconsiderate behaviour of her daughter-in-law, who was noted for her

^k Boccac. in *Gerusalemme*. lib. xiv. cap. 9.—22, & lib. xv. cap. 13.
Petrarch. *Rer. Memor.* lib. i. cap. 1, 2. lib. ii. & lib. iii. cap. 3, &c.
^l Villani.

indecent levity, arrogance, and lewdness. Having reprov'd her several times for her licentious manners, she left Naples, and returned to Hungary^m. Clement VI. in the mean time had appointed his legate in Italy, cardinal Americus, guardian of the kingdomⁿ; but, upon various pretences, he delayed satisfying the Neapolitan ambassadors, who press'd him to grant a bull for the coronation of Andrew in his own right. Lewis, king of Hungary, at last made the pope a present of forty-four thousand marks; in consequence of which bribe, the bull, which the ambassadors had been soliciting for two years, was expedited in favour of Andrew, and the bishop of Chartres was sent to Naples, to perform the ceremony of his coronation^o.

A.D. 1345.

The pope grants the bull for the coronation of Andrew;

The princes of the blood had us'd their utmost endeavours to prevent the granting of the bull; but their hopes being disappointed, they now formed a conspiracy to murder Andrew, with the consent even of the queen, who was openly accused of adultery with her cousin Lewis, prince of Tarento, and several other persons about her court^p. She is said, by many authors, to have conceived a disgust for her husband, on account of his barbarous Hungarian manners, his insolence and debility, which last was owing to his excesses after the consummation of the marriage^q. Other authors, however, particularly Boccacio and Petrarch, who were both alive at the time, do not accuse Jane as being concerned in the murder, but relate, that the princes and nobles conspired against him, from an apprehension of being punished for their crimes, if he should ever assume the administration of the government^r. Andrew having gone with his queen to Aversa, on the 18th of September, about midnight was called out of his bed-chamber by one of the conspirators, under the pretence of some important news from Naples. He had no sooner entered the hall adjoining, than they threw a rope about his neck and strangled him, by hanging him over a balcony into the garden, at the same time torturing him after the most cruel manner, as appears by informations taken concerning the murderers, by the order of Clement (P). The

who is basely murdered at Aversa.

^m Bonfin. Rer. Hungar. dec. ii. lib. x.

ⁿ Baluz. Notæ ad

Vit. Pap. Aven. tom. i.

^o Spond. Annal.

^p Villani.

^q Bayle Dict. Hist. & Crit. Art. Naples, Rem. B.

^r Petrarch.

Epist. Famil.

(P) Alii vero receperunt eum disse, retulerunt mihi quod per genitalia, et adeo traxerunt, transcenderunt genua (1). quod multi, qui decebant se vi-

(1) Baluz. Not. ad Vit. Pap. Aven. p. 86q. Bayle, ut supra, Rem. P.

conspirators being discovered by an Hungarian maid, left the corpse in the garden and fled. Jane, according to Villani, appeared but slightly concerned at the murder, and next morning returned to Naples, from whence she wrote to the pope and Lewis, king of Hungary, giving them an account of the fact, and assuring them of her innocence. As the city of Naples, and the whole nation, expressed the utmost abhorrence and detestation of the murder, the count of Novello was appointed; with the consent of the whole nobles, to make a strict enquiry after the murderers, with full power to punish the guilty as he should think proper. The count executed his commission with great zeal, and condemned and put to death several murderers. The queen, in the mean time, in the month of December, was delivered of a son, who was named Carobert, after his grandfather, and soon after created duke of Calabria ^s.

A.D. 1346.

The murderers excommunicated by the pope.

The pope, upon hearing of the murder, expressed great resentment and grief. He blamed himself in the public confistory, for having delayed the bull for the king's coronation; and, on the 1st of February, he excommunicated and deprived of all benefices, both spiritual and temporal, all those who had aided and assisted in the murder, or who had been in the least privy to it, confirming the commission of the count of Novello to judge and punish the murderers ^t. The kingdom was now in the utmost confusion, divided into two parties, one of which still adhered to the queen, who was in possession of the castle of Naples, and the treasure of the late king. The duke of Durazzo, the greatest part of the barons, and the city of Naples, composed the other party. Both factions levied troops against each other, and equally dreaded the arrival of the king of Hungary, who was preparing an army to revenge his brother's death. Besides, the roads were filled with banditti, who, in defiance of the government, robbed and plundered the inhabitants, and many of the murderers had retired to their castles, and openly stood upon their defence ^u.

The king of Hungary makes preparations to invade Naples.

Lewis of Hungary not only resolved to punish the murderers of his brother, but likewise intended to take possession of Naples, in right of his grand-father Charles Martel. He therefore entered into an alliance with the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, his son, the marquis of Brandenburg, the duke of Austria, and many other German nobles, and sent ambassadors to the pope, demanding the investiture of Sicily. As he had concluded an alliance with the emperor, who had been deposed several years before by the popes,

^s Villani.

^t Rainald. ad ann. 1346. §. 47.

^u Giannone.

Clement

Clement refused to grant an audience to his ambassadors. Lewis, nevertheless, did not abandon his enterprize, but sent ambassadors to Sicily, to treat with the regent of the island, who having then recovered Melazzo, immediately sent thirty gallies into the Adriatic to his assistance. He proposed an alliance betwixt his nephew, the young king, and the king of Hungary's sister, and to assist him with forty armed gallies upon his arrival in Apulia^u.

Lewis in the mean time, having sent emissaries into Apulia with large sums of money, prevailed on the city of Aquila to declare for him; and his friends in that part of the kingdom raising about one thousand horse, made incursions in the neighbourhood. They besieged Sulmo, Tieti, Penna, Popoli, Lanciano, and Guardia; and several castles revolted from Jane. Upon the news of this revolt, the duke of Durazzo, in the beginning of August, marched to the relief of Sulmo, with two thousand five hundred horse and a large body of foot; and, having raised the siege, invested the city of Aquila, whither the rebels had retired; but considerable reinforcements arriving from Hungary, the loyal barons, after they had completed their service of three months, raised the siege and returned home.

Queen Jane, in the mean time, under pretence of securing the kingdom against the Hungarian invasion, married Lewis, the second son of the prince of Tarento, without waiting for the pope's dispensation. By this match, however, she did not augment the number of her friends, but rather increased the discontent among her subjects; for as her husband was her full cousin, the marriage was looked upon as incestuous, and she was besides accused of having had a criminal intimacy with him during the life of Andrew^w. The Hungarians, on these accounts, met with but a faint and spiritless opposition. They reduced all Abruzzo, passed over the mountains into Terra di Lavoro, and took Sarno, Venafri, Tiano, and St. Germano. The queen, in the mean time, wrote to the Florentines for assistance; and the prince of Tarento, now duke of Calabria, assembled a considerable army at Capua, which, if it had continued long united, would have been able to frustrate the attempts of the Hungarians; but the zeal of the barons appeared very languid, and many of them had a private correspondence with the king of Hungary.

Lewis, encouraged by the success of his troops in Abruzzo, left Hungary with a small army, and in the end of No-

A.D. 1347.

Several cities in Abruzzo declare for him.

Jane marries Lewis of Tarento.

^u Villani.

^w Brantome, ut supra. Mezeray Abrege Chron. tom. iii. p. 159.

A.D. 1348.

*The king of
Hungary
arrives in
Italy.**Jane flies to
Provence.**Naples con-
quered by
the king of
Hungary.*

ember arrived in Italy. About Christmas he was met on the confines of the kingdom by the pope's legate, who counselled him, as from himself, not to take possession of Apulia without the consent of the pope, which advice the king treated with great contempt. Being joined by a great many barons of the kingdom, who took the oath of allegiance to him, he advanced, on the 11th of February, to Benevento; where he was joined by many other barons, and received an ambassy from the city of Naples. Queen Jane was greatly alarmed at this successful march of the king of Hungary. Seeing the whole country voluntarily submitting to him, she privately embarked, on the 15th of February, with a few attendants, on board of three gallees, and sailed to Provence, whither she was soon followed by her husband.

The king of Hungary, in the mean time, arrived at Aversa, where he was met by one thousand Neapolitan gentlemen. Several princes of the blood likewise visited him in that city, and took with them his nephew Carobert, then about two years of age. Lewis received them in a courteous manner; but a few days after he ordered the duke of Durazzo to be put to death, and thrown over the balcony, from whence his brother had been hanged. The other princes were also immediately apprehended, and sent prisoners to Hungary. Lewis having entered Naples with a black standard, on which his brother was represented as strangled, struck great terror into the inhabitants, who expected to be plundered by his army. Having taken up his residence in Castel Nuovo, he ordered the magistrates of the city to be changed, and the new officers who succeeded them to act by the direction of the bishop of Waradin: the same regulation he established in other cities; Naples being then afflicted with a most terrible plague, he left that city, and appointing Conrad Wolf, a German baron, his lieutenant. He embarked on the 24th of May, on board a light galley at Barletta, and landed in Slavonia, from whence he proceeded to Hungary*.

Queen Jane, mean while, was put under confinement by the barons of Provence, upon a report that she intended to exchange that country for another in France, the French king's eldest son being supposed to have come to Avignon to transact the affair with the pope. As the Provençals detested the French government, they threatened to revolt with the dauphin of Vienne; but the pope sending back prince John to France, they again set the queen at liberty.

* Villani.

Her husband hearing of her confinement, was afraid to land at Nice, but proceeded up the Rhone, to Avignon. A few weeks after Jane entered the city, where she was received with the greatest respect by the cardinals and the pope, who immediately granted her a dispensation for her marriage with her cousin, for which he was universally blamed. Her cause was tried in a public consistory, in the presence of the Hungarian ambassadors, when she defended herself with so much eloquence, that the pope, by an authentic act, declared not only that she was innocent, but that she could not even be suspected of having any knowledge of the murder^y. This sentence was supposed by many to be owing to the earnest desire the pope had to purchase Avignon, which the queen then sold to him, with all its territory, for eighty thousand florins^z. She employed the money in fitting out ten gallies, in order to return to Naples, whither she was invited by many of her barons, who, after the departure of the king of Hungary, abandoned his interest^a. The pope having honoured her husband with the title of king of Sicily, he and she embarked at Marseilles, and in the end of August, returned to Naples, where they were received with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy^b.

Jane declared innocent by the pope.

The regent of Sicily being carried off by a plague, the whole island was divided into two parties, the chiefs of which claimed each the guardianship of the king and kingdom. At the head of one party were the Palizzi, with the counts of Claramonte and Ventimiglia, supported by the cities of Messina, Syracuse, Melazzo, Cefalu, Palermo, Drapani, Mazzara, Sciacca, Gergenti, Taormina, and many others. The cities of Catanea, Giati, La Licata, Cose, La Catona, and Capo Orlando, with many other towns and castles, declared for the opposite party, which was headed by Blasco d'Alagona, and supported by the Catalans. The two parties immediately commenced hostilities against each other with the most bitter animosity. They plundered and burnt each other's territories without intermission. The peasants neglected to cultivate their farms, and retired to the mountains; so that the country quickly became desolate, and great numbers of people, to avoid perishing by famine, abandoned the island, and took refuge in Calabria and Sardinia^c.

A civil dissension in Sicily.

^y Maimbourg Hist. du grand Schisme d'Occident. lib. ii. p. 150.
^z 52. ^a Vide Bayle, ut supra. ^b Spond. Annal. Giannone.
^c Matteo Villani. apud Murator. tom. xiv. col. 25.
 & 26. ^c Surit. Indic. lib. iii. Fazel. dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. 5.

During

*Hostilities
betwixt the
Hunga-
rians and
loyalists.*

A.D. 1349.

During these dissensions in Sicily, the king of Naples had prevailed on Werner, a German duke, to declare for him. This Werner had assisted the king of Hungary with three thousand horse, but was discharged by him on account of some irregularities. Instead of returning to Germany he entered with his troops into Campania, and supported himself by raising contributions. He willingly hearkened to the proposals of the king of Naples, who condescended so far as to receive the honour of knighthood from him, which was at the same time likewise conferred on eighty other gentlemen. The king also bestowed titles and honours on many barons of the kingdom, two of whom were created dukes, which title had hitherto been solely appropriated to princes of the royal family^d. Having recovered three of the castles of Naples, he immediately marched against those towns and barons that held for the Hungarians; but met with much more opposition than he expected from Conrad Wolf, who had been left lieutenant by Lewis of Hungary.

A.D. 1350.

While each party was endeavouring to harass and distress the other, many cities and provinces suffered all the calamities of war. The king's affairs, however, seeming to decline, Werner allowed himself to be surprised in Corneto, and again entered into the service of the Hungarians. Soon after the loyalists suffered a considerable defeat, while Conrad Wolf approached with his troops to Naples, and raised a contribution from the Neapolitans of twenty thousand florins. As the pope had appointed a general jubilee to be celebrated the following year in Rome, his legate prevailed on both parties to agree to a truce, which was concluded in the month of January, when the Hungarians received a hundred and twenty thousand florins of gold upon delivering Capua, Averfa, and all other places they held in Terra di Lavoro and Principata, into the hands of the legate^e. The Germans then left the kingdom, and returned some of them to Lombardy and others to Germany, having enriched themselves with the plunder of the churches.

*The king of
Hungary
returns to
Naples.*

Lewis of Hungary, a few months after, passing the Adriatic with a considerable reinforcement, hostilities were again renewed; and, about the end of September, almost all Terra di Lavoro was reduced by the Hungarians. However, as they suffered greatly at the siege of Averfa, which continued four months, Lewis was prevailed upon to agree to a cessation of arms till April, on the following conditions. That the cause of queen Jane should be again tried by the

^d Villani, ut supra. Giannone.
& 49.

^e Villani, lib. i. cap. 48

apostolic see with greater accuracy; that if she should be found guilty of the murder of her husband, she should lose all right to the kingdom of Naples, which should be conferred on the king of Hungary; but if she should be declared innocent, the king of Hungary should evacuate all the places he held in Naples, on condition of receiving three hundred thousand florins of gold^f. Lewis, upon the conclusion of this treaty, went to the jubilee at Rome, and from thence returned to Hungary. Mean while his ambassadors, with those of queen Jane, had repaired to the pope's court at Avignon, to be present at the trial. The cardinals seemed unwilling to enter upon a re-examination, as it would be very difficult to prove the innocence of the queen; but as her character suffered greatly by the suspicion of the crime, they at last accepted of her excuse, namely, that she was under the power of witchcraft or fascination, which hindered her from loving her husband, from whence others were encouraged to conspire against his life. The truth of this allegation being proved by several witnesses, she was declared innocent of all actions subsequent to that fascination^g. The king of Hungary declaring himself satisfied with this determination, generously refused to accept of the three hundred thousand florins for the expences of the war, according to the stipulation, and set at liberty the five princes of the blood, whom he had detained prisoners in the castle of Wissegrad. The young prince Carobert had died soon after his arrival in Hungary.

On the feast of Whitsuntide, Lewis and his queen, by the permission of the pope, were solemnly consecrated and crowned in the city of Naples^h. Conrad Wolf, however, still refused to deliver up Nocera; but having assembled seven hundred horse, fortified the city, and raised the imperial standard, as though he had a correspondence with Charles IV. who was then expected in Italy. Lewis being afraid of new troubles, condescended to treat with him, and, by paying him thirty thousand florins, prevailed on him to deliver the city, and depart the kingdom. Soon after the king, by means of his vicar Malatesta, surprised Averfa, and obliged friar Moriale to deliver up the castle and all his treasure.

The two factions in Sicily still continued their hostilities against each other; but Matthew Palizzi having got possession of the palace, kept the young king as his prisoner,

A.D. 1351.

Jane declared innocent.

A.D. 1352.

She concludes a peace with the king of Hungary.

A.D. 1353

Sicily still ravaged by two opposite factions.

^f Idem apud Murator. tom. xiv. col. 89. lib. xxxiii.

^h Villani, Summont. ut supra. Hung. lib. iii. Bonfin. dec. ii. lib. x.

^g Summonte, Thuroz. Chron.

and assumed the administration. He exercised his office with so much rapacity, that he even alienated many of his own friends, and drew upon himself the hatred of the Messinians, who, in the course of the following year, assassinated him, with his wife and children, in the palace. The inhabitants of Sciacca likewise murdered the officers sent by Palizzi to raise the oppressive subsidies, on which account many of that party fled to Catanea, and joined the Catalans; and the young king, finding their party superior, went and put himself under their protection. The miserable inhabitants, in the mean time, were so distressed by famine, that this year upwards of ten thousand families abandoned the island¹. The chief of the Italian party was now the count of Claramonte, who had been instrumental in raising the tumult of the Messinians against Palizzi. To support his party, and protect himself from the resentment of the young king and the Catalans, he entered into a correspondence with the king of Naples, and offered to deliver to him all that part of the island which was under his obedience. The Sicilians, who were starving, assented to this proposal. Lewis, accordingly, in the month of April, embarked a hundred horse and four hundred foot on board of six galleys, and sent them, with about thirty-five other vessels, loaded with provisions, to Sicily. The Neapolitan troops were immediately put in possession of Melazzo and Palermo, and all the other cities, towns, and castles, of the Italian faction, to the number of a hundred and twelve, declared for the king of Naples, who, however, was so destitute both of men and money, as not to be able to send a second embarkation to the island. But so weak was the opposite party of the Catalans, that, for a considerable time, no hostilities were committed on either side. The city of Messina refused to acknowledge the king of Naples; and, a few months after, the Messinian galleys took seventeen Neapolitan vessels, that were sailing with provisions for Palermo.

A.D. 1355. The kingdom of Naples, in the mean time, was disturbed by the rebellion of the duke of Durazzo and the count Palatine, who, believing themselves slighted by the king, had recourse to arms. In the beginning of the following year an army of freebooters, consisting of six thousand men, which had been at first raised by the friar Moriale, but was now commanded by the count di Lando, entered the kingdom by Abruzzo, and took possession of Pescara, Villa Franca, and San Fabiano. They alleged, as the reason of this invasion,

¹ Villani, lib. iii. cap. 97.

AD. 1354.

*The Italian
party submit to the
king of
Naples.*

that the king had refused to pay them forty thousand florins, which he had promised. Advancing towards Foggia they encamped in that neighbourhood, and ravaged the country, while the king, instead of opposing them, spent his time in dancing with the ladies of his court^k.

While the grand company of Lando was thus ravaging Naples, Lewis of Sicily assembled some troops at Catanea, and reduced several towns of the Italian party. Encouraged by this success, he armed six galleys, and made an attempt upon Palermo both by sea and land; but finding it impossible to recover the city, he plundered the villages in its neighbourhood, and returned to Cantanea, where he died, in the seventeenth year of his age. As his brother John died about the same time, his younger brother Frederic, then only about thirteen years of age, was declared his successor, his sister Euphemia being appointed regent^l. About two months before the death of the king of Sicily, Lewis of Naples entered into a treaty with the grand company, and promised them a hundred and five thousand florins of gold, thirty-five thousand to be paid immediately, and the other seventy thousand at two payments, on condition they would leave the kingdom. Upon receiving the thirty-five thousand they retired from Naples to Apulia; but the king not paying the remaining sum so soon as they expected, in the month of February they took possession of the city of Venosa, and plundered the inhabitants. The citizens of Naples, in the mean time, thinking themselves oppressed by the taxes which were laid upon them to pay the grand company, had recourse to arms. Lewis with great difficulty quelled the tumult, by taking off the tax upon salt, and a few months after he prevailed with the grand company to quit his dominions.

Lewis of Sicily is succeeded by his brother Frederic.

A.D. 1356.

About the same time Nicolas di Cefaro, one of the exiles from Messina, being allowed to return to the city privately, introduced two hundred horse and four hundred foot from Melazzo, by whose assistance he expelled those families that favoured the Catalans, and usurped the government of the city. Nicholas, however, invited young Frederic to come to Messina, where the ceremony of his coronation might be performed; but his negotiation with him not taking effect, he entered into a treaty with the king of Naples, who immediately proceeded with his queen to Calabria, and continued in Reggio till the agreement should be concluded. Nicholas having at length made himself

^k Villani, lib. iv. & v.
ii. lib. ix.

^l Idem. lib. v. cap. 87. Fazel. dec.

A. D. 1357.

*The king of
Naples is
received
into Messina.*

master of the castles of San Salvatore, which commanded the harbour, and Mattagrifone, which overlooked the city, introduced the Neapolitan gallies, with fifty horse and three hundred foot. On the 24th of December, the king and queen arrived at Messina, where they were welcomed with the greatest demonstrations of joy, lodged in the royal palace, and next day received the homage and allegiance of the citizens^m.

While Lewis continued in Messina, Simon, count of Claramonte, came to wait upon him, and was received with great respect, on account of the important services he had performed. Simon, as a reward of his services, demanded in marriage Blanch, the sister of Frederic, who was then a prisoner; but, lest such a match might give him a pretence for claiming Sicily, Lewis declined satisfying him, and soon after proposed to give him the daughter of the duke of Durazzo. Simon in the mean time died, after six days illness; and his death being supposed to be owing to poison, his relations left Messina in great discontentⁿ.

*Besieges
Catanea
without
success.*

Lewis endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the Sicilians, by promising to continue with his court six years in the island, on condition they would assist him in reducing Catanea. The barons accordingly assembled fifteen hundred horse and a large body of foot, and, in the month of May, invested Catanea, while four armed gallies and two other vessels blocked up the harbour. Two Catalan gallies in the mean time arriving at Saragossa, their commanders fitted out two vessels they found in that port, chiefly with drummers and trumpeters, and surprised those before Catanea, two of which they made themselves masters of, a circumstance which struck the besiegers with such a panic, that next morning they raised the siege, and abandoned their camp. They were attacked on their march by the garrison of the city, who killed many of them, and took a great number of prisoners. The kingdom of Naples, in the mean time, was harrassed, not only by large bodies of robbers and banditti, but also by the troops of the duke of Durazzo, the count Palatine, and the prince of Tarento, the king's elder brother, who openly contemned his authority, and ravaged the richest provinces of the kingdom to maintain their followers. Lewis left three hundred horse in Messina, and, in the month of September, returned to Naples. Soon after his return the prince of Tarento surprised the count Palatine, and ordered him to be hanged.

*Is obliged
to return
to Naples.*

^m Villani, ut supra. Surit. lib. iii. Marian. lib. xvii.
ⁿ Villani, lib. vii. cap. 54.

Many of the count's followers, upon his death, dispersing, the duke of Durazzo desired a reconciliation with the king. This was effected in the following April, when all foreign soldiers were ordered to quit the kingdom.

A few months after the Catalans in Sicily attacked and recovered some places held by the Neapolitans. The Messinians were likewise tempted to revolt by one of the family of the Claramonte; but Lewis kept them in obedience by promising to return quickly to Sicily. He was, however, prevented from going to their assistance, by the troubles and confusions in the kingdoms of Naples, while they continued to be harassed by the Catalan faction, which received some reinforcements from Arragon. The counsellors of Frederic, in hopes of procuring him a powerful auxiliary, concluded an alliance betwixt him and a daughter of the king of Arragon; who, accordingly, arrived at Catanea, in the end of the following year, with fourteen gallies: but after the celebration of the nuptials, instead of assisting his son-in-law, he returned with his fleet to Spain. Frederic, however, recovered several places from the Neapolitans, who were obliged soon after to evacuate almost the whole island, as they could get no assistance from Lewis, who was wholly engaged in pursuing his pleasures. Lewis, at last, finding his constitution broke, turned very penitent, and made devout pilgrimages to the relics of the apostles at Melphis, Benevento, and Salerno, and, upon his return to Naples, died on the 26th of May, in the forty-second year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. The pope, upon being informed of the death of Lewis, immediately sent William Grimoaldi as his legate to Naples, with a subsidy to the queen. The legate, however, was immediately recalled, having been elected pope upon the death of Innocent, when he took the name of Urban V.

The new pope, soon after his election, proposed the duke of Tours, the French king's son, as a third husband for queen Jane: but, by the advice of her nobles, she preferred James, the infant of Majorca, who had then escaped from the castle of Barcelona, where he had for many years been kept in close confinement. James, who had long suffered the miseries of a prison, willingly accepted the offer of a crown; and arriving at Naples, the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence, when the queen conferred upon him the title of duke of Calabria. This marriage, however, proved unfortunate to the kingdom of Naples; for James, about three months after, went to Spain to as-

A.D. 1359.

A.D. 1360.

Frederic marries the daughter of the king of Arragon.

A.D. 1362.

Lewis dies.

A.D. 1363.

Jane marries James of Majorca.

A.D. 1364.

*A peace
concluded
betwixt
Jane and
Frederic
of Sicily.*

sist his brother against the king of Arragon, in which war he was taken prisoner, but afterwards ransomed by the queen for sixty thousand florins. He died about eleven years after, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the queen, who was also accused of having hastened the death of her former husband Lewis^p. About the same time Jane concluded a peace with Frederic of Sicily, on these conditions: that he should take the title of king of Trinacria, and, as his queen was dead, marry Antonia del Balzo, the duke of Andria's daughter, by the sister of king Lewis; that he should hold his kingdom of the queen of Naples, and pay to her a yearly acknowledgement of three thousand ounces of gold, promising likewise to assist her, when attacked, with one hundred spearmen, and ten armed galleys. On the other hand, the Neapolitans were to evacuate all the cities, towns, and castles, they held in Sicily^q. These conditions, however, were never fulfilled. The kings of Sicily having never assumed the title of kings of Trinacria, nor ever paid the three thousand ounces of gold, according to the stipulation.

A.D. 1368.

*Jane visits
the pope at
Rome.*

Jane a few weeks after went to visit pope Urban, who had at length returned with his court to Rome. She was received with great respect by the cardinals, who came out of the city to meet her, and the pope waited for her at the steps of St. Peter's, and the following Sunday presented her with a consecrated rose. On the feast of Easter he likewise made her a present of a sword, and a hat adorned with pearls^r. Soon after her return to Naples, Margaret, the daughter of her late sister Mary, married Charles of Durazzo, which alliance was very disagreeable to the queen, who dreaded the ambition of Charles^s. About the same time the tranquillity of her kingdom was disturbed by Ambrosio Visconti, a bastard son of the lord of Milan, who invaded Abruzzo with two thousand horse and a large body of infantry^t. There he seized some castles, and advancing into Apulia, ravaged the whole province for some time without opposition: but being surpris'd by Malatacca, whom the queen sent against him, his troops were defeated, and he himself was taken prisoner.

A.D. 1371.

*The duke of
Andria re-
volts.*

In a little time, the kingdom was again embroiled by a dispute betwixt the duke of Andria and the family of San-

^p Spond. Annal. an. 1363. Brantome Dames Illust. p. 348. Annal. Bonincontrii, apud Murator. tom. 21. col. 12. ^q Giannone. Spond. Annal. ad an. 1365. ^r Bzov an. 1368. sect. 4. Baluz. in Vit. Pap. Aven. ^s Giornali Napolitani apud Murator. tom. xxi. fol. 1035. ^t Annal. Bonincontrii ut supra.

feverino, about the property of the city of Matera. The difference was referred to the arbitration of the queen, who decided in favour of the count of Sanseverino. The duke, however, thinking himself injured, had recourse to arms, being joined by one Mazziotto, who, from a common soldier, had made himself a captain of banditti, he quickly became very formidable, and over-run Apulia, Capitanata, Contade de Molise, and the vale of Benevento. The queen having summoned him to appear, upon his refusal declared him a rebel; and the year after sent an army of twelve thousand horse and foot against him, under the command of Malatacca, who, on the 23d of September, made himself master of Teano, after a long siege. The duke some time before had escaped from the city, and gone to Lombardy, where he raised six thousand horse, and a great body of infantry, and in the beginning of the following year entered Terra di Lavoro, at the head of fifteen thousand men. However, after he had advanced as far as Apulia, he was prevailed upon by the persuasions of his uncle to desist; leaving his own camp in the night time, he went to the pope, who had returned to Avignon, with the intention of residing there till his peace should be made with the queen. The foreign troops, which he had deserted, immediately began to plunder the country, but, upon receiving ten thousand florins from the queen, they evacuated the kingdom.

A.D. 1374.

*He flies to
Avignon.*

During these transactions the peace with Frederic of Sicily had been again renewed, upon the same conditions as formerly*; when Gregory XI. sent a legate into Sicily to take off the excommunication and interdict from the island, and to celebrate the marriage betwixt Frederic and Antonia del Balzo, who were afterwards solemnly crowned at Palermo.

Soon after the quieting of the rebellion of the duke of Andria, the queen was informed of the death of her third husband, James of Majorca, of the house of Arragon. Though she was now forty-six years of age, she resolved to take a fourth husband; either from the hopes of having heirs of her own body, or jealousy of the ambition of Charles of Durazzo, who, in the right of his duchess Margaret, was heir apparent to the crown, and was then commanding the army of his kinsman, the king of Hungary, against the Venetians. Jane chose for her fourth husband Otho, of the house of Brunswic, who was then in Lombardy, and had served in

*Jane mar-
ries Otho of
Brunswic.*

* Surit. Indic. Fazel.

† Spond. Annal. an. 1372.

A.D. 1375. the papal army against the Visconti of Milan (R). Four gallees were accordingly fitted out, on board of which forty Neapolitan counts and gentlemen embarked, to conduct

A.D. 1376. Otho to Naples. They returned the following year, on the 25th of March, when Otho was conducted under a canopy to Castello Nuovo, where the marriage was celebrated with great rejoicing^z. Jane, that she might not seem to deprive the duke of Durazzo of his right, would not confer the title of duke of Calabria on her husband, but created him duke of Tarento, and made him a present of that large principality which had been lately forfeited by the duke of Andria. Charles, however, from this time conceived a great hatred against the queen; and her niece, the duchess Margaret, who had returned from Hungary, and a few weeks before was delivered of a son named Ladislaus, openly expressed her displeasure^a.

Otho arrives at Naples.

Otho, a few months after his marriage, returned with four gallees, and an immense sum of money, to Lombardy, to visit his relations, who resided at Asti. After a few weeks he came back to Naples, and brought with him his brother Balthasar, who married the daughter and heiress of the count of Fondi. The kingdom of Naples at this time enjoyed greater tranquility than for many years before. The island of Sicily, in the mean time, was again exposed to the confusions and disorders attendant on a minority, by the death of Frederick II. which happened the following year, in the month of July. He died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign, and left his only daughter, Mary, heiress of his crown^b.

The tranquillity of Naples was soon disturbed by an accident which likewise affected all other Christian states. Pope Gregory dying in the end of March, the Romans, sensible of the great loss they had sustained by the residence of the popes

^z Giornali, ut supra.

^a Giannone, Giornali, ut supra.

^b Surit. Indic. lib. iii. Spond. Annal. an. 1377.

(R) Otho was a descendant of the imperial house of Saxony. In his youth he had taken part with John, king of Bohemia, against the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and for two campaigns had a chief command in his army in Lombardy; where he signalized himself by his va-

lour. He fought at the battle of Cressy, against Edward III. of England, and assisted queen Jane against Lewis of Hungary. He was greatly esteemed for his military accomplishments, was extremely handsome, and much beloved for his mildness, humanity, and other virtues (1).

at Avignon, surrounded the conclave in a tumultuous manner, and threatened to put the cardinals to death, if they did not elect an Italian pope. The members of the conclave, in great terror, nominated one Prignano, a Neapolitan, then archbishop of Bari, who had some employment about the pope's court, and was noted for his humility and modesty. The cardinals expected that he would acknowledge his election to be void, and voluntarily resign; but they were greatly deceived, for he took the name of Urban VI. obliged them to consecrate him, and behaved with great moroseness and austerity. The French cardinals resolved to take the first opportunity of abandoning him, and accordingly retired to Anagni, where they published a sentence against him, as an apostate and antichrist.

A.D. 1378.

The cardinals are compelled by the Romans to elect Urban VI.

Queen Jane, being informed of his election, immediately sent Nicolas Spinello, count of Gioja, chancellor of the kingdom, to congratulate him, and to do him homage. Urban treated his countryman with great rudeness and ill manners. The queen, nevertheless, upon the open revolt of the cardinals, not only sent money and provisions to him, but also ordered a body of her troops to attend him as a guard. Her husband Otho likewise waited upon him at Rome, to procure the investiture of the kingdom^b: but though Urban had formerly received many favours from him, when Otho commanded in Lombardy, yet he now treated him with the greatest insolence; for when he presented him at dinner with the cup, kneeling, he suffered him to continue so long in that humble posture, that the cardinals were ashamed, and said to him, "Holy father, 'tis time for you to drink c." Urban is accused by Summontius and others of having at the same time entered into a private negotiation with the duke of Durazzo, for conferring upon him the kingdom of Naples, in hopes of procuring from him large settlements for his two nephews, whom he was very ambitious of promoting. He was prompted to this secret negotiation by the duke of Andria, who then resided in Rome, in a very low condition.

who is favoured by the queen.

Jane being informed of his intrigues, immediately abandoned him, and countenanced the schismatic cardinals, who assembling at Fondi under her protection, on the 21st of September chose Clement VII. who, though he was obliged the following summer to leave Italy, and retire to Avignon, was acknowledged as true pope, not only by her,

A.D. 1379.

An Antipope elected, who resides at Avignon.

^b Baluz. in Not ad Vit. P. Aven. tom. 2. p. 1124. Giornal. Napol. ut supra.

^c Theod. Niem. ut supra.

*Urban pro-
poses to de-
throne
queen Jane.*

but also by France, Spain, Scotland, Cyprus, and Savoy^e. Urban was now prompted by revenge to dethrone the queen. He therefore sent the duke of Andria to Charles of Durazzo, who was then in Friuli, inviting him to come and receive the investiture of Naples at Rome; and to strengthen his interest in the kingdom, he created several Neapolitan cardinals, upon whom he conferred the principal benefices in Naples. He likewise deposed the archbishop of Naples, for adhering to the antipope, and conferred that see on one Bozuto, a gentleman of great authority in the city, whose adherents raised a furious tumult, which obliged Clement to sail for France. Urban warmly opposed the pretensions of the king of Arragon to Sicily, designing to have concluded a marriage betwixt his nephew, and Mary, heiress of the island, who about the same time was taken, during the night, out of the castle of Catanea, and carried on board a galley to Catalonia^f.

The kingdom of Naples in the mean time suffered severely by a destructive plague, while the provinces were ravaged by great troops of banditti. The queen likewise was greatly alarmed at the increasing report of the duke's preparations, and endeavoured to seize the new archbishop Bozuto, one of his greatest partisans; but failing in her attempt to apprehend him, she ordered all his estates to be plundered, and destroyed his houses in Naples. Soon after, however, she imprudently allowed the duchess Margaret, with her daughter and infant son, to retire to Rome. Being doubtful of the fidelity of the Neapolitans, she retired into the castel del Ovo, ordering all her subjects to abandon the villages, and betake themselves to the fortified towns, while her husband Otho with the greatest diligence assembled an army to defend the frontiers of the kingdom.

A.D. 1380.

*He excom-
municates
and deposes
her.*

Urban in the mean time having prevailed on Lewis of Hungary to give assistance to Charles, in the beginning of the following year published a sentence of excommunication and deposition against queen Jane. The queen, to protect herself from the designs of the pope, and in resentment for the signal ingratitude of the duke of Durazzo, soon after adopted Lewis duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V. of France, for her son and heir, and conferred upon him the title of duke of Calabria. Clement VII. the antipope, a few weeks after confirmed the adoption of Lewis at Avignon^g. The death of the king of France prevented Lewis

^e See the History of the Popes. ^f Theod. Niem. ut supra.
Fragment. Siculæ Hist. apud Murator. tom. xxiv. col. 1089.
^g Spend. Annal. an. 1380. Rainald. eod. an.

from proceeding directly to Naples, as he was appointed regent during the minority of his nephew Charles VI.

The duke of Durazzo in the mean time entered Italy, at the head of an Hungarian army. In his march to Rome he had ravaged and plundered many towns and villages, and levied heavy contributions upon Florence and other cities.

In the beginning of the following year he arrived at Rome, having considerably increased his army by the junction of many Italians and Neapolitans. Urban received him with great honour and distinction. As he was in great want of money, he stripped all the churches and monasteries of Rome of their plate, crosses, and images, which he either melted down or sold, to supply the expences of the expedition. He refused, however, to give him the investiture of the kingdom, unless he would confer upon his nephew, Buttillo Prignano, the duchies of Capua and Amalfi, and many other valuable baronies in the kingdom^b. Charles, much against his inclination, having granted the writ of investiture of these lands to Prignano, on the 1st of June was solemnly crowned king of Sicily and Jerusalem, under the same conditions as Charles I. of Anjou had stipulated with Clement IV. Urban then appointed the cardinal di Sangro to attend the king as his legate, and hired a large body of troops, commanded by Alberico Barbiano, whom he ordered to join Charles.

A.D. 1381.

Charles of Durazzo arrives at Rome.

Receives the crown of Naples from Urban.

The king immediately proceeded to Naples, and his army, being very numerous, entered the kingdom without opposition. As the queen, by the adoption of the duke of Anjou, had increased the disaffection of her subjects, who inclined rather to submit to their countryman the duke of Durazzo than to a foreigner, prince Otho was followed but by few barons, and therefore prudently declined engaging the enemy, but retired before them to Naples. Charles followed the prince, and on the 16th of July encamped on the opposite side of the city. Three days after, some of his cavalry, by wading into the sea, surprised one of the gates, took possession of the market-place, and admitted his army into the city, which was then in the utmost confusion; one party declaring for him, another for the queen, and a third for pope Urban. Charles immediately besieged the queen in Castello Nuovo, and in a few weeks reduced the garrison to such distress, that the queen promised to capitulate if she was not relieved within four days. Her husband, accordingly, on the fourth day, attacked the intrenchments of Charles with great bravery; but not being

^a Theod. Niem.

*Defeats
Otho of
Brunswick.*

*Takes pos-
session of the
kingdom.*

A.D. 1382.

*Orders
queen Jane
to be put to
death.*

seconded by his troops, he was surrounded by the enemy, and taken prisoner; a circumstance which occasioned the total rout of his army. The queen next day surrendered to Charles, and four days after had the mortification to see ten Provençal galleys arrive at Naples, with succours to her relief. Upon the news of the queen's imprisonment, the whole kingdom submitted to Charles, excepting the counties of Fondi, Caserta, and Ariano, which never acknowledged his authority. In the end of the year queen Margaret returned with her two children to Naples, when she was crowned with great solemnity by the pope's legate.

Charles having thus taken possession of the kingdom, refused to put Prignano in possession of the duchy of Capua; a refusal which greatly irritated the pope. He likewise alienated the family of the Sanseverini, by restoring the duke of Andria to the principality of Tarento, and allowing the duke's son to marry his relation Agnes of Durazzo, who took the title of empress of Constantinople. About the same time the counts of Montuoro, Lecce, and Conversano, openly revolted; and news arrived that the count of Anjou, regent of France, was making great preparations to invade the kingdom. Charles, to secure his conquest, by the advice of the king of Hungary, caused queen Jane to be put to death. On the 22d of May she was accordingly strangled, according to Theodoric Niem; but others affirm, she was smothered with a bolster in the castle Nuovo, from whence her body was brought to Naples, where it lay unburied for seven days, exposed to the view of the peopleⁱ. Thus died Jane, in the fifty-sixth year of her age, and the thirty-ninth of her reign. Notwithstanding what several authors, and some of them her contemporaries, have said, concerning her lewdness and abandoned life, other writers, likewise her contemporaries, have been very full and warm in her praise. She is greatly extolled, particularly by the two brothers, Baldo and Angelo da Perugia, famous lawyers of those times, and by Boccacio, who enumerates her many excellencies, both of mind and body^k.

ⁱ Theod. Niem. Giornal. ut supra. Annal. Bonincontr. Giannone.

^k Boccacio, Summont. Costanzo, Spond. Annal. Giannone.

S E C T. VI.

The History continued, till Alphonsus, King of Arragon, acquires the Crown of Naples.

A Few weeks after the queen's death, twenty-two Provençal galleys arrived before Naples, and attacked the suburbs; but, being repulsed by the inhabitants, they retired to the island of Ischia, of which they took possession. At the same time, the duke of Anjou having been crowned king of Naples at Avignon, by pope Clement, received the homage of the Provençals as their sovereign, and was preparing to enter Italy with an army of thirty thousand horse. Charles being sensible that he had irritated the pope, and alienated a great many barons, took all precautions for his security. He imprisoned some barons whom he suspected, put others to death, and sent a body of troops to Tuscany, to oppose the march of the French. Lewis of Anjou, however, having forced his way through Italy, entered Abruzzo about the end of July, at the head of forty thousand men. About the beginning of November he advanced as far as Ariano; but as the season was severe, and his army in great want of provisions, he separated his troops into winter-quarters. Charles in the mean time fortified those cities he judged most exposed; and having assembled an army of about fourteen thousand men, used his utmost diligence in cutting off the French convoys. As he avoided a decisive engagement, the whole following campaign was spent without any important action; and the French having consumed the provisions in Terra di Lavoro, in the beginning of autumn marched through Apulia into Tarento.

The duke of Anjou enters Naples with a formidable army.

A.D. 1383.

While Charles harrassed the French in this principality, he was informed that pope Urban had left Rome, with intention of coming to Naples, to urge the promise Charles had made in favour of his nephew Butillo. The king, being apprehensive that the discontented pope would excite new disorders in his kingdom, immediately left his army, and arrived at Aversa, conducting his holiness with great respect into the city. Next day, however, in the evening, he obliged him to come to the castle, and detained him a prisoner five days. Upon his arrival at Naples, he was likewise forced to take up his residence in the castle Nuovo; but soon after Charles, by the intercession of the cardinals, set him at liberty, having entered into

Urban leaves Rome and goes to Naples;

where he is imprisoned.

new stipulations with him, and again promised the duchy of Capua to his nephew¹. Urban then went to the archbishop's palace, and disposed of two of his nieces in marriage to two Neapolitan counts. Butillo Prignano in the mean time, thinking himself protected by the authority of his uncle, broke into a nunnery, and ravished one of the most beautiful and noble of the nuns. In consequence of this outrage, which occasioned a great uproar in Naples, Prignano was capitally condemned. He was, however, pardoned, at the intercession of the pope, who excused him upon account of his youth; though Theodoric Niem, then in Naples, remarks, that he was upwards of forty years of age. Urban, in return, gratified the king, by publishing a crusade against the duke of Anjou, on the 1st of January, and appointing him general of the crusards, and standard-bearer of the church. About three months after Charles marched to Barletta, with sixteen thousand horse, and a large body of infantry; and having gained some advantages over the French, by following the advice of Otho of Brunswic, he set that unfortunate prince at liberty: but he was prevented from prosecuting the war by an epidemical sickness, which seized himself, and carried off a great part of his army.

A.D. 1384.

The duke of Anjou dies at Biseglio.

The duke of Anjou in the mean time had fixed his court at Bari, and appointed justiciaries and officers in the provinces he had subjected; but having over-fatigued himself, in preventing his men from plundering Biseglio, which had surrendered to him, he was seized with an illness, of which he died on the 10th of October, leaving behind him two sons, Lewis and Charles^m. His troops immediately dispersed, and many of them returned, begging, to France. Several barons of the kingdom, nevertheless, still continued in arms, and refused to acknowledge king Charles; who, thinking the war concluded by the death of his rival, returned in triumph to Naples. Immediately after his return the dissensions were again revived betwixt him and

A.D. 1385.

King Charles besieges the pope in Nocera.

the pope, who, during his absence in the army, had retired to Nocera, then in the possession of Prignano. Charles, being apprehensive of the designs of the pope, who had even proceeded to excommunicate and depose him and his queen, in the following spring sent an army to besiege Nocera. The pope, after having been besieged several months, at last made his escape by the assistance of Roman-

¹ Theod. Niem. ut supra. Giornali Napol. Metrop. Krantzic. lib. x. cap. 17. Summont. ut supra. ^m Giornali. Bonincontr. Summont. ut supra.

dello and Sanseverino, two barons of the party of the late duke of Anjou. Though these two barons acknowledged Clement as true pope, yet, in hope of creating troubles to king Charles, they interested themselves in the safety of Urban, and conducted him to the sea-coast, where, in the month of July, he embarked for Genoa. The pope, out of gratitude, gave to Romandello the city of Benevento, and confirmed to him the county of Lecce, and the barony of Flumare ⁿ.

King Charles was not greatly displeased at the pope's escape from his dominions, as he was then impatient to pass over to Hungary, to take possession of that crown. Lewis of Hungary, who died a few years before, left only two young daughters, the eldest of whom, Mary, contracted to Sigismond, marquis of Brandenburg, was proclaimed, not queen, but king, as a testimony of respect for the memory of her father. Soon after, however, a strong party of malecontents invited king Charles, who was well known in Hungary, on account of his long residence in that country. Charles willingly accepted of the offer of the malecontents. Contrary to the persuasions of his queen, he, on the 4th of September, embarked, with a small retinue, on board of four galleys at Barletta, and in a few days arrived at Hungary. King Mary was quickly obliged to abdicate the throne, and on the last of December Charles was crowned king of Hungary with great solemnity. He however enjoyed his usurped dignity but a short time, for on the 6th of February his skull was cleft by one of the adherents of Mary, and a few days after he died of the wound, in the forty-first year of his age, and the fifth of his reign ^o.

During the absence of king Charles in Hungary, queen Margaret seized a Venetian ship, richly laden, that had put into the harbour of Naples in distress. The Venetians, by way of reprisal, took possession of Durazzo and the island of Corcyra; which places the Neapolitans never afterwards recovered ^p. The news of the king's death arrived at Naples in the midst of the rejoicings for his coronation. The queen caused her son Ladislaus, then about ten years of age, to be crowned, and sent a submissive embassy to the pope, intreating him to take the young king under his protection. Thomas Sanseverino in the mean time proclaimed Lewis II. duke of Anjou, who had receiv-

A.D. 1398.

He is crowned king of Hungary; but soon after murdered.

His son Ladislaus is proclaimed king.

ⁿ Giornali, ut supra.

^o Thuroz. Bonfin, de Reb. Hungar. Summont. Bonincontr. Giornali ut supra.

^p Giornali, Bonincontr. ut supra.

*He quits
Naples, and
retires to
Gaeta.*

ed the investiture of Naples from Clement at Avignon; and advanced with a large body of troops to the neighbourhood of Naples, to support the governor of one of the castles, who had declared for Lewis. Though the city still continued in obedience to Ladislaus, they refused to submit to the administration of the queen; and the seggi chose new magistrates, who were called the eight lords of good government, and assumed supreme authority. The city on this account was immediately filled with tumult and disorder; so that the queen finding her interest declining, fled with her son to Gaeta, and the two factions giving admittance at the same time to the two opposite armies, Thomas Sanseverino, who was now joined by Otho of Brunswic, and declared viceroy, repulsed the party of Ladislaus, and remained in possession of the city. The faction of Ladislaus was thus overpowered, chiefly by the slowness and inactivity of Urban, who with great difficulty could be prevailed upon to forgive the injuries he had received from the late king Charles.

A. D. 1387. Queen Margaret next year endeavoured to recover Naples; and in the month of July arrived before the harbour with ten vessels; but by the diligence of the viceroy, and Otho of Brunswic, her attempt was frustrated, though the Neapolitans were then in great want of provisions. They sent a galley to Avignon, intreating the assistance of Lewis and of Clement; and five galleys and a galliot arrived, with a supply of provisions and money, having on board lord Monjoy, the nephew of Clement, in the character of viceroy, and many other nobles and barons. Thomas Sanseverino, who expected to have been confirmed viceroy by the king, upon the arrival of Monjoy retired in disgust to his estate; and the new viceroy having affronted Otho of Brunswic, he likewise left Naples, and went to San Agatha de Goti. Monjoy endeavoured in vain to effect a reconciliation; for Otho, being in hopes of marrying the queen-dowager Margaret, soon after abandoned the Anjou faction, and declared for Ladislaus.

A. D. 1388. While Monjoy was employed in reducing the castles of Naples, Margaret soothed Otho with the hopes of marrying him, but in reality concluded a marriage for her son. Sicily at this time was governed by the chiefs of the Italian and Catalan factions, in the name of the absent princess Mary, who about ten years before had been carried to Catalonia. Artalis Alagona, the chief of the Catalans, resided at Catanea. Manfred di Claramonte, count of Mo-

*He marries
the daughter
of a
rich Sici-
lian count.*

dica, the chief of the Italians, was in possession of Palermo, and almost all the chief cities of the island: he was very rich, had conquered the Moors in the island of Gerba, and made considerable conquests on the coast of Africa^r. Queen Margaret being informed of his great power and wealth, proposed an alliance betwixt her son and his daughter Constantia, and sent an embassy to Manfred, who readily accepted of her offer. The Neapolitans, by another embassy, in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from the match; for on the 5th of September the bride arrived at Gaeta with four gallies, while twelve other Sicilian gallies sailed to the relief of Castello Nuovo, which was then besieged by Monjoy^s.

Pope Urban dying in the beginning of October, Ladislaus acquired a zealous friend in his successor Boniface IX. who was a Neapolitan, and soon after his promotion created seven Neapolitan cardinals. Boniface, in hopes of procuring settlements for his relations, whom he was fond of promoting, warmly espoused the cause of Ladislaus. Receiving an embassy from the queen, who desired to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication and deposition, denounced by Urban, he granted the absolution, and sent Acciajoli, the cardinal of Florence, to Gaeta, who, on the 8th of May crowned Ladislaus and his queen Constantia^t.

A.D. 1389.

About three months after, Lewis of Anjou, who the year before had been solemnly crowned king of Sicily by pope Clement at Avignon, and had married the daughter of the king of Arragon, arrived with twenty-one vessels, and a considerable body of troops at Naples, where he was received with great rejoicing. As his party were in possession of more than a half of the whole kingdom, upon the news of his arrival the barons crowded from all parts to do him homage; and among the rest arrived Thomas Sanseverino, with many others of his family, attended by a body of eight hundred horse. The barons of his party then held a parliament at St. Chiara, when it was agreed to furnish one thousand lances before March, and to maintain ten gallies, during the war, at their own expence^u. A few months after, a galley arriving with money from Provence, Lewis made himself master of the three castles St. Eramo, Castel Nuovo, and Castel Ovo; and being of a mild and courteous disposition, acquired the esteem and affection of

A.D. 1390.

*Lewis of
Anjou lands
at Naples.*

A.D. 1391.

^r Annal. Bonicontr. apud Murator.
Hist. apud Murator. tom. xxiv.
rat. tom. xxi.

^s Fragment. Sicul.

^t Giornali Napol. apud Murator. tit. xxii.

^u Summont. lib. iv. cap. 2. Anton. tit. xxii.

cap. 3.

the Neapolitans. Ladislaus, in the mean time, was greatly distressed for want of men and money, while several barons refused to declare for either party; and continuing upon their estates, sent presents to both princes *.

*Mary and
her hus-
band Mar-
tin of Ar-
ragon take
possession of
Sicily.*

During this interruption of the war in Naples, a great revolution happened in Sicily. Manfred di Claramonte dying at Palermo, the princess Mary, who had married, in Arragon, Martin, the son of the duke of Monblanco, arrived in Sicily with her husband and a strong army. She quickly reduced Palermo, and recovered all the cities that had been in the possession of Manfred; and having got the whole family of the Claramonte into her power, she ordered Andrew, the governor of Palermo, to be put to death. Her father-in-law, Martin, duke of Monblanco, who was brother to John king of Arragon, and afterwards succeeded him, attended her in the expedition; and, after the reduction of Palermo, contracted an intimacy with the widow of the late Manfred.

A.D. 1392.

*Ladislaus
divorces
his queen
Constantia.*

Their intrigue, being reported in Gaeta, served queen Margaret as a pretext for an action of the blackest ingratitude. She alleged, that it was dishonourable for her son to have for a wife the daughter of one who was mistress to a Catalan. Ladislaus accordingly, by her persuasion, immediately sent Constantia to a private house, attended only by an old governante, and two Sicilian maids; and in the end of May he went with forty galleys to Rome to demand a divorce from the pope, which he obtained without any difficulty *. Queen Margaret hoped to procure a second marriage, and a second fortune for her son, though her affairs had been already saved from ruin by the immense portion of Constantia. Her conduct, however, so full of baseness, ingratitude, and inhumanity, was censured by her best friends, and the ambition of the pope was universally condemned.

Ladislaus, in the beginning of the year, having gained some advantages by the conduct of his viceroy Cicco del Cozzo, about two months after his return from Rome, resolved to command his troops in person. Having heard mass in complete armour, he left Gaeta, and marched to Aquila, which was the only city in Abruzzo that held for Lewis. The Aquilans, after having in vain expected to be relieved, surrendered to Ladislaus, and paid forty thousand ducats to save their city from being plundered. Ladislaus, in his return, took possession of the county of Manupello,

* Giornali, ap. Murator, tom. xxi. col. 1061. An. Bonicontr.
* Id. ibid. Fragment. Siculæ Hist. ut supra.

and stopt at Capua, where, in consequence of poison that he had received, his life was despaired of; and it was reported that he was dead. By the assistance of physicians, however, he was cured; but he continued a stammerer to his death¹. While he resided at Gaeta, an ambassador arrived from France, to treat of an alliance betwixt the French king and his sister Joan; but the negotiation had no effect. Next year, having assembled a powerful army, by inrolling even the artificers, he left Gaeta, and on the 9th of April encamped before Naples, the harbour being blocked up by three gallies and a galliot. After he had continued thirty-six days before the city, he was obliged to retire. His gallies were repulsed by four vessels from Provence; and the communication with the sea was opened. The Sanseverini family, who had come to the relief of the city, persuaded Lewis to contract an alliance with the duke of Sessa, who was chief admiral, and one of the most powerful adherents of Ladislaus. The duke readily agreed to the proposal made by Lewis, immediately deserted Ladislaus, and joined his new friends with one thousand horse. Lewis, in the mean time, sent considerable presents to the duke's daughter Mary, and gave her the title of queen; but Ladislaus vigorously attacking the duke's territories, this last, by the mediation of Boniface, was again reconciled to him, and the marriage never took effect². While his troops were ravaging the estates of the duke, Ladislaus went and visited Boniface at Rome, from whom and the cardinals he received very large subsidies. Lewis, about the same time, received some assistance from pope Clement, who died soon after about the middle of September. His successor, Benedict XIII. immediately confirmed the crown of Naples to Lewis, and declared himself his protector.

Lewis, however, continuing inactive at Naples, while his competitor was continually employed in some expedition, his affairs quickly began to decline, while many of the barons, particularly the Sanseverini, resolving to abandon his party, treacherously urged him to leave Naples, and to go to the support of his friends in Tarento. He was accordingly, some years after, persuaded to go to Calabria, when Naples immediately admitted the troops of Ladislaus, and detained Charles his brother prisoner, who had arrived from Provence with a small reinforcement soon after his departure. Upon the news of the loss of Naples, Lewis despaired of being able to recover his affairs. Though he was still in possession of more than one half of the king-

A.D. 1394.

*He besieges
Naples
without
effect.*

*Lewis, by
his inacti-
vity, alie-
nates his
friends.*

¹ Vide auct. sup. citat. Giannone.

² Giornali, ut supra.
dom,

A.D. 1400.

*He returns
to Pro-
vence.*

dom, and had many barons faithful to his interest, he absolutely determined to return to Provence. He accordingly embarked at Tarento, and, sailing round to the island of Caprea, entered into a negociation with Ladislaus, offering to deliver up the Castel Nuovo, on condition that the French garrison should be allowed to depart with bag and baggage, and his brother set at liberty. Ladislaus willingly agreed to these conditions; and Lewis, taking his brother and the garrison on board, sailed directly to Provence, to the great grief of all those of his party^a. About the same time, Martin, king of Sicily, had made himself master of Catanea; and having reduced several factious barons, obliged the whole island to acknowledge his authority^b.

A.D. 1401.

Those barons who had treacherously abandoned the duke of Anjou, were quickly convinced of the imprudence of their conduct; for Ladislaus had no sooner driven his rival out of the kingdom, than he resolved entirely to crush and ruin them. In the end of the year he reduced the whole county of Fondi, except Pontecelio and Portella, on the confines of the kingdom. In the following April, after holding a parliament at Naples, he marched into Calabria, and conquered the whole province, except Reggio and Cotrone; which last city was garrisoned by some French that had come thither after the departure of Lewis. He soon obliged the French to surrender, and in his return seized several of the family of the Sanseverini, whom he imprisoned in the castles of Naples. He likewise took the duchy of Sessa from the family of Marzano, and imprisoned the late admiral's son, with his mother and two sisters. Having reduced the whole kingdom to his obedience, by the advice of his great protector Boniface he contracted an alliance with Mary, the sister of the king of Cyprus, who landing on the 12th of February at Naples, attended by her uncle, and many Cypriot ladies, the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence^c.

A.D. 1402.

*Ladislaus
marries the
sister of the
king of
Cyprus.*

About the same time he was informed, that the Hungarians had imprisoned their king Sigismund, and set up his standard all over the kingdom. Receiving repeated invitations from the Hungarian nobles, who offered him their crown, he was prevailed upon to depart for that kingdom, under pretence of conducting his sister Joan to Germany, she having, some time before, been contracted to the duke of Austria. Reflecting on the fate of his father, he stopped at Zara, or Jadra, on the coast of Dalmatia, till he should

^a Vide auct. sup. citat. Giannone.
an. 1394 & 1338.

^b Frag. Hist. Sicul.
^c Giornal. ut supra.

be informed of the true state of affairs in Hungary. Many Hungarian barons and prelates waited upon him in this city, and, according to Bonincontrius and others, he was solemnly crowned king of Hungary by the bishop of Gran, or Strigonia; but, by the account of Theodoric Niem, Boniface ordered the cardinal of Florence to confer upon him the crown, and besides remitted him a debt of three hundred thousand florins, and granted him the tithe of the ecclesiastical revenues of Naples for three years. Ladislaus, in the mean time, being informed that Sigismund, who had escaped from prison, was returning to Hungary with a powerful army of Bohemians, did not think proper to dispute the kingdom with him, but immediately left Jadera, and came back to Naples^d.

A few months after his return he lost his queen, and soon after his great protector, pope Boniface, who, in the month of November, was succeeded by Innocent VII. born at Sulmo, in the kingdom of Naples. Ladislaus, hearing of his election, immediately went with a body of troops to Rome, upon pretence of congratulating him; but, in reality, with the design of assisting the Ghibelline faction, who, since the new election, had raised a great sedition, in hopes of wresting from the pope the sovereign authority of the city. Ladislaus seemed to favour the pope, but, at the same time, secretly fomented the dissension. Being chosen mediator by both parties, he allowed the people to chuse their supreme magistrates, but left the Leonine part of the city, and the castle of St. Angelo, in the hands of the pope, who granted him Campania di Roma for three years. The king then returned to Naples, but still secretly solicited the Ghibellines to continue their opposition to the pope, by promising to protect and assist them. A few weeks after his return, being informed of the death of Ramondello Orsino, prince of Tarento, who left two sons and a daughter, he resolved to seize that principality; accordingly, in the month of March, he sent nine galleys round by sea, and marched thither with seven thousand horse, and a large body of infantry. He quickly made himself master of the whole principality, except Tarento, which was defended by a numerous garrison, commanded by the sons of the late prince, and many of the family of Sanseverini. Despairing of being able to reduce the city by force, he determined to marry the young princess Mary. Her brothers readily agreed to this proposal; and the mar-

A.D. 1404.

Her death.

A.D. 1405.

He marries the princess of Tarento.

^d Bonfin. dec. iii. lib. ii. Bonincontr. Theod. Niem. Summont. c Niem, ut supra. Anton. tit. 22. cap. 4.

riage being celebrated, he was put in possession of the city, and, about a month after, conducted his new queen to Naples^f.

During these transactions, Martin, king of Sicily had lost his queen, who died of grief for the death of her only son Frederic, killed by accident while he was learning the exercise of the spear. Martin by the last will of his wife, and the cession of his father, continued in possession of the island, and this year married Blanch, daughter of the king of Navarre^g.

A.D. 1406.

Is excommunicated.

In the mean time, by his intrigues with the Ghibellines in Rome, Ladislaus had prevailed on them to expel the pope from the city, and to take possession of his palace. John Colonna, their chief, promising him the sovereignty of the city, he immediately sent the count of Troja thither with a body of troops, who were admitted, and took possession of the castle of St. Angelo. The Romans, however, quickly obliged them to leave the city, and recalled the pope, who denounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against Ladislaus. The king, struck with this fulmination, by which he run a risk of losing his kingdom, immediately proposed an accommodation, which was effected by the mediation of the pope's nephew and Paul Orfini, the chief of the Guelfs, on condition that he should evacuate the castle of St. Angelo, and all other places belonging to the church^h. Innocent survived this treaty only a few months, and, in the beginning of December, was succeeded by Gregory XII. a Venetian.

A.D. 1407.

Ladislaus, being still earnest to get possession of Rome, in the month of June advanced with an army, and endeavoured to surprise the city; but his troops, after they had entered the place, were repulsed by Orfini, the pope's general, while Gregory, and several of the cardinals, saved themselves in the castle of St. Angeloⁱ. The pope, a few months after, leaving Rome, with intention, as he declared, of going to Savona, where a congress was appointed with the anti-pope, in order to terminate the schism, Paul Orfini remained in Rome with the chief command. Whether he received any indignity from the pope is uncertain, but he is accused by Bonincontri of having had an intention of delivering the city to the anti-pope.

A.D. 1408.

He takes possession of Rome.

According to Niem and Antonin, he entered into a negotiation with Ladislaus, who, in the following spring,

^f Giornali Napol.

lib. iii.

Annal. ann. 1407.

^g Fazell. dec. ii. lib. ix.

^h Niem, ut supra.

Rainald. Annal.

Suric. Indic.

ⁱ Spond.

advancing towards Rome with an army of fifteen thousand horse and a large body of infantry, made his entry into the city on the 25th of April, under a canopy of cloth of gold, when he was proclaimed king of the Romans and emperor by the people, who went before him with branches of palm ^k. Next day the castle of St. Angelo was delivered up to him by the governor, who, on that account, received the investiture of the county of Quarata in Apulia. Ladislaus likewise took possession of Tivoli, Perugia, and many other cities and castles belonging to the church. He restored the exiles, and changed the magistrates of Rome; and ordering the fortifications of the city to be repaired, he went to Lucca to Gregory, to persuade him not to resign the pontificate, being apprehensive lest, if the grand schism should be terminated, his right to the kingdom of Naples would be called in question ^l. This probably was the reason why he was so earnest to be in possession of Rome, that, in case of the re-union of the cardinals, he might be able to make his own terms with the future pope, though no doubt he was greatly actuated by his vanity and ambition; for he had no sooner made himself master of Rome, than he assumed the pompous title of, Ladislaus, by the grace of God, king of Hungary, Jerusalem, Sicily, Dalmatia, Croatia, Rome, Servia, Salicia, Lodomiria, Comania, and Bulgaria, and count of Provence, Forcalquier, and Piedmont. The Romans were quickly tired of his government; and he had no sooner returned to Naples than they openly revolted, imprisoned the senator, and expelled his troops from the city ^m. Next year he again made himself master of Rome; and Gregory delivering to him Romagna for a present of twenty thousand crowns, in the beginning of April he marched to Tuscany, with an army of eighteen thousand horse, besides infantry, and took possession of Cortona, Certaldo, and many other cities and castles. He endeavoured to surprise Sienna, and intended to besiege Florence, as the Florentines had allowed the cardinals, who had deserted from Gregory and Benedict, to hold a council in Pisa. The Florentines, in their own defence, entered into an alliance with the Siennese, and with Balthasar Cossa, legate of Bologna ⁿ.

A.D. 1409.
Invades
Tuscany.

The council of Pisa, in the mean time, had deposed both the contending popes, Gregory and Benedict; and, on the 26th of June, elected a third, who took the name of Alexander V. The power and ambition of Ladislaus, who still

The council
of Pisa
chose a
third pope

^k Anton. tit. xxii. cap. 5. sect. v.

^l Bonincontr. Annal.

Niem, Summont. ibid.

ⁿ Giorn. Napol. Annal. Bonincontr.

*Ladislaus
excommunicated.*

acknowledged Gregory, being greatly dreaded in Italy, Alexander, immediately after his promotion, invited Lewis of Anjou to renew his pretensions to Naples. Upon his arrival at Pisa, he published a sentence of excommunication and deposition against Ladislaus, and gave Lewis the investiture of the kingdom. Lewis immediately entered into the Florentine league, and, assembling an army, quickly recovered all the territories of the church in Tuscany. In the end of the year he drove the Neapolitans from Rome, and reduced the castle of St. Angelo. Ladislaus, in the mean time, in hopes of strengthening himself against his competitor, sent for pope Gregory to Gaeta, and banished from Naples a great many nobles, whose fidelity he suspected. He left the greatest part of his army on the frontiers, as many barons in Campania, and the county of Fondi had already openly revolted, and declared for Lewis.

*Martin,
king of Sicily, dies.*

During these transactions, Martin, king of Sicily, died at Cagliari, in Sardina, whither he had gone to reduce the inhabitants, who had revolted from his father's government. As he died without issue, he left his father, Martin, king of Arragon, heir of Sicily by his will, and his wife Blanch regent of the island°. Pope Alexander dying a few months after, was succeeded by the legate of Bologna, who took the name of John XXIII. As he was a Neapolitan, and a declared enemy of Ladislaus, he immediately interested himself with great zeal in behalf of Lewis of Anjou, who, with the assistance of the Florentines, fitted out thirteen gallies, and nine other vessels, against Naples. The ships, being separated from the gallies, were taken by the fleet of Ladislaus, who, about the same time, made an unsuccessful attempt to surprize Rome. John, after he had resided about eight months at Bologna, making preparations for the invasion of Naples, came in the following spring to Rome, where he declared Lewis of Anjou standard-bearer of the church.

A D. 1411.

*Ladislaus
is defeated
by Lewis of
Anjou.*

Lewis advanced towards Naples with an army of twelve thousand horse, besides infantry; and on the 9th^p of May, in the evening, attacked the camp of Ladislaus, whose army consisted of about thirteen thousand horse and four thousand foot. After a most obstinate dispute, Ladislaus was entirely defeated, and with great difficulty escaped by flying to Rocca Secca, and from thence to St. Germano, where the remains of his army again assembled^q. If his

° Fragment. Sicul. Hist. apud Murat. tom. xxiv. Spond. Annal.
p. Giornal. Napol. q Poggii Hist. apud Murat. tom. xx. Aretin. Comment. apud eund. tom. xix. Giornal. Napol.

enemies had pursued their blow, he would have been entirely ruined. Lewis of Anjou was very earnest to advance immediately into the kingdom; but Paul Orsini and Sforza, two soldiers of fortune, had no desire to finish the war, and wilfully delayed the march of the army, so that the fruits of the victory were wholly lost.

The pope's army mutinying for want of pay, Lewis was obliged to return to Rome; and being disgusted with the fickleness of the Sicilians, soon after went back to France, while John, who was obliged either to defend himself, or to lose the possession of the pontifical chair, published two bulls of excommunication against Ladislaus, and, in the beginning of the following year, ordered a crusade to be preached against him; granting likewise the most scandalous indulgences, in order to raise money for the war. His generals Orsini and Sforza, however, acting with great lukewarmness, and being suspected even of favouring Ladislaus, he was obliged to agree to a dishonourable peace, which was concluded on the 25th of June^r.

A.D. 1412.

Ladislaus, by the articles of this peace, promised to abandon Gregory, on condition of receiving immediately one hundred thousand ducats from John, who engaged likewise to acknowledge him as king of Naples, to assist him in recovering Sicily, and to allow him a yearly pension of two thousand ducats^r. Next year, Ladislaus assembled a numerous army; and though he still kept a good correspondence with the pope, yet it was universally rumoured that he intended to attack Rome. John encouraged this report, which served as an excuse for his not going to the council of Constance^r. He is even said to have invited Ladislaus to invade the March of Ancona, with intention to ruin Orsini, to whom he had committed the care of that province. Ladislaus sent part of his troops to the March of Ancona, under the command of Sforza, whom he had taken into his pay; but he himself, with the greatest part of his army, on the 8th of June, surrounded Rome, the pope and the cardinals with great difficulty escaping to Sutri, and from thence to Florence. The king treated the Romans with the greatest barbarity. He plundered the pope's chapel and palaces; stripped all the churches of their treasure, seized the jewels of the holy see, and many rich shrines, massacred several prelates, and rifled the Florentine merchants, after he had assured them of his protection^r. From Rome he marched to Tuscany, and quickly reduced the whole ecclesiastical state as

The pope concludes a peace with Ladislaus;

A.D. 1413.

who surprises and pillages Rome.

^r Niem. Vit. Joan XXIII. Bzov. hoc anno. ^r Pigu. Hist. Princ. Atest. initio, lib. vi. Poggii Hist. ^r Pogg. Hist. apud Murator, tom. xx. ^r Collenut. & Summont. Hist. Neap.

far as the territories of Sienna and Florence, raising immense contributions upon the inhabitants, whom his soldiers treated with great inhumanity.

A.D. 1414. Leaving the command of his army to Sforza and Nicholas of Este, he returned in the end of the year to Naples; and soon after prevailing with Paul Orsini and his brother Orso to desert the pope, and to enter into his service, he again entered Tuscany with intention to reduce the Florentines. He fixed his head quarters at Perugia, where he is said to have had an intrigue with a physician's daughter. According to several authors, the physician was bribed by the Florentines to poison him, an aim which he effected by administering the poison to his daughter in such a manner that the king could not lye with her without being infected^u. His illness obliged him to lay aside his expedition against Florence, and to return to Rome, where, finding his distemper increasing, he embarked, and proceeded by sea to Naples, taking Orsini and his brother with him prisoners, under pretence that they had secretly corresponded with his enemies. Upon his arrival at Naples, he was carried on shore in a litter, on the 2d of August, and died four days after, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. He was a most expert general, and very liberal to his soldiers; but in his transactions, either with his neighbours or his subjects, he had no regard to justice, and even gloried in his fraud and perfidy^w.

His death. Ladislaus leaving no issue by his three wives, was succeeded by his sister Jane, duchess dowager of Austria, then in the forty-fourth year of her age. She had long rendered herself infamous by her great number of gallants, many of whom, upon her accession to the throne, she immediately promoted. She particularly created her favourite Pandolphello Alopo, great-chamberlain of the kingdom, whose office is to have the charge of the king's domains. Pandolphello behaved in his new authority with great arrogance, and soon after apprehended Sforza, and shut him up in the same prison with the Orsini, being suspicious, that by means of the troops he commanded, he would make himself prince of Capua. The chamberlain likewise used his utmost endeavours to prevent the marriage of the queen, but without success; for Jane, at the urgent intreaties of her counsellors, contracted an alliance with James, count de la Marche, of the house of Bourbon, in France, who arrived at Naples on the 10th of August, when the marriage was

He is succeeded by his sister Jane;

A.D. 1415.

who married the count de la Marche.

^u Monstrelet. lib. i. cap. 129. Collenut. & Summont. ut supra & alii. ^w Giannone. Spond. Annal.

celebrated; and, with the consent of the queen and nobles, he assumed the title of king. Jane herself had been proclaimed queen without seeking the investiture from the pope*. Pandolphello, judging that in case of the queen's marriage he could not long enjoy her favour, resolved to support himself by powerful alliances, and, before the arrival of king James, had prevailed with Sforza to marry his niece Catarinella Alopa, as a condition of his recovering his liberty. Sforza and Pandolphello after the marriage contracted a great intimacy, on which account the barons conferred the title of king on the count de la Mar he, that he might be able to counterbalance their influence and authority. The king resolved to crush them immediately. The very day after his marriage he put Sforza in chains, and a few weeks after imprisoned Pandolphello, when he ordered both of them to be tortured; and Pandolphello, in consequence of his confession, was afterwards put to death.

James likewise took possession of all the fortresses in the kingdom, which he committed to the care of Frenchmen. Conceiving a disgust for his queen, on account of her abandoned life, he deprived her of all share in the government; removed from her all her ancient servants, whose places he supplied with French people; and placing a guard over her, would not allow her subjects to speak to her. Being soon after relieved from his apprehensions of a competitor, by the news of the death of the duke of Anjou, and fearing nothing from the pope, who was too much engaged at the council of Constance, he set Paul Orsini and his brother Orso at liberty, hoping to put an end to the civil dissensions, and to govern the kingdom in a peaceable manner. However, his great partiality to Frenchmen, on whom he bestowed all offices, quickly alienated the affections of the barons; and the Neapolitans, being deprived of the sight of the queen, were filled with discontent, and began openly to murmur. Jane, about a year after she had been confined, obtained liberty to dine in a garden belonging to a Florentine merchant; a circumstance which the Neapolitans were no sooner informed of, than they flocked thither in great numbers from a curiosity to see her. Two of the nobles excited the people to take arms in her defence. Accordingly, after she had dined, her guard was compelled to leave her, and she was conducted by the people to the archbishop's palace, and from thence to Castello di Capuano. The king immediately retired to Castel Nuovo, where he

A.D. 1416.

*He usurps
the whole
administration,
and
imprisons
the queen.*

*She is set at
liberty by
the Neapo-
litans.*

* Vide Auct. supra citat.

was besieged by order of the queen; but the Neapolitans, rather than trust the whole administration to the queen, resolved again to support James, and mediated a reconciliation betwixt him and Jane. He was allowed the title of king, and a yearly pension of forty thousand ducats; but engaged for the future not to assume the supreme administration. Jane immediately promoted several of her favourites to the chief offices, set Sforza at liberty, and conferred upon him the office of high-constable; and was very liberal in her favours to the Neapolitans, in order to alienate them entirely from the king ^y.

During these transactions in Naples, Ferdinand, king of Arragon and Sicily died in Catalonia. About three years before he had been chosen king of both these kingdoms, as his uncle Martin had left no issue. Alphonfus, the eldest of his four sons, was now proclaimed king, and John, his second son, arrived in Sicily as governor of the island ^z.

*Alphonfus
of Arragon
is declared
king of Si-
cily.*

Queen Jane, in the mean time, resigned herself entirely to the direction of her high-steward Sergianni Carraccioli, who was accused of having a criminal intimacy with her. Sergianni, in order to secure her favour, dismissed his two greatest rivals, Sforza and Origlia, from court. Origlia was sent ambassador to the council of Constance, and Sforza, in the end of January, marched to the relief of the castle of St. Angelo, which was besieged by Braccio da Montone, a soldier of fortune, who, during the absence of the pope in Germany, had made himself master of Rome. Sergianni soon after persuaded the queen to imprison her husband, and to banish all the French from her dominions. Though he had incurred the hatred of the chief nobles by his arbitrary administration, yet he found means to secure a great party among the Neapolitans, by distributing the pensions which the French enjoyed among the rich citizens, and furnishing the common people with provisions at a low price. Sforza, in the mean time, having recovered Rome, returned with his forces towards Naples, highly enraged against Sergianni, who had neglected to send money to pay his soldiers, in order to oblige them to mutiny, and desert to Braccio. Sergianni levied troops in order to oppose him; but Sforza investing Naples, the queen was obliged to banish her favourite to the island of Procida.

A.D. 1417.

*The queen
causes her
husband to
be impris-
oned.*

A D 1418.

Jane was, at the same time, urged by the duke of Burgundy and pope Martin, who had been elected at the coun-

^y Vide Auct. citat. ut supra.

^z Fragment. Sicul. Hist. ut supra. Surit, Indic. lib. iii. Marian. lib. xix,

cil of Constance, to set her husband at liberty. Martin soon after sent two legates to her, promising to agree to her coronation; and a few months after his nephew Antonio Colonna arrived at Naples with the form of a defensive alliance betwixt him and the queen, which was soon after published. Antonio, in a great measure, reconciled Sforza and Carraccioli; but the queen, not thinking it safe immediately to recall Carraccioli to Naples, sent him as her ambassador to the pope, who, in the month of February, had arrived at Florence. Carraccioli, by her order, restored Ostia, Castel St. Angelo, and Civita Vecchia, to Colonna; and then, proceeding to Florence, had several conferences with the pope, to whom he promised the assistance of the queen's troops against Braccio, who had encroached upon the ecclesiastical territories. About the same time the cardinal legate arrived at Naples to perform the ceremony of the queen's coronation; but insisting that her husband should first recover his liberty, she at length entered into an agreement with the king, who, on the 5th of February, came out of prison, and went through the city, attended by a great number of gentlemen, to Castello di Capuano. He found a great many friends, and many of the nobility of the seggi waited upon the legate, and upon the pope's brother and nephew, proposing that he should be crowned at the same time with the queen. This proposal greatly alarmed Carraccioli, who had returned to Naples; but by making the queen promise large estates to the Colonnas, he prevailed on them and the legate to refuse their assent. James, seeing no prospect of recovering any authority, and despairing of having any issue by the queen, who was now fifty years of age, resolved to leave Italy. He secretly hired a Genoese galley at Naples, and, embarking with a few friends, returned to France^a. The queen, after the departure of her husband, was solemnly crowned by the legate, on Sunday the 28th of October, and the rejoicings on that occasion were continued to the end of the year^b.

She enters into a defensive alliance with the pope.

A.D. 1419.

King James recovers his liberty, and returns to France.

Though the queen was now her own mistress, secured on the throne by the sanction of a Catholic pope, yet she was quickly involved in greater troubles than ever. Her favourite Carraccioli exasperated the Neapolitan nobles by his insolence and cruelty. As they were not in a condition to oppose him, they privately solicited Sforza to return to Naples. This general had been employed the whole summer in opposing the conquests of Braccio in the ecclesiastical state; but being disappointed of money and supplies

A.D. 1420.

The queen and her favourite offend the pope and Sforza;

^a Giornal. Napol. Giannone.

^b Giornal. ut supra.

*who invite
Lewis of
Anjou to
invade the
kingdom.*

by Carraccioli, who even privately sent money to Bracchio, he had sustained a signal defeat, and lost great part of his troops. The pope, likewise, having in vain solicited succours from Naples, by the mediation of the Florentines concluded a peace with Bracchio, who delivered up all his conquests; but was allowed to retain Perugia, Todi, Assisi, Rocca Contrada, Jesio, and Monte Abbode^c. The pope and Sforza being both irritated against the queen and Carraccioli, they concluded a treaty with Lewis, the son of the late duke of Anjou, whose ambassadors were then in Florence, soliciting the interest of the pope in favour of their master, whom they wanted at least to be declared heir to the crown, as the queen had no children. The duke's ambassadors declared Sforza high-constable and commander in chief. It was agreed, that if the queen should reject the reasonable conditions they would offer, Sforza should invade the kingdom by land, and the duke of Anjou appear with a fleet off Naples^d. Lewis, being informed by his ambassadors of the treaty concluded with the pope, immediately requested the assistance of the king of Arragon, who, though he was at war with the Genoese, promised to allow the Genoese vessels in his service to pass unmolested. Sforza, in the mean time, advanced with his army towards Naples, and appeared before the city on the 18th of June; when the queen, refusing to agree to the proposals offered by him, he sent her the truncheon and other ensigns of his office, and immediately displayed the standard of Lewis III. so he called the duke of Anjou. He invested the city with his army, in hopes of the appearance of the fleet, when the Anjou faction would probably have declared themselves; but the duke not arriving till the 19th of August, his army, in the mean time, suffered greatly, and he lost his eldest son, and several chief officers.

*The queen
adopts Al-
phonfus of
Arragon
for her son
and heir.*

After the arrival of the fleet, the queen still refused to surrender, and found means to send an ambassador to Florence to demand the assistance of the pope. The ambassador receiving only fair words from his holiness, proceeded to Sardinia, and entered into a treaty with Alphonfus, whom the queen adopted for her son and heir. Alphonfus was then preparing to invade Corsica; but embracing the offer of queen Jane, he directly sent a fleet, with three ambassadors, to Naples. In consequence of this reinforcement, Sforza was obliged to raise the siege, and, on the 16th of September, retired to Aversa, which had declared

^c Annal. Bonincontr. Leonard. Aret. Comment. ^d Leo-
drisi Cribelli de Vit. Sfortia Vicecom. ap. Murator. tom. xix.

for king Lewis. The queen publicly ratified the treaty made in Sardinia, put the Arragonian ambassadors in possession of the duchy of Calabria, and the two castles Nuovo and del Ovo, and ordered the seggi and the people of Naples to take the oath of allegiance to Alphonsus, as heir of the kingdom^e. However, not receiving that assistance from the Catalonians which she expected, and the party of the duke of Anjou growing daily more powerful, she made an offer of adopting Lewis; but while she was negotiating that affair with a baron of the Anjou faction, four Arragonian gallies arrived at Ischia, on which account she again attached herself to Alphonsus, who was then in Sicily, making preparations for his Neapolitan expedition, and hired Bracchio, of Perugia, with three thousand horse. Bracchio, having concluded a treaty with the queen, who promised him the principality of Capua, and conferred upon him the office of high-constable, entered Terra di Lavoro, and soon after arrived at Naples^f. About a fortnight after, Alphonsus appeared with seven ships, sixteen gallies, and twenty-six smaller vessels, and was received by the queen with the greatest honours.

A.D. 1421.

The pope, finding the Durazzo faction not so easily suppressed as he expected, now openly declared himself, and sent his general, Tartalia, with five hundred horse and some infantry to the assistance of Sforza. But he, being secretly in the interest of Bracchio, prevented Sforza, during the whole campaign, from effecting any important enterprize. The last action of the campaign was the siege of Acerra, which place the inhabitants defended with the utmost bravery. The besiegers at last, to save their honour, agreed to raise the siege, on condition that the place should be sequestered into the hands of the pope's legate. Martin finding himself unable to support the war, and Alphonsus threatening to acknowledge Benedict, one of the autipopes, who still resided in Spain, he now endeavoured to reconcile the two parties; and though he countenanced Lewis, he offered him no longer any assistance. The two legates whom he sent into the kingdom proposed a truce for some months, during which all the towns that had been taken by Lewis were sequestered into their hands. Alphonsus and the queen, in the mean time, proposed, if possible, before the opening of the campaign, to reconcile Sforza to their party. He having obtained leave from the pope and Lewis to make terms for himself, in the begin-

*The pope
openly as-
sists Lewis.*

A.D. 1422.

^e Cribell. ut supra. Giornal. ut supra. Giannone, Sfort. ut supra. Vit. Bracchii ap. eundem.

^f Vit.

*Sforza
makes his
peace with
the queen.*

ning of summer had a conference with Braccio, and soon after went to Gaeta, where the king and queen then resided, on account of the plague which raged at Naples. Sforza met with a very gracious reception from the queen, as she and Carraccioli began to be very jealous of Alphonfus, who had lately reduced Sorrento, and detained it in his own name. Sforza received the city of Manfredonia, with all its territories, from the queen, promised to endeavour to reconcile the barons of the Anjou faction, and to assist the queen and Alphonfus whenever he should be called ².

A.D. 1423.

*A rupture
betwixt
Alphonfus
and the
queen;*

The mutual jealousy of the king and queen soon broke out into an open rupture. In the end of the year, as the plague had ceased in Naples, they both returned to that city. The queen, however, being persuaded by Carraccioli that Alphonfus designed to seize her and send her prisoner to Catalonia, took up her residence in Castel Capuano, and declined going to Castel Nuovo, where Alphonfus kept his court. Carraccioli likewise refused to go thither to the council without a safe-conduct from the king, which was granted. Alphonfus, however, persuaded that the queen was alienated from him by the suggestions of Carraccioli, on the 22d of May apprehended him, when he came to the Castel Nuovo, and put him in chains, and immediately went with the Catalans and Spaniards to the Castel Capuano, with intention, as it was believed, of seizing the queen. Jane suspecting his design, ordered the gate to be shut, and obliged him to retire; and immediately sent messengers to Sforza, who was then at Benevento, to come to her assistance. The king likewise desired the assistance of Sforza, and at the same time assembled his troops to besiege the queen. Sforza in a few days arrived at Naples, and declaring for the queen, attacked the Spaniards, whom, after an obstinate dispute, he obliged to retire into Castel Nuovo. Alphonfus, about ten days after, was relieved from his distress by the arrival of a considerable fleet from Arragon, which, it was alleged, he had sent for, to carry off the queen.

As Sforza had then gone to take possession of Averfa, the Spaniards immediately landed; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Neapolitans, that same day made themselves masters of almost one-third of the city. A few days after they took possession of the whole city, part of which they burnt, and plundered the houses of those whom they suspected to favour the queen. She, in the mean time, with many Neapolitan ladies, retired in great terror to

² Vit. Sfort. ut supra. Giornal. Napol. Annal. Bonincontrii.

Averfa,

Aversa, where, by the advice of Sforza, Carraccioli, and her other counsellors, she declared the adoption of Alphonfus null and void, and adopted Lewis of Anjou, who was then at Rome, but quickly arrived at Aversa, where he was received with great honour, and declared duke of Calabria. Lewis and Sforza, a few weeks after, attacked the Catalans and Sicilians near Naples, and repulsed them into the city. Alphonfus was highly provoked against the pope and Lewis. Being sensible that it would now require great efforts to maintain himself in Naples, he left the command of the garrison to his brother the infant Pedro, and in the end of October sailed to Spain to make new preparations. In hopes of obliging Lewis to return to Provence, he landed at Marseilles, and having plundered the city, proceeded to Barcelona, where he arrived on the 2d of December ^b.

*who adopts
Lewis of
Anjou.*

Upon the rupture betwixt the queen and Alphonfus, Braccio had declared for the king: however, he gave him very little assistance, but spent the whole summer in the siege of Aquila, which city had been granted to him according to the agreement betwixt him and the queen; but as it had declared for Lewis of Anjou, the inhabitants refused him admission. As Braccio was now an enemy, and the interest of the queen and Lewis united, Sforza was ordered to the relief of Aquila. He accordingly assembled all his forces, and marched to Abruzzo; but in passing the river Pescara, on the 4th of January, he was unfortunately drowned ⁱ. The command of the army was immediately assumed by Francis, his bastard son, who thought proper to return to Aversa, where he was received very graciously by the queen, and ordered to invest Naples. The pope, a little before, had prevailed with Visconti, duke of Milan, to send a fleet to the assistance of the queen. Guido Torello had accordingly arrived with a powerful squadron, and taken Gaeta and the isle of Procida, and received the submission of a great many barons in the name of Lewis. By the assistance of this fleet, Sforza, on the 12th of April, obliged the city of Naples to surrender, and took the greatest part of the garrison prisoners, Don Pedro with a few Catalans saving themselves in Castel Nuovo ^k. The queen, having recovered Naples, ordered her generals to march to the relief of Aquila. Being joined by the pope's troops, they marched to Abruzzo, and on the 2d of June came to a general engagement with Braccio, who being killed in

A.D. 1424.

*Sforza
dies.*

*His son re-
covers Na-
ples from
the Spa-
niards.*

^b Vide Auct. supra citat. Fragment. Hist. Sicul.
nal. Napol. Vit. Sfor. ut supra.

ⁱ Gior-

^k Vide Auct. supra citat. Fragment. Hist. Sicul.

the action, his troops were entirely routed and dispersed¹. The queen, in the mean time, being informed that Don Pedro expected to be relieved by an Arragonian fleet, immediately assembled her barons for the defence of Naples. The city having thus received a powerful garrison, the Catalans, who arrived on the 20th of June, were prevented from landing; and, after continuing some weeks before the city, sailed with Don Pedro to Sicily, leaving the command of the castle to one Dalmeo.

*Carraccioli
assumes the
supreme
administra-
tion.*

A.D. 1430.

Alphonfus being at this time engaged in a war with the king of Castile, almost entirely dropt his pretensions to Naples; and the army of Bracchio being dispersed, the kingdom began again to enjoy tranquillity. Carraccioli, however, soon occasioned great murmuring among the people of Naples, by neglecting to besiege Castel Nuovo, and consenting to several truces with the Spanish governor, who was even allowed to buy provisions in the city. He likewise irritated many of the barons, by imprisoning some of them, and stripping others of their estates, which were conferred upon the pope's relations. To secure his own power and grandeur, he gave one of his daughters in marriage to the son of Caldora, the general, and the other to the brother of the prince of Tarento, with the county of Acerra as her portion. He likewise, by his interest with the queen, prevailed upon her to confer upon him the principality of Capua, which had devolved to the crown by the rebellion and death of Bracchio. In the mean time, being jealous of the harmony betwixt the queen and Lewis of Anjou, who was likewise greatly beloved by the Neapolitans, he would not allow him to continue two nights in Naples, but sent him with his own son to Calabria, where he was employed two years in reducing the barons of the party of Alphonfus^m.

Pope Martin dying next year was succeeded by Eugenius IV. a Venetian. A rupture immediately happening betwixt the new pope and the Colonna, who were supposed to be in possession of an immense treasure belonging to the church, Eugenius asked the assistance of the queen against them, as they had taken arms, and endeavoured to seize the castle of St. Angelo. Carraccioli eagerly embraced this opportunity of ruining the Colonna, that he might raise himself still higher by their downfall. Prevailing on the queen to divest them of the principality of Salerno, and all the counties and estates they held in the kingdom, he sent

¹ Vit. Bracchii & Sfort. ut supra.
Giannone.

^m Giornal. Napol.

his brother Marino with one thousand horse to the assistance of the pope. In the mean time, though he was in possession of the principality of Capua, the duchy of Venosa, the county of Avellino, and many other lands, he asked the principality of Salerno, and the duchy of Amalfi, under pretence that Capua would probably be taken from him and annexed to the crown by her successor. As the queen was now old and decrepid, the strict connection betwixt her and Sergianni had long ceased. She therefore, by the persuasion of her favourites and counsellors, who hated Carraccioli, absolutely refused his request, a repulse which provoked him to such a degree of insolence, that he broke out into abusive language, and, according to some authors, even gave her a blow. The duchess of Sessa, who was the queen's cousin, and now her chief favourite, urged the necessity of curbing his insolence; and having in some measure obtained the consent of the queen, soon after found an opportunity of putting her design in execution. Carraccioli being suspicious of the power of Caldora, who lived in Abruzzo, with four thousand men under his command, resolved to secure his friendship by a second alliance, and accordingly concluded a match betwixt his only son Trojano and the daughter of Caldora. The duchess of Sessa representing to the queen, that Carraccioli and Caldora, being strictly united by this match, intended to deprive her of the kingdom, she received orders to imprison the high-steward. The conspirators, however, sensible of the queen's fickleness, resolved to put him to death, which resolution they executed on the 18th of August, the day of the marriage, which was honoured with the presence of the greatest part of the barons, and celebrated with the utmost magnificence in Castello di Capuano. After Carraccioli had gone down to bed, one of the conspirators knocked at the door of his chamber, and desired him to come immediately to the queen, who was seized with an apoplexy. The chamberlains opening the door without suspicion, the conspirators entered, and dispatched him immediately. Next day, to prevent a tumult, all the relations of Carraccioli, under pretence of the queen's death, were called to the palace, and forthwith imprisoned. Though the queen was dissatisfied with his death, yet she ordered all his estates to be confiscated, and granted a full pardon to all the conspirators ⁿ.

Treats the queen in a contemptuous manner.

A D. 1432.

Is murdered by means of the duchess of Sessa.

ⁿ Giornal. Napol. Summont. lib. iv. cap. 3. Marian. lib. xxi. cap. 5. Anal. Bonincontr. Spond. Annal. Giannone.

Lewis of Anjou, who was then in Calabria, and had fixed his residence in Cosenza, hearing of the death of Caraccioli, expected to be recalled to Naples, and made preparations for his return. But the ambitious duchess carved out new business for him in that province, some of which was still possessed by the Colonna; and in hopes of ingrossing the whole direction of affairs, she persuaded the queen not to invite him to Naples. Alphonfus at this period returned to Sicily from an African expedition, where hearing of the death of the high-steward, and that the duchess of Sessa, with whom he had formerly had a great intimacy, was at the head of affairs, he immediately sailed to the island of Ischia, and entered into a private correspondence with the duchess, who endeavoured to persuade the queen again to declare him her son and heir. Alphonfus likewise prevailed on the duke of Sessa to espouse his interest, hoping that his authority would influence other barons; but he was greatly disappointed, for there was none who offered to revolt; and the duchess, who had long been at variance with her husband, no sooner heard of his correspondence with Alphonfus than she accused him of rebellion. The king, finding his plots had miscarried, made a truce with the queen for ten years, and returned to Sicily^o. A few months after, Lewis, duke of Anjou, contracted an alliance with Margaret, daughter of the duke of Savoy. The queen proposed, that the bride should land at Naples; but by the advice of her counsellors, who had no desire to see Lewis in the capital, the duchess Margaret was desired to land at Sorrento, where she arrived the following year, and proceeding to Cosenza, in the month of July the marriage was celebrated, with as much magnificence as the place would allow.

A.D. 1433.

A.D. 1434.

*Lewis
marries the
daughter
of the duke
of Savoy.*

Soon after this transaction, the courtiers, who had the entire management of the queen, desirous to ruin the prince of Tarento, prevailed upon her to summon him, under pretence that he had not restored some lands which in the former civil dissensions he had taken from the family of the Sanseverini. Without waiting for his appearance, they sent against him the general Caldora, whose troops being joined by those of the queen, and Lewis of Anjou, composed an army of nine thousand five hundred horse, and three thousand five hundred foot. As the prince of Tarento had always been loyal to the queen, Lewis of Anjou engaged in the war out of obedience to her, against his own inclination; and contracting an illness from the fa-

tiques of the campaign, returned to Cosenza, where he died on the 15th of November. His death was greatly lamented by the whole kingdom, but particularly by the queen, who regretted bitterly that she had not honoured and treated him as his great patience and submissive obedience to her had deserved^p. The queen survived Lewis only a few months, and died on the 2d of February, in the sixty-fifth year of her age, and the twenty-first of the reign, being the last of the first race of the family of Anjou. She left behind her a treasure of five hundred thousand ducats; and, as the wife of the late Lewis was not with child, by her last will she appointed his brother René her heir, nominating sixteen barons of her council and court as regents of the kingdom till he should arrive^q.

His death.

A.D. 1435.

Queen Jane dies

Four days after the death of queen Jane, the city of Naples elected twenty persons out of the nobility and people, who were associated with the regents. They immediately received a nuncio from the pope, who ordered them not to swear allegiance to any prince till he should be confirmed by the holy see, to which the kingdom had devolved by the death of the late queen without issue. The regents paid little regard to this command, but declared that they would have no king but René of Anjou; whose standard, with that of the pope, they erected in Naples. Alphonfus, hearing of the queen's death, immediately came with a fleet to Ischia, and entered into a correspondence with several nobles who were not of the regency. By their advice he landed with some troops, and many other barons declaring for him, in the beginning of May he found himself at the head of fifteen thousand men. Capua was delivered up to him, and by the advice of some barons he invested Gaeta. The regency, in order to oppose him, gave the command of their troops to Caldora, and hired Antonio Pontadero and Micheletto da Cotignola, each of whom commanded one thousand horse. The duke of Milan, who was at this time in possession of Genoa, and had reduced almost all Lombardy, declared against Alphonfus, and sent assistance to the Gaetans, being suspected of having a design to seize the kingdom for himself. The siege still continuing, the Genoese fitted out seventeen vessels, with supplies for the place. Alphonfus being informed of this convoy, embarked ten thousand men, and sailed to the island of Poncia to intercept the fleet. The Genoese, who were only four thousand, at first declined an engagement; but

René of Anjou is declared her successor.

Alphonfus, at the request of many barons, arrives in Apulia.

^p Giornal. Napol. Annal. Bonincontr. Giannonè, mont. Hist. Neap.

^q Sum-

being

*He is taken
prisoner by
the Geno-
ese.*

A.D. 1436.

*Concludes
an alliance
with the
duke of
Milan.
He is set at
liberty, and
returns to
Gaeta.*

being attacked by Alphonfus, they fought for ten hours with such fury, that at last they gained a complete victory, took all his gallies except one, and made Alphonfus prisoner, with his two brothers, the king of Navarre and Don Henry, with many other Neapolitan, Sicilian, and Catalan knights and barons, to the number of near one thousand. The Cajetans hearing of the victory, immediately sallied out upon the besiegers, whom they entirely routed. The Genoese fleet, after having supplied Gaeta with provisions, sailed to Naples, with design to attack the two castles towards the sea; but the admiral being bribed, as it was believed, by Alphonfus, abtained from any farther hostilities, and returned to Savona, where he landed his prisoners, who, instead of proceeding to Genoa, were conducted to Milan. The duke treated Alphonfus with great honour and respect. Being convinced that it was not his interest to allow the French to get footing in Italy, he entered into an alliance with him against René, and towards the end of the year set all his prisoners at liberty.

The Genoese thinking themselves slighted by this alliance, immediately revolted from the duke, and concluded a treaty with René, who was at this time a prisoner to the duke of Burgundy. He had come to Anjou, on parole, where he received the deputies from the regency; but resolving to fulfil his engagements to the duke of Burgundy, he refused to proceed to Naples. He therefore sent thither his wife Elizabeth, with his second son Lewis, marquis of Piedmont, returning himself to prison, where he continued three years. Elizabeth embarking at Provence, on the 1st of October, arrived at Gaeta; and proceeded to Naples, where she was received with great honours as queen. She immediately sent Micheletto as viceroy to Calabria, who being assisted by a fleet under the command of her son, quickly reduced that province. Caldora and Antonio in the mean time, desirous, for their own advantage, to protract the war, neglected to take possession of Capua, and allowed the Arragonians to seize Gaeta¹.

Alphonfus hearing that his brother was in possession of Gaeta, arrived in that city with all those barons that had been prisoners in Milan. He continued there several months, and though many barons of the Anjou faction revolted to him, spent the whole year without any enterprize of importance. Being irritated against the pope, who refused to favour his pretensions to Naples, he declared for the council of Basil, which was then at variance with Eu-

¹ Summont. Hist. Neap. Fragment. Hist. Sicul. ut supra.

genius, and began hostilities against the ecclesiastical state, under pretence of taking possession of it in behalf of the fathers at Basil^r. Alphonsus by this conduct stirred up a more formidable enemy against himself than he expected; for the queen next year begging assistance of the pope, he sent four thousand horse and one thousand foot to her aid, under the command of cardinal Vitelleschi, patriarch of Alexandria, who was greatly distinguished for his military talents. Vitelleschi entered the kingdom in the month of April, and took Cepperano, Venafro, and many other places, in his way to Naples, where he was received with great honour by the queen, who gave him twenty-six thousand ducats for the payment of his troops. As the cardinal paid his men not only with money, but also with indulgences, they fought with great bravery; and in a few months recovered many places from the Arragonians. The queen, however, refusing to grant him any settlement in the kingdom, and Caldora, instead of co-operating with him, thwarting him to the utmost of his power, soon after Christmas he embarked on board a small vessel, and sailed to Venice, from whence he went to the pope at Ferrara^s.

A.D. 1437.

The pope sends succours to the Anjou faction.

René, upon paying an immense ransom to the duke of Burgundy, being at last set at liberty, in the month of April arrived at Pisa, where he received an offer of assistance from Francis Sforza, which he accepted. His council, however, assuring him, that if he hired Sforza, Caldora would immediately revolt to Alphonsus, he afterwards desired Francis not to enter the kingdom. Upon his arrival at Naples, René was received with great rejoicings, and it was universally concluded, that the war would quickly be at an end; but it was no sooner known that he came without money than his reputation sunk, and the ardor of the people abated. Soon after his arrival Caldora came to Naples, and offered him his service; and immediately after marched into Abruzzo, to defend his own territories from Alphonsus, who had reduced great part of the province. René followed him with as many men as he could collect; and at the end of August joined him at Sulmona, which they besieged. Finding the siege very difficult, and being joined by seven thousand Aquilan infantry, René decamped, and went in quest of Alphonsus, to whom he sent a bloody glove, challenging him to battle. Alphonsus thought proper to decline an engagement, and immediately left Abruzzo; then marching with all speed to Naples, on the 27th of September he invested the city by sea and

A.D. 1438.

René arrives at Naples.

Offers battle to Alphonsus.

^r Surit. Hist. Arrag. lib. xiv.

^s Summont. Giornal. Napol.

land. Though the city had almost no garrison, yet it made a vigorous opposition. The infant Don Pedro being killed by a cannon-ball, Alphonfus raised the siege, which had continued thirty-six days, and retired with his army to Capua.

René in the mean time had reduced almost all Abruzzo, and towards the end of the year returned to Naples. Early in the spring he besieged Castel Nuovo by sea and land. Alphonfus used his utmost endeavours to relieve the place; and for that purpose marched with eleven thousand men to Naples. His troops being exposed to the cannon from the castle of St. Erasmus, they mutinied, and declared that they would not stand to be shot at like dogs; a circumstance which obliged him to send a message to René, desiring him to make war according to the usual manner, and not to fire at night. His message being treated with contempt, and the castle being in want of ammunition and provisions, it was at last agreed to deliver it to the French ambassadors, who had lately come to Naples to propose an accommodation betwixt the two kings. The Catalans, who had been in possession of the castle fifteen years, accordingly marched out on the 24th of August. The French ambassadors soon after went to wait upon Alphonfus, who had given them hopes of agreeing to a truce; but both they and their retinue being intercepted on the road, and maltreated by the Catalans, they returned to Naples, and delivered the castle to René.

*Recovers
Castello
Nuovo.*

*He in vain
solicits the
assistance of
Caldora.*

Alphonfus in the mean time made himself master of Salerno, which he gave, with the title of prince, to Orfino, count of Nola; and immediately after he besieged the castle of Averfa. René was very solicitous to relieve the Averfans, and for that purpose intreated the assistance of Antonio Caldora, confirming to him the duchy of Bari, which had been possessed by his father, who had died a few weeks before. Antonio returning an evasive answer, by which he appeared to lean to the party of Alphonfus, René declared publicly, that, seeing his affairs in a desperate situation, he intended to go with his wife and two sons to Eugenius at Florence; that if the pope would give him assistance, he would return to Naples, but if not, he would proceed to France.

Being dissuaded from this resolution by the Neapolitans, on the 29th of January he ventured to leave Naples, with some faithful attendants; and though almost all Terra di Lavoro was in possession of Alphonfus, he proceeded through the snow and over the mountains to Nocera. He gained great honour by this journey, and was immediately
visited

visited by the barons of Abruzzo, and some of the family of Caldora. Though he received many presents from the barons, he could not raise so much money as would satisfy the demand of the duke of Bari, who held him in suspense for near four months before he would absolutely engage in his service. The duke having at length joined him with his troops, he sent a trumpeter to Alphonfus, desiring him not to desolate the kingdom by prolonging the war, but to engage with him in single combat, or with a select troop, or with his army, and that the conqueror should quietly enjoy the crown. Alphonfus answering, that it would be imprudent to hazard a battle, as the kingdom was already his own, René, on the last of June, attacked his camp, which he made himself master of, and would have entirely ruined his army, if Caldora had not treacherously refused to join in the pursuit. The king being convinced of his treachery, put him under confinement for some time; but his troops mutinying, he was obliged to set him at liberty, when he, with all his men, went over to Alphonfus.

Offers battle a second time to Alphonfus.

Is betrayed by Caldora.

René being thus destitute of money and troops, sent his wife and two sons to Provence, and began to treat with his competitor, offering to leave him in quiet possession of the kingdom, on condition that he would adopt his eldest son John for his heir. The Neapolitans being informed of this negotiation, prevailed upon René to break it off, by assuring him that the pope, Francis Sforza, the Florentines, and Genoeſe, had concluded a league to drive Alphonfus from Italy. Alphonfus in the mean time allowed the prince of Tarento to seize the duchy of Bari, and the county of Conversano, from Caldora, who afterwards lost all his territories, and died a beggar in the March of Ancona. He likewise took possession of Cajazza, and the island of Caprea, where soon after he seized a French galley with eighty thousand crowns; and though the cardinal of Tarento, and the count of Tagliacozzo, by the command of the pope, entered the kingdom with ten thousand men, to the assistance of the Anjou faction, he prevailed upon them to agree to a truce, and to retire to the Campagna di Roma.

A.D. 1442.

This truce proved the entire ruin of the affairs of René; for Alphonfus having now no enemy to oppose him in the field, invested the city of Naples; which, after a long siege, he at last, on the 2d of June, made himself master of by storm: his soldiers having been conducted into the place through an aqueduct. René having used his utmost endeavours to repulse the enemy, retired to Castello Nuovo. Two Genoeſe ships arriving next day with provisions, he

Alphonfus takes Naples by storm.

*René leaves
the king-
dom.*

embarked in one of them, and proceeded to Florence to the pope, who received him with great kindness, and granted him the investiture of Naples; but could not prevail upon him to continue in Italy, in hopes of recovering the kingdom^t.

The Arragonians, who had first broke into Naples, pillaged the city for four hours; but Alphonsus entering, rode through the streets with a detachment of officers and horse, and prohibited any injury or violence to be done to the inhabitants. He treated all the citizens with great clemency, and having in a short time reduced almost the whole kingdom, assembled a parliament at Benevento. That he might not seem to annex his new conquest to his other hereditary dominions, he caused all the barons to swear homage to his bastard son Ferdinand, whom he legitimated, and created duke of Calabria. Although Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Majorca, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and Roussillon, were at this time under the dominion of Alphonsus, yet he resolved to fix his royal seat in Naples. Having ordered forty yards of the wall to be levelled, he entered the city through the breach in a triumphal chariot drawn by four white horses, and followed by all the nobles of the kingdom on foot. The day was concluded with tournaments and feasts; and having granted a pardon to all those of the Anjou faction, he was so liberal of honours to his friends, that the author of the Neapolitan diary observes, the number of those who enjoyed titles was then doubled^u.

A.D. 1443.

*Alphonsus
enters Na-
ples in a
triumphal
chariot.*

S E C T. VII.

Charles VIII. of France conquers Naples; but is obliged to relinquish his Conquest. A Partition of the Kingdom betwixt the Kings of France and Spain. The whole at last devolves to Ferdinand King of Arragon.

HAVING thus restored tranquillity to the kingdom, he bent all his thoughts upon a reconciliation with Eugenius; but in order to obtain from him the better terms, he at the same time entered into a negociation with the antipope Felix, who had been elected about four years before, by a few schismatic members of the council of Basil. As the authority of the council was daily declining, he interrupted his negociation with Felix by starting new diffi-

^t Giornal. Napol. Annal. Bonincontr. Summont. Costanzo. Marian. Giannone, ut supra.

^u Giornal, Napol. & alii.

culties; and about the middle of June concluded a treaty with Eugenius, by which it was stipulated, that the pope should confirm the adoption of Alphonfus by Jane II. and grant him the kingdom of Naples upon the same conditions as it had been granted to others by former popes, with the clause, " notwithstanding he had conquered the kingdom with the sword;" that Alphonfus and all his subjects should acknowledge Eugenius as true pope; that he should support the ecclesiastical liberties, and re-establish those that had been infringed; that he should restore all the places taken from the church; furnish six gallies against the Turks, and four thousand horse and one thousand foot to recover the March of Ancona from Francis Sforza, and grant the same privileges to the barons as they enjoyed during the reign of William II. The treaty contained some other less material articles, which were all confirmed by Eugenius, who, on the 15th of July, granted the bull of investiture. Though it was mentioned in the bull, that if Alphonfus left no lawful issue the kingdom should revert to the church, the pope nevertheless granted another bull of investiture to Ferdinand, which it was agreed should not be published during his life ^w.

*Receives
the investiture of the
kingdom
from Eu-
genius.*

Eugenius about the same time published seven or eight bulls, all in favour of Alphonfus, who a few months after was seized with a dangerous illness, which occasioned a report that he was dead. The king by this sickness being convinced how little he could trust to the fidelity of the barons, resolved to secure the interest of the prince of Taranto, the most powerful of them, by contracting a marriage betwixt the duke of Calabria and his niece Isabella, whom the prince had proposed to marry to the brother and heir apparent of the emperor of Constantinople. Isabella was accordingly conducted to Naples, where the marriage with the duke was celebrated without any magnificence, as news arrived of the death of the queens of Castile and Portugal, the king's two sisters. Alphonfus likewise secured the fidelity of the duke of Sessa, by marrying his bastard daughter Leonora to the duke's only son. Being informed that the troops he had sent into the March of Ancona, in consequence of his treaty with the pope, had been defeated by Sforza, he ordered another body of men to march thither, under the command of the count of Ventimiglia, and sent a powerful fleet into the Adriatic, to prevent the Venetians from sending supplies to the enemy.

A.D. 1444.

*Secures the
fidelity of
the barons
by inter-
marriages.*

^w Surit. Hist. Summont. Annal. Bonincontr. Spond. Annal.

A.D. 1447.

*He declares
war a-
gainst the
Florentines.*

About three years after these transactions, Alphonfus resolved to march against Sforza; but when he had proceeded as far as Tivoli, he was informed of the death of Eugenius. Nicolás V. his successor, being of a peaceable disposition, and having no partiality to the Venetians, immediately proposed a general peace, and prevailed on Alphonfus, with the Venetians and Florentines, and the duke of Milan, to send their plenipotentiaries to a congress at Ferrara. The conferences were quickly broke off, and all Italy was again thrown into confusion by the death of the duke of Milan. As he left no lawful issue, the emperor, the duke of Orleans, Francis Sforza, and Alphonfus, all formed pretensions to his dominions. Alphonfus reflecting on the hazard of exciting the emperor and all Italy against him, soon dropt his claim; but, under pretence of securing the peace of Italy, he declared war against the Florentines, and entered Tuscany, in hopes of soon making a conquest of that province *. Having quickly taken some few castles, in the beginning of the following spring he besieged Pimmino; but the place being vigorously defended, and the plague cutting off great part of his army, he was obliged to raise the siege, and in September returned with the remains of his army to Naples †.

A.D. 1449.

*A rupture
betwixt
him and the
Venetians.*

A.D. 1450.

*He forms
an alliance
with that
republic.*

A few months after his return there happened a rupture betwixt him and the Venetians, which almost entirely ruined the commerce of his subjects in Abruzzo, Apulia, and Terra di Bari. The war, however, was but of short continuance; for a peace was concluded the year after in the month of August ‡; when the Venetians entered into an alliance with the king against the Florentines, the Genoese, and Francis Sforza, who was now declared duke of Milan †. This war was carried on but in a languid manner by the king, as he now began to be in love with repose, and was at this time enamoured of Donna Lucretia de Alagno, a Neapolitan lady, of great wit and beauty. She is likewise celebrated by several authors for her chastity; for she declared that the king, with her consent, should never violate her honour, and that if he offered to use force, she would not imitate the Roman Lucretia, but would prevent the dishonour by death. According to Mariana, however, and some others, she was the king's concubine.

After the war had continued two years, with various success, he sent six thousand horse and two thousand foot

* Surit. Hist. Giornal. Napol. Æn. Europ. Hist. Florent. Pogg.
y Annal. Bonincontr. ‡ Idem ut supra. † Annal.

Bonincontr. Poggii Hist. Barthol. Facius de Gest. Alphonf. lib. ix.

into Tuscany, under the command of his son Ferdinand, who took Fojano and two other castles, while the Neapolitan fleet infested the coast^b. The Florentines immediately sent an ambassador to France, desiring the assistance of Charles VIII. and intreating him to send René with a body of troops into Italy, promising to assist him to the utmost of their power in recovering the kingdom of Naples. René accordingly arriving in Lombardy with a considerable body of troops, gave such a turn to the war, in favour of the duke of Milan and the Florentines, that the Venetians began to make advances to an accommodation. Nicholas V. likewise, being earnest to unite the Christian princes against Mahomet II. who had made himself master of Constantinople, offered his mediation for a treaty, and sent for the ambassadors of all the parties to Rome. Alphonfus, however, was very desirous to protract the war, and made large promises to the Venetians to make them alter their intentions; but the republic, instead of hearkening to his proposals, sent a secret messenger to the duke of Milan, to sound his inclinations, and finding him not averse to peace, they concluded a treaty with him and the Florentines. At the desire of the Florentines, the three parties likewise entered into a defensive alliance; and, that Alphonfus might not be offended, they immediately sent their ambassadors to Naples, who, with the pope's legate, Simonetus the hermit, with great difficulty prevailed upon him to enter into the league. As all Italy was alarmed at the loss of Constantinople, and expected immediately to be invaded by the Turks, a defensive alliance for twenty-five years was concluded among the Italian states, excepting the Genoese, Sigismond Malatesta, and Astur of Faenza, who were excluded, to gratify Alphonfus^c.

A.D. 1455.

A general league concluded against the Turks.

This monarch reflecting that his competitor René might be powerfully assisted by the Italians, and that his eldest son John was still left in Italy, and was entertained by the Florentines, he resolved to secure the friendship of Sforza, duke of Milan, who was likewise desirous of the king's alliance to defend himself against the pretensions of the duke of Orleans. A double marriage was accordingly contracted; Hippolita Maria, the duke's daughter, being betrothed to Alphonfus, the duke of Calabria's eldest son, and Leonora, the sister of this Alphonfus, to the duke of Milan's third son, named Sforza^d.

^b Giornal. Napol. Annal. Bonincontr. ann. 1455. aunnone.

^c Hist. General d'Espagne, tom. iv. Giornal. ut supra. Gi-

*A rupture
betwixt
Alphonfus
and the
pope.*

Alphonfus, however, about this period, drew upon himself the enmity of the ſucceſſor of Nicholas, Calixtus III. who had been born his ſubject, and promoted to the cardinalate by his intereſt. The new pope is accuſed by ſome authors of ingratitude; others allege that the king, even after his promotion, looked upon him as his ſubject, and was piqued that the pope had rejected ſome arrogant demands made to him in an authoritative manner^e. However it be, the enmity continued during the reſt of Alphonfus's life; and the following year the king, from his reſentment againſt the pope, aſſiſted Picininus, who, with a body of troops, ravaged the territories of Sienna^f. At the ſame time he continued the war againſt Malateſta and the Genoefe; and the year after ſent a powerful fleet to beſiege Genoa. The Genoefe being likewise attacked by land, were reduced to great diſtreſs; but next year they were happily delivered from their enemy by death. Alphonfus, in the beginning of May, was taken ill, and after languiſhing a few weeks, died on the 27th of June, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age. He is ſaid to have excelled all the princes of his time in the knowlege of the art of war, in his generoſity, magnificence, love of learning, and regard for learned men. He is, however, blamed for his immoderate ambition, incontinency, paſſion, and diſſimulation, and the ſevere exactions with which he oppreſſed his ſubjects^g. As he had no lawful iſſue, he left by his laſt will the kingdom of Naples to his baſtard ſon Ferdinand, and all his other dominions, particularly the iſland of Sicily, to his brother John, king of Navarre, and his poſterity^h.

*His baſtard
ſon Ferdi-
nand ſuc-
ceeds to the
kingdom of
Naples.*

The ſame day that Alphonfus died, Ferdinand ſent to the pope, demanding the inveſtiture of the kingdom. Calixtus, however, reſuſed his demand, unleſs he would divide the realm with his (the pope's) nephew, Peter Lewis Borgia, a man of a moſt abandoned character, whom he had created duke of Spoletto; otherwiſe he declared, that he would claim the kingdom as devolved to the church, or give the inveſtiture of it to John, king of Arragon. Ferdinand would not hearken to the condition propoſed by the pope, but nevertheless endeavoured to mollify him by reſpectful and ſubmiſſive letters and meſſages. His endeavours were without effect, for the pope, on the 12th of July, publiſhed a bull, prohibiting Ferdinand to take the title of king of Naples under pain of excommunication,

^e Contin. de Fleury Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xxii.
^g Collenut. Fazel. Summont.
ment. Æn. Europ. Annaſ.

^f Gobelin. Com-
ſtanſo. Spond.

and likewise, under the same penalty, forbidding any of the Neapolitans to swear allegiance to him, absolving all who had already sworn to him, and affirming that the kingdom had devolved to the church, as Ferdinand was not the true son of Alphonfus, but supposititious. The king in his defence appealed to a future council, and being informed the pope was endeavouring to excite a rebellion by private emissaries, he assembled an army, and threatened to march to Romeⁱ. At the same time he wrote to the cardinals to soften the pope, who was likewise importuned by the ambassadors of the duke of Milan. Calixtus, however, still continued obstinate and implacable; but all his ambitious designs were soon dissipated by his death, which happened on the 6th of August. His successor, the famous Æneas Sylvius, who took the name of Pius II. immediately declared himself favourable to Ferdinand, received the homage of his ambassador, and, notwithstanding the opposition of René of Anjou, and his son John, who was then at Genoa, granted the bull of investiture, adding, however, the clause, “without prejudice to the rights of another,” and insisting upon the restitution of Benevento, and the payment of all arrears of quit-rent^k.

*He receives
the investiture from
Pius II.*

Besides the opposition of Calixtus, Ferdinand had to encounter the fickleness and disaffection of many Neapolitan barons. When Alphonfus died, Charles, prince of Viana, the son of his brother John, happened to be then in Naples, and privately asserted his claim to the crown, as lawful heir to his uncle. He had several conferences with the malecontents, but fearing his intentions were discovered, and seeing no prospect of success, he embarked with many Catalans and Sicilians, and went over to Sicily. After his departure the disaffected barons invited his father, John, king of Arragon; but he refusing their invitation, they sent for John, the eldest son of René of Anjou, then governor of Genoa, which republic had submitted to the king of France, in order to be protected from the late king Alphonfus. During their secret intrigues Ferdinand was solemnly crowned at Barletta, on the 4th of February, by cardinal Latino Orsino, when he granted many favours to his subjects, and honoured many of them with knight-hood^l.

A D. 1459.

*Is crowned
at Barletta.*

He appeared now quietly and securely fixed upon the throne, and resolved to prosecute the war against the Genoese and Malatesta. He was, however, prevented by a

ⁱ Surit. lib. xvi. cap. 48 & 49. Hist. General d'Espagne. ^k Giannone, Collenut. lib. vi. ^l Costanzo, Giornal. Napol.

cruel civil war which broke out in the kingdom. According to the author of the Neapolitan Diary, the prince of Tarento, who was very powerful by his great number of vassals, as well as in being constable of the kingdom, suspecting that the king intended to diminish his grandeur, resolved openly to take up arms, and soon after invested Venosa, under pretence of a private quarrel. When the king ordered him to desist, instead of obeying, he proposed conditions to Ferdinand, and desired him to restore some barons who had forfeited their estates during the late reign. According to this author his request was denied; but others say, that those barons he intreated for were restored to their estates, and that nevertheless the prince and they entered into a correspondence with John of Anjou, and even prevailed on the prince of Rossano, who had married Ferdinand's sister, to join their party.

John of Anjou is invited to seize the crown.

John of Anjou, who for some time had assumed the title of duke of Calabria, being encouraged by their pressing intreaties, fitted out a fleet of twenty-three galleys at Genoa and Marseilles, and hearing that Ferdinand had gone to Calabria to prevent a revolt in that province, on the 5th of October he arrived before Naples, in hopes of being admitted into the city. Queen Isabel, with great diligence and prudence, putting the city in a state of defence, he thought proper to retire, and sailing to the coast of Sessa, landed his troops between the mouths of the rivers Garigliano and Volturno, and was joyfully received by the prince of Rossano^m. Many barons immediately joined him, and Lucera, Troja, Foggia, Sansevero, Manfredonia, and other cities, declared for him, and set up his standard. He was afterwards joined by the prince of Tarento from Apulia, with a large body of troops, and Picininus, who commanded the troops of the late Braccio, and the Genoese fleet returning to the coast, he encamped at Sarno, and received the submission of several cities. Ferdinand, in the mean time, having concluded a peace with Malatesta, and received considerable reinforcements from the pope, and artillery from the duke of Milan, marched against the enemy, and imprudently attacked their camp, though in a few days he could have forced them to surrender. At first he gained a considerable advantage, but, in the end, he was entirely defeated, and obliged to fly to Naples.

A.D. 1460.

He enters the kingdom.

Defeats Ferdinand.

Duke John gained so great a superiority by this victory, that almost all the barons seemed to strive who should first submit to him, and the cities in the most distant parts of

^m Giannone.

the kingdom set up his standard; so that, excepting the count of Fondi, and a very few barons, and Naples, and some other cities, he seemed to be in possession of the whole kingdomⁿ. If he had marched directly to Naples, it was supposed he would quickly have put an end to the war; but the prince of Tarento dissuaded him from this design, having, as was reported, been privately solicited by his niece, queen Isabella, who left Naples in the disguise of a Franciscan, attended by her confessor, and threw herself at his feet, intreating him, that as he had made her a queen he would support her dignity^o. Duke John being accordingly persuaded by the prince to employ his troops in reducing the towns in Campania, Ferdinand had leisure to recruit his forces, and to receive new reinforcements from the pope and the duke of Milan. Having thus drawn together a considerable body of troops, he left Naples, and, in the beginning of winter, almost in sight of the enemy, besieged two towns in Apulia, which, after a long siege, he obliged to surrender.

This success encouraged a great many barons to return to their allegiance. The Anjou faction, however, still continued very powerful, and, in the following campaign, besieged the king in his camp before Barletta. While Ferdinand was in this situation, George Castriot of Albania, surnamed Scanderbeg, at the request of the pope, and in return for the succours he had formerly received from Alphonfus, crossed the Adriatic to his assistance. The news of his arrival surprised all Italy, and increased the credit of Ferdinand's party. He immediately obliged the duke to retire from Barletta, and with his light horse ravaged the territories of the prince of Tarento; but the Turks violating the truce they had concluded with him, he was quickly obliged to return to Albania^p. Though Ferdinand likewise increased his party, by creating one of the most powerful of the Sanseverini prince of Salerno, yet, in the beginning of the next campaign, he lost all the towns which he had before taken from the Anjou faction; but, about the middle of July, being joined by Alexander Sforza, lord of Pisaura, who was sent to his assistance by the duke of Milan, he gained a complete victory over the duke in the neighbourhood of Troja, the particulars of which are related by Pontanus, who was present in the action. In consequence of this event, Troja, and after-

A.D. 1461.

*Ferdinand
retrieves
his affairs.*

*Entirely
defeats
John at
Troja.*

ⁿ Joan. Simonet. Vita Sforz. Duc. apud Murator. tom. xxi. p. 700, 701. 711, 712, 730. ^o Ibidem ut supra. ^p Gobelin. Comment. lib. vi

wards Foggia, Sansevero, and Ascoli, surrendered without opposition. Many of the barons immediately abandoned the Anjou faction, the duke of Milan offering himself as guarantee for the performance of all the promises made to them by the king. The prince of Tarento, likewise, seeing the Anjou faction ruined, thought proper to make his peace with his sovereign; but, in less than a year, was strangled by two of his own servants, who were said to have been bribed by Ferdinand¹.

A.D. 1463.

John and Picininus, after the defeat at Troja, retired with the remains of their army to Abruzzo, and offered to conclude a truce with Ferdinand; but their proposal was rejected by the king, who, in the following spring, assembled his army near Capua, and marched against the prince of Rossano, while Sforza advanced into Abruzzo. The duke leaving Abruzzo, and coming to Sessa, to encourage the prince to continue steadfast, in hopes of succours from Marseilles and Genoa, Picininus, during his absence, submitted to Sforza, and entered into the king's service, on promise of a yearly pension of a hundred and ten thousand ducats. The prince hearing of his submission, immediately concluded an accommodation with the king, while duke John, being abandoned by all the barons, retired with a few French into the island of Ischia. Ferdinand returning in the end of autumn with his army to Apulia, marched against Manfredonia, which still held out for the duke. After he had reduced this city, which was pillaged by his army, he was informed of the death of the prince of Tarento, and invited to take possession of his territories and treasures, as he had left no male issue. The king immediately left the command of his army to Sforza, and proceeded with a few troops to Tarento, being honourably received by the cities, towns, and castles through which he passed, as heir of the late prince. He was joined by all the troops of the deceased, to the number of four thousand men, and received in money, jewels, cattle, and furniture, to the value of a million of crowns². John of Anjou hearing of the death of the prince, with whom he had concerted measures for renewing the war in the spring, lost all hopes of recovering the kingdom, and though he was reinforced with ten galleys from Provence, he left Ischia, and returned to Marseilles³.

A.D. 1464.

*John returns to
Marseilles.*

Ferdinand, about this period, lost his great protector, Pius II. who died at Ancona, and, in the end of August,

¹ Giornal. Napol.
supra.

² Vita Sfort. Gobelin. Comment. ut
³ Pontan. lib. vi. Giornal. Napol.

was succeeded by Paul II. a Venetian. The king had marched with his army into Abruzzo, and deprived all the family of Landola of their territories. In his way thither, he seized the prince of Rossano, and sent him prisoner to Naples. This step being a manifest violation of the treaty concluded with him, Picininus, who had been created prince of Sulmo, to avoid the same treatment, fled to Milan, where he was honourably received, and married the duke's bastard daughter. Being, however, persuaded to return to Naples, he was apprehended by the king, with his son, and some few others, after he had been treated at his first arrival with the greatest honours. Ferdinand excused his proceeding to the duke of Milan, under pretence that Picininus was forming a second conspiracy. The duke, however, was so offended with his breach of faith, that he immediately ordered his two sons not to proceed till farther orders with their sister Hippolita, who had advanced to Sienna, on her way to Naples, attended by Frederic, the king's second son, with six thousand horse^t. He likewise sent another of his sons ambassador to the king, to intercede for his son-in-law; but, before his arrival, Picininus was dead, having accidentally killed himself, according to the account published by the king, by falling from a window of the castle. Though the duke did not believe this account of his death, as it was reported he had been strangled by the king's order, yet he allowed his daughter to proceed to Naples, where she arrived about the middle of September, when the marriage was celebrated with Alphonfus, duke of Calabria.

A.D. 1465.

A.D. 1467.

Ferdinand, by imprisoning the prince of Rossano, and destroying Picininus, entirely put an end to the troubles of the kingdom, which, for several years after, enjoyed perfect tranquillity. As Alexander Sforza, duke of Milan, died a few months after the marriage of Hippolita, he renewed the league with his son Galeazzo and the Florentines, and the year after sent his son, the duke of Calabria, with a considerable body of troops, to Tuscany, to the assistance of Peter de Medicis, against some malecontents, who had prevailed on the Venetians to support their party^u. As the Turks had defeated Scanderberg, subdued Albania and Epire, and were making continual conquests in Greece, pope Paul, in the course of the following year, prevailed on the league to conclude a peace with the Venetians, and quieted, in some measure, the civil dissensions in Florence.

The duke of Calabria marries the daughter of the duke of Milan.

^t Vita Sfort. ut supra. Giornal. Napol. apud Murator. tom. xxi. p. 1015.

^u Chron. Eugub.

Nevertheless,

A.D. 1469. Nevertheless, Ferdinand had a dispute with the pope, about the annual tribute to the holy see, and the cities of the kingdom possessed by the pope; namely, Terracina, Benevento, Civita Ducale, Acumoli, and Lioneffa. The king threatened to begin hostilities against the ecclesiastical state; and, in the beginning of January, ordered some troops to march towards Abruzzo. He likewise sent his son Alphonfus to the assistance of Robert Malatesta, whom the pope was then besieging in Rimini. The papal troops were obliged to raise the siege for want of reinforcements, which they expected from the Venetians, who were then chiefly engaged in preparing for the defence of Negropont against the Turks. Next year, Mahomet II. made himself master of the city and island, when he wrote a letter to Ferdinand, desiring him to rejoice on account of his victory. Ferdinand, in his answer, declared, that he could not rejoice at such an event. All the states of Italy being greatly alarmed at the loss, thought proper to accommodate their differences, and on Christmas-day concluded a general peace at Rome^x.

A.D. 1477. At this period Ferdinand entered into an alliance with Hercules d'Este, duke of Ferrara, and gave him his daughter Elenora in marriage. He likewise betrothed his other daughter to Matthias, king of Hungary, she being crowned queen by cardinal Caraffa, embarked in the month of September, with the Hungarian ambassador at Manfredonia, on board of four galleys, with many other ships, and sailed to Hungary. Queen Isabella dying, Ferdinand contracted an alliance with his cousin Jane, daughter of John king of Arragon, and sent the duke of Calabria, attended with many nobles, on board ten galleys, and several other ships, to Catalonia, to conduct the bride to Naples. Upon her arrival, in the month of September, she was crowned by cardinal Borgia with great pomp and ceremony^y. Ferdinand, during these years of peace, employed himself in enlarging and embellishing the city of Naples, in publishing new laws and regulations, reforming the tribunals and the university, encouraging learning and learned men, and introducing new arts, particularly the art of printing, and the silken and woollen manufactories^z.

A.D. 1478. In a few months after his marriage, the king concluded an alliance with pope Sixtus IV. which, in the end, proved very fatal to his kingdom. Sixtus formed a plot to assassinate Laurence and Julian de Medicis, the grandsons of the famous Cosmo of Florence, in hopes of crushing that com-

*He assists
the pope
against the
Florentines.*

^x Chron. Eugub. ut supra. Papiens. Epist. ^y Giornal. Napol.
^z Giannone Toppi Biblioth. Neap. Summont.

monwealth, and enriching his profligate nephew, Jeronimo Rovere; and he persuaded Ferdinand to send some troops to Tuscany, under pretence of assisting the pope against some rebels. Laurence de Medicis was so fortunate as to escape the hands of the assassins; and the Florentines being assisted by the Venetians and the duke of Milan, defended their territories with great vigour against the duke of Calabria and the papal troops, with those of Sienna. The war continued with various success till the end of the following year, when a truce being concluded for three months, Laurence de Medicis came as ambassador from Florence to Naples, and was so successful as to prevail with Ferdinand to conclude a defensive and offensive alliance with the Florentines, to the great displeasure of the pope, who had not been consulted on this subject ^a.

The Florentines, during the war, with a view to oblige Ferdinand to withdraw his troops, secretly pressed the Turks to invade Naples. The Venetians likewise, being jealous of the king's power, and having got intelligence, that he was forming pretensions to the kingdom of Cyprus, excited the infidels, with whom they had then concluded a peace, to make a descent upon his dominions ^b. Mahomet, being irritated against Ferdinand for having sent succours to the relief of Rhodes, was easily persuaded to invade the kingdom of Naples. He accordingly fitted out a formidable fleet at Valona, anciently called Apollonia, on the coast of Epire, and embarking with a formidable army, gave the chief command to basha Achmet, who landed in Calabria, about the end of July, and immediately besieged Otranto. The city had but a small garrison, and was unprepared for a siege. The citizens and soldiers nevertheless defended themselves for near three weeks with great bravery, in hopes of being relieved by the king; but no succours arriving, the Turks at length took the place by assault, when they massacred all the aged of both sexes, and all the clergy, ravished the matrons and nuns upon the altars, ripped up the women with child, and made captives of all the youth ^c.

The news of this invasion astonished and alarmed all Italy. The king declaring to the pope, that, if he would not assist him, he would conclude a peace with the Turks, Sixtus immediately ordered twenty-four gallies, which he had destined for the relief of Rhodes, to sail to Naples.

The Florentines and Venetians excite the Turks to invade Naples.

A.D 1480.

Basba Achmet attacks Otranto.

^a Diar. Roman. Volater. ap. Murator. tom. xxiii. Diar. Sanesi ap eund. p. 805, &c. Machiavel Hist. Flor.

^b Storia Veneziana da Andrea Navagiero ap. Murator. tom. xxiii. col. 1165.

^c Volater. Spond. Annal.

He likewise agreed to an accommodation with the Florentines; and, on the 16th of September, concluded an alliance against the Turks with Ferdinand of Naples, the king of Hungary, the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, and the republics of Genoa and Florence. The Turks, in the mean time, took some other places in the neighbourhood of Otranto, and made incursions along the northern coast of Italy, as far as Loretto.

A. D. 1481.

*Alphonfus
besieges O-
tranto, and
obliges the
Turks to
surrender
the place.*

Ferdinand, having recalled his troops from Tuscany, sent the duke Alphonfus into Calabria to oppose the infidels, and wrote to almost all the princes of Europe for assistance. The Neapolitan fleet being joined by twenty-two gallies of the pope, and some vessels from the kings of Portugal, sailed round to Otranto, and blocked up the harbour, while Alphonfus invested the city by land with a powerful army, being joined by nine hundred men from Florence^e, three thousand Castilians^f, and two thousand Hungarian horse. The Turks made a vigorous defence; but, in the beginning of June, being informed by Alphonfus of the death of the emperor Mahomet, they consented to evacuate the place, after they had received a confirmation of the news from Valona. The city accordingly, on the 10th of August, surrendered to Alphonfus, who is accused by a certain author of having plundered the garrison, and taken many of the Turks prisoners, contrary to the capitulation. As he did not share this booty with the pope's legate, this last withdrew his galleys from the rest of the fleet, a circumstance which prevented him from attacking Valona, as he intended^g. Ferdinand was very desirous of prosecuting the war, and of invading Greece during the dissensions betwixt the sons of Mahomet, and, by his ambassadors at Rome, complained of the proceedings of the legate. The cardinal excused himself, alleging his fleet was very sickly, and declaring it would require forty thousand crowns to repair the galleys; but one of the Genoese captains publicly accused Alphonfus of having disobliged all the sailors by his despotism and avarice. The Neapolitan ambassador, nevertheless, still urging the great advantage that would redound to the general cause, from keeping the fleet united, and attacking the infidels during their civil dissensions, the pope advised the legate and the Genoese to return to Naples; but the Genoese commander and the cardinal absolutely refused to rejoin the fleet.

^e Turfel. Hist. Lauret. lib. ii. cap. 4.

^g Diar. Parmens. ap Murator. tom. xxii. p. 363.

^f Storia Venez.

Ferdinand, being thus prevented from carrying his arms into Greece, was obliged to employ them against the pope and the Venetians, in defence of his son-in-law the duke of Ferrara. The power of the Venetians was at this time looked upon with jealousy by all the Italian states, who observed that they took every opportunity to extend their dominion on the continent. The republic having entered into a private treaty with Sixtus, by which it was agreed to make a partition of the duchy of Ferrara betwixt them and the pope's nephew Jeronimo, they took an occasion to quarrel with the duke, declared war against him, and immediately seized the greatest part of his duchy. The pope at the same time made great warlike preparations at Rome, to act in concert with them, and assembled an army under the command of his nephew, to prevent the Neapolitans from marching to Ferrara. The Colonna and Savelli, however, joining the duke of Calabria, and admitting his troops into their towns, the duke quickly advanced with his army, in which were about two thousand janisaries, and on the 5th of June encamped within view of the city. The pope and the Romans were in the utmost consternation, especially as it was reported that the emperor was assembling a general council at Basil, and that Ferdinand had made himself master of Benevento and Terracina. As the neighbourhood of Rome was ravaged by both parties for several weeks, the Romans openly murmured against the pope; but a considerable reinforcement of Venetian troops joining the papal army, Alphonfus, on the 21st of August, was attacked, and entirely defeated.

A.D. 1482.

Ferdinand assists the duke of Ferrara against the pope and the Venetians.

Notwithstanding this loss, Ferdinand found means to detach the pope from the Venetians, by promising his nephew Jeronimo forty thousand crowns for three years. Sixtus likewise joining in the general alliance, Alphonfus entered Rome, and, after some conferences with his holiness, on the last of December proceeded to Ferrara. He employed the whole following campaign in raising contributions in the Venetian territories on the continent, while his brother Frederic sailed into the gulf, and seized a great many ships belonging to the republic. The Venetians, in resentment, threatened to introduce the Turks into Apulia, and sent for René, duke of Lorrain, promising to support him in his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. The duke, however, continued but a short time at Venice, and returned to France. The republic, being disappointed in their assistance from him, resolved to remove the war, if possible, from their own territories, and the next year ordered their admiral to invade Apulia. The Venetian fleet

A.D. 1483.

The pope agrees to a peace with Ferdinand.

A.D. 1484.

The Venetians invade Apulia.

accordingly arriving on the coast, landed their troops, took Gallipoli by storm, and afterwards reduced several castles in that neighbourhood. PolICASTRO and CERO, upon the same coast, being likewise surpris'd and plundered by the enemy, Ferdinand equipped thirty-eight gallies, and sent them round to the gulf, under the command of his son Frederic and Bernard Villamarino. But as all parties beginning to be tired of the war, a general congress was agreed to be held at a village in the neighbourhood of Brescia, when the governor of the duke of Milan concluding a separate peace with the Venetians, the allies were obliged to accede to the treaty, though the terms were not so favourable to them as they might have expected ^g.

A peace concluded.

A few days after the conclusion of this treaty, Sixtus IV. died at Rome, and was succeeded by Innocent VIII. a Genoese. Though this pope had been long in the service of Ferdinand and of his father Alphonsus, yet, soon after his promotion to the pontificate, he became the king's bitter enemy, and encouraged another formidable rebellion in the kingdom. A few weeks after the general peace, the Florentines having declared war against the Genoese, Ferdinand granted them some assistance, and sent a considerable fleet against Genoa. The pope interceded for his native country, and prevailed with the king to promise to embrace a neutrality; notwithstanding which promise, Ferdinand still continuing to send succours to the Florentines, Innocent resolved to seize the first opportunity of shewing his resentment, and in the following year openly espoused the cause of some discontented barons ^h. Ferdinand for several years had resigned almost the whole administration of the government to Alphonsus, who, being of an arbitrary and cruel disposition, was dissatisfied with the independence which the barons enjoyed, and had formed a design of stripping them of their privileges; which purpose he was imprudent enough to disclose to his confidants and favourites, and in a manner published to the whole kingdom, by wearing, as a device, a besom upon his helmet ⁱ.

Difference betwixt Ferdinand and Innocent.

A.D. 1485.

The barons, by the alteration of his behaviour since the recovery of Otranto, and his retaining a body of Turks in his pay, had for some time been suspicious of his designs; and perceiving the bad correspondence betwixt the king and the pope, they judged the opportunity favourable for a revolt, as they would be sure of the protection of his holi-

The barons revolt against the king.

^g Storia Veneziana. Petr. Curn. de Bell. Ferrar. ap. Murat. tom. xxi. Volater. ut supra. Diar. Parmens. Vite de Duchi de Venez. ap. Murat. tom. xxii. ^h Storia Venez. ⁱ Camil. Porzio. Giann. ut supra.

ness. Mean while Innocent was engaged in disputes with Ferdinand about the usual tribute for the kingdom, and at the same time he maintained a secret correspondence with the malecontents.

Alphonfus, having discovered the secret practices of the barons, resolved by activity to break their measures. In the end of June he took possession of Nola, and seized the count of Montario and the sons of the duke of Ascoli and of the count of Nola, who were imprisoned in Castel Nuovo. The pope immediately declared himself arbitrator, and cited the king to appear at Rome, while the other conspirators took arms in different parts of the kingdom, and the city of Aquila raised the standard of the church. Ferdinand endeavoured at first to quiet the commotions by a treaty, and sent his son Frederic to Salerno to conclude a peace, which, for a few weeks, had been negotiating with the rebels. The prince of Salerno, however, and the other malecontents, instead of submitting, offered the crown to Frederic, and, upon his refusing to accept of it, made him prisoner. All hopes of an accommodation vanishing, hostilities were renewed. The pope espoused the cause of the barons with great zeal; and resolving, if possible, to dethrone the king, made an offer of the investiture to René of Lorraine, who, in right of his mother, sister to the late John of Anjou, kept up a claim to the kingdom. René neglecting the present offer, Innocent earnestly solicited the assistance of the Venetians, who, though they were promised a large share of the kingdom, refused to declare openly against Ferdinand.

The king in the mean time concluded a treaty with the Orsini family, who had revolted from the pope, and conferred upon them the counties of Nola, Tripalda, and Valentino, with the city of Ascoli. He likewise assembled three armies, one of which, under the command of the duke of Calabria, invaded the ecclesiastical state, and made incursions as far as Rome, while the other two attacked those of the barons, and gained several advantages. The pope, finding the efforts of the malecontents not so considerable as he expected, soon began to think of peace, and proposed to the barons to come to an agreement with the king, promising to obtain good conditions for them. As they distrusted the king's disposition, they at first were averse to a treaty; but the king of Arragon, and his son the king of Sicily, with the duke of Milan and the Florentines, offering to become guaranties, the peace was at last concluded on the 12th of August, when Ferdinand agreed

A.D. 1486.

and to pardon all those that had been concerned in the rebellion. It was likewise stipulated, that the city of Aquila should be at liberty either to submit to the pope or the king; that the pope should have the power of conferring all the benefices in the kingdom; and, what is somewhat remarkable, should be at liberty to furnish provisions and a free passage to the French, if they should attempt to invade Naples^k. Some of the barons, particularly the prince of Salerno, refused to trust to the king's pardon, and went to France and Rome. Those who remained were soon sadly convinced of the king's perfidy; for in a few months the greatest part of them were seized and imprisoned, with their wives and children. Some of these were condemned by a formal trial, and executed publicly, while the rest were privately put to death in prison, without any regard to the remonstrances of the pope, the duke of Milan, and the other guarantees^l.

Ferdinand, on account of this, and many other acts of tyranny, began to be regarded not as a lawful prince, but as a despotic tyrant, hated and detested by all his subjects. Though, by the many forfeitures of the late rebellious barons, he had amassed a great treasure, and increased the number of fortified places in the kingdom, yet he was distrustful of his own safety, as he was informed that both Ferdinand, king of Spain, and Charles VIII. of France, formed pretensions to his dominions. Charles VIII. alleged, that he was heir to the late John of Anjou; and the king of Spain, as guarantee of the late treaty which had been so basely violated, threatened to declare war against Ferdinand, but was prevented by a rebellion in Sardinia, and an irruption of the Moors of Granada.

A.D. 1489. About two years after, the pope, not being able to obtain from him either the arrears of tribute, or satisfaction for the violation of the treaty concluded with the barons, denounced a sentence of excommunication against him, if he did not repent in two months. This fulmination not producing the desired effect, on the 11th of September he solemnly excommunicated him, and deposed him from the kingdom of Naples; at the same time publishing a crusade against him, and appointing the king of France general of the crusards. Ferdinand, being sensible that the pope and the French king were not then able to offend him with temporal arms, paid no regard to spiritual hostilities; but a

Notwithstanding which, the barons are put to death.

A new rupture betwixt the king and the pope.

^k Auct. sup. citat. Onuphr. & Ciacon. Vit. Innoc. Rainald. Annal. Istoria Napolitana, ap. Murator. tom. xxiii.
^l Giannone Istoria Napol.

few months after, being informed that Charles VIII. was making great preparations for an expedition to Italy, he began to think seriously of a reconciliation with the pope. For that purpose, he began a treaty at Rome, which, by the mediation of the king of Arragon, was concluded in the course of the following year. The king sent his grandson, the prince of Capua, to Rome, who asked pardon of Innocent, and promised, in the name of his grandfather and father, to pay the usual tribute to the holy see, not to usurp the collation of benefices, and to make ample satisfaction to the sons or heirs of the barons who had been put to death in violation of the general pardon. Innocent received young Ferdinand with great honour, and, on the 4th of June, granted a bull, securing the succession of the kingdom to Alphonfus, or to the prince of Capua, in case Alphonfus should die before his father^m. For a farther security of the pope's favour, a marriage was contracted betwixt one of the king's relations, and Baptista, the pope's nieceⁿ.

A.D. 1401.

*They are
again re-
conciled.*

These precautions, however, were of very little consequence; for next year Innocent died, and, on the 10th of August, was succeeded by Alexander VI. who, by his wicked ambition, and desire of aggrandizing his bastard son Cæsar Borgia, not only disturbed the tranquillity of Naples, but of all Italy. Ferdinand is said to have lamented the promotion of Alexander with tears, as he was informed that Charles VIII. was still intent upon invading Naples, and was apprehensive that the new pope would espouse the cause of the French. Soon after his elevation to the pontificate, Ferdinand sent an ambassador to congratulate him at Rome, and a good correspondence seemed established betwixt them; but, in the beginning of the following year, Alphonfus rejecting the offer of an alliance betwixt one of his sons and the pope's bastard daughter, Alexander immediately entered into a treaty with the Venetians, and with Lewis Sforza, uncle of the duke of Milan. This man had usurped his nephew's dominions, and pressed the king of France to invade Naples, as Alphonfus had threatened to assist the young duke, who was his son-in-law, to obtain possession of his duchy. Ferdinand, alarmed at the designs of the pope and Sforza, immediately endeavoured to be reconciled to them: he offered to confirm the government of Milan to Lewis Sforza, and was so fortunate as to recover Alexander's favour, by creating his youngest son Geoffry count of Squillace, with a yearly revenue of ten thousand

A.D. 1492.

*Alexander
VI. suc-
ceeds to the
pontificate.*

^m Viallard, in Vit. Innocent VIII. Bzov. Surit. Hist. lib. xx. Marian. Hist.

ⁿ Spond. Annal.

A.D. 1494

*Ferdinand
dies at
Naples.*

ducats, and giving him in marriage a bastard daughter of Alphonfus^o. The king of France, however, at the instigation of the prince of Salerno and other exiles, still continuing his preparations, and ordering the Neapolitan ambassador to leave his court, Ferdinand exerted himself to put his kingdom in a posture of defence; but by his extraordinary fatigues he contracted an illness, of which he died on the 25th of January, more oppressed with cares than with age, though he was then in his seventy-first year. According to Guicciardini, Ferdinand would have been accounted a good prince, if he had continued to govern by the same maxims which he pursued in the beginning of his reign. Although, by his arrogance, oppression, and breach of faith, he had incurred the hatred of his subjects, yet, by his prudence and abilities he raised the kingdom to a greater pitch of grandeur than any of his predecessors had attained. He was a great patron of learning, which, by the loss of Constantinople, began to revive and flourish during his reign in Italy. He restored the university of Naples, and published many wise laws, which are in force to this day^p.

*Alphonfus
I., succeeds
to the
throne.*

Some time before the death of Ferdinand, Alexander threatened again to join the king of France; but Alphonfus, immediately after his succession, sending ambassadors to Rome, by large concessions still retained him in his interest. He granted him the investiture, with a diminution of the yearly tribute during his life, and sent his nephew, John Borgia, to Naples, to perform the ceremony of his coronation. Alphonfus likewise concluded a defensive alliance with the pope, who refused the investiture to the French ambassadors, and desired the French king to lay aside all warlike preparations, and refer his claim to the decision of the holy see. Ferdinand of Spain, the Venetians, and Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, were also solicited to join in the alliance; but Ferdinand alone promised to send a fleet to the assistance of the pope^q. Charles VIII. in the mean time being continually solicited by his favourites, the Neapolitan exiles, and Lewis Sforza, resolved to proceed in the expedition, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, and sent the duke of Orleans with a considerable body of men to Genoa. He himself, leaving Vienne on the 23d of August, passed the Alps with his army, and on the 9th of September arrived at Asti. This

*The king of
France
enters Italy
with an
army.*

^o Guicciard. Hist. lib. i. Diar. Sanesi ap. Murator. tom. xxiii. Storia Veneziana. Vita de Duchi, ut supra. Mem. de Commin. Cor. par. vii.
^p Guic. lib. i. Giannone, lib. xxviii.
^q Diar. Burchard. Mem. de Commines.

invasion was the source of innumerable calamities to Italy, occasioning the revolutions of states, the ravaging of provinces, the destruction of cities, cruel slaughters, new manners and fashions, barbarous methods of carrying on war, and unheard-of distempers^r.

Alphonfus endeavoured to prevent the enemy from entering the kingdom. For that purpose he sent his son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, with an army to Romagna, and gave the command of a powerful fleet to his brother Don Frederic, to protect the coast, and prevent the enemy from receiving any succours by sea. Notwithstanding all his efforts the French army, on the last day of December, entered Rome, while the pope took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. Eighteen cardinals declared for Charles, and pressed him in the most earnest manner to reform the church and depose the pope. The king, however, whose favourites were bribed by Alexander, entered into a treaty with his holiness, who promised to grant the investiture of the kingdom to him, and to put several cities of the ecclesiastical state into his possession. Alphonfus, hearing that his son Ferdinand had abandoned Rome, and retired before the French; that Aquila and almost all Abruzzo had set up the standard of king Charles; and that, in many other parts of the kingdom, the people openly espoused the French interest, he was struck with such a panic, that, on the 22d of January, he made a solemn renunciation of his crown in favour of his son Ferdinand, and, almost distracted with apprehension, fled with the queen-dowager, his mother-in-law, to Mazara, a town in Sicily, formerly given to the queen by her brother the king of Spain (Y). King Charles, a few days after, left Rome, and entered the kingdom. Ferdinand, upon the news of his approach, abandoned San Germano with his army, and fled to Naples, where perceiving the universal defection of the people, he embarked with a few followers on board of some

*Alphonfus
resigns the
kingdom to
Ferdinand.*

^r Guicc. lib. i.

(Y) He went soon after to Messina, where he lived with the monks of the order of St. John of God, according to their rules and austerities. Commines relates, that he resolved to proceed to Valentia, and to spend the remainder of his days in a monastery; but not many months after his arrival in Sicily, he was seized with the tormenting distemper of the gravel, of which he died on the 19th of November, professing great remorse for his past wicked life (1).

(1) Mem. de Commines, lib. vii. cap. 11.

A.D. 1495. galleys, and sailed over to the island of Ischia. The French king, meeting with no opposition, advanced with his army. On Sunday the 22d of February he entered Naples in triumph, and soon after received the submission of the whole kingdom, except a few places in Calabria.

Charles VIII. enters Naples.

This unexpected revolution alarmed not only the states of Italy, but also the emperor Maximilian and the king of Spain, who were jealous of such an acquisition to the French power. Accordingly, before Charles had been six weeks in Naples, these two princes, with the pope, the Venetians, and Lewis Sforza, who had now usurped the title of duke of Milan, entered into an alliance against him, the emperor and the king of Spain promising to invade France, and Sforza engaging to prevent any French reinforcements from entering Italy. Charles, in the mean time, minded nothing but his pleasures in Naples, while his officers and soldiers insulted and plundered the inhabitants. He treated the nobility of the kingdom with disdain and contempt, and conferred all offices and dignities on a few Frenchmen. Having been declared emperor of Constantinople by the pope, in consequence of a cession made to him by the despot Palæologus, he vainly meditated the conquest of the Greek empire from the Turks, and sent over the archbishop of Durazzo to tempt the Greeks to revolt; but hearing of the formidable league concluded against him, he resolved, with the utmost dispatch, to return to France^s. Having caused himself to be solemnly crowned, and appointed Gilbert Montpensier viceroy, he left Naples, and marched in great haste to Lombardy, where his camp was attacked by the Venetians; but having cut his way through the enemy, he soon after arrived at Grenoble.

He returns with precipitation to France.

Before he left Naples, Gonsalvo Hernandes, known by the name of the Great Captain, had landed with some Spanish troops in Calabria, where he obtained some signal advantages over the French; and, soon after the departure of Charles, the Neapolitans received Ferdinand into their city with universal acclamations. At the same time a Venetian fleet arriving on the coast of Apulia, great part of the kingdom immediately revolted from the French, whose numbers were very inconsiderable. Ferdinand, being assisted by the Great Captain, in the course of the following summer recovered the whole kingdom, except Tarento and Gaeta; and, in order to enter into a stricter friendship with the king of Spain, he married his niece, who

A.D. 1496.

Ferdinand recovers the kingdom, and dies.

^s Spond. Annal. Commynes Addit. in Monstrel. Tilius in Chron.

was at the same time his own aunt, as being the daughter of his grandfather by his second marriage. He now promised himself a return of his former prosperity; but while he was diverting himself with his new spouse at Somma, near the foot of Mount Vesuvius, he fell dangerously ill, and his life being despaired of, he was carried to Naples, where he died on the 7th of October, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the second of his reign, greatly regretted, not only by the Neapolitans, but by all Italy^t.

Ferdinand, leaving no issue, was succeeded by his uncle Frederic, a most prudent prince, of a mild disposition, and a great encourager of learning; who, being assisted by Gonfalso, made himself master of Tarento and Gaeta, and obliged the French wholly to evacuate the kingdom. A few months after his accession he received an affectionate letter from the pope, with the bull of investiture, and, on the 10th of August, he was solemnly crowned by cardinal Borgia, in the cathedral church of Capua. As the king of France had for some time threatened a second and more powerful invasion, Frederic was very assiduous in putting the kingdom in a state of defence; he likewise began to suspect the designs of his two allies, the Venetians and Spaniards, who, under different pretences, kept possession of the places they had recovered from the French. Ferdinand of Spain, instead of prosecuting the war against king Charles in France, agreed to a truce with him, and even entered into a negotiation for making a partition of the kingdom of Naples. This contract, however, was prevented from being concluded by the death of Charles, who died of an apoplexy in the month of April. He was succeeded by his cousin Lewis, duke of Orleans, who immediately assumed the title of king of France, Jerusalem, and the Two Sicilies, and duke of Milan, which duchy he claimed in right of his grandmother.

Alexander VI. who knew that his ambition and rapacity could not be satiated while Italy was in peace, had entered into a private negotiation with the late king Charles, inviting him again to cross the Alps; but hearing of his sudden death, he made an offer of his friendship to Frederic, on condition that he would give his daughter Charlotte, then in France, in marriage to Cæsar Borgia, who intended to renounce the ecclesiastical life, and grant him the investiture of the principality of Tarento as her portion. Frederic, persuaded that the next step the pope would take

A.D. 1497

He is succeeded by his uncle Frederic,

^t Guicc. Commînes. Belcar. Diar. Sanesi. Diar. Ferrar. ut supra. Chron. Venet. apud Murator. tom. xxiv.

would

A.D. 1499.

Lewis enters into an alliance with the pope, and conquers Milan.

would be to deprive him of the kingdom, and to give the investiture of it to his son, absolutely refused to hearken to his proposal, though he was earnestly pressed to it by the duke of Milan, who was greatly afraid of the king of France. The pope, highly provoked at this repulse, had recourse to Lewis, who, being wholly intent upon an expedition to Italy, and desiring a divorce from his wife, readily concluded the alliance, and granted large conditions to Alexander, creating his son Borgia, upon his arrival in France, duke of Valentinois, with a revenue of twenty thousand franks, besides twenty thousand more as captain of a hundred spearmen^u.

Lewis, next year, sent a powerful army into Italy, under the command of the duke of Luxemburgh, Edward Stuart, duke of Aubigny, and Trivulci, an Italian, who, in less than three weeks, subdued the whole Milanese. He himself arrived at Milan on the 6th of October, where he assigned a body of troops to Borgia, to conquer Romagna; and having received embassies of congratulation from the Italian states, returned in the month of December to France. By this retreat Lewis Sforza, who had fled, was encouraged to return with a considerable body of Germans and Burgundians. Upon his arrival, the whole duchy revolted from king Lewis, and he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy into Milan: but soon after he was betrayed by the Swiss in his own pay, and delivered to the French, who thus again became masters of the whole duchy. Notwithstanding this considerable acquisition, Lewis delayed invading the kingdom of Naples, till he had concluded a treaty of partition with Ferdinand of Spain. The Spanish monarch had long formed a claim to Naples, in consequence of the conquest of his uncle Alphonso I. whose right he alleged he was heir to; but observing the kingdom in the possession of the bastard Ferdinand and his sons, he had hitherto craftily concealed his pretensions: he even, at the desire of Frederic, sent fresh succours to Naples, under the command of the Great Captain. Frederic, however, was very suspicious of his designs, and, rather than rely entirely upon his assistance, earnestly solicited succours from Bajazet; but being disappointed at Constantinople, he made an offer to the king of France of becoming his tributary, and of paying him annually a large sum of money, which was rejected by Lewis, who, rather than be the supreme power in Italy, and have a king tri-

A.D. 1501.

^u Bellefor. lib. vi. Guice. Tomaso Tomasi, Burchard.

butary

butary to him, imprudently introduced his cunning, ambitious, and powerful rival.

The two kings, being both covetous of the possession of Naples, and mutually awed by each other's power, agreed to divide the kingdom in the following manner: that the king of Spain should have possession of Apulia and Calabria; and that all the rest of the kingdom, with the title of king of Naples and Jerusalem, should belong to the king of France. Alexander VI. in hopes of obtaining a share of the prey, to the astonishment of all Italy, confirmed the treaty, and, on the 25th of June, gave each of the princes the investiture of his dividend, all the three potentates cloaking their ambition with the pretence of religion, professing that they intended the conquest of Naples only with the view of being the more able to distress the Turk. Frederic had already put Gonsalvo in possession of several places in Calabria, and had prepared an army to oppose the invasion of the French; but hearing of the league betwixt Ferdinand and Lewis, he did not think proper to wait the arrival of the French army, but put a strong garrison into Capua, and retired with the rest of his army towards Naples. The French advanced without any opposition, and on the 25th of July took Capua by storm, which they plundered with the greatest barbarity. About a fortnight after they took possession of Naples, when Frederic retired to Castell Nuovo, but, despairing of relief, in a few days he surrendered all the forts and castles that held out for him in the French division, to Aubigny, excepting the island of Ischia, whither he himself retired.

The kings of France and Spain invade Naples.

Reflecting on the perfidy of the Spaniards, he resolved to resign his whole kingdom to Lewis; and, having obtained a safe conduct from him, he went to France, where he was created duke of Anjou, with a yearly pension of thirty thousand ducats. His eldest son was then besieged by the Spaniards in Tarento, and being obliged to surrender, was detained prisoner, contrary to the articles of capitulation, and sent by Gonsalvo to Spain, where he was treated at first with royal honours*. Thus the Neapolitans, by their internal factions, became a prey to foreign invaders, having tamely submitted to allow their kingdom, formerly one of the most powerful in Europe, to be split into two inconsiderable provinces, which disgrace they might easily have prevented, if they had adhered with fidelity to their prince. From this period their national dignity and repu-

Frederic retires to France.

* Guicciard. lib. v. Thuan. lib. i. Marian. Hist.

tation daily declined, and the kingdom soon began to be considered only as a branch of the monarchy of Spain, to which it continued subject during the two following centuries.

A difference betwixt the French and Spaniards about the limits of their shares.

A.D. 1502.

The French and Spaniards having without any difficulty conquered their respective shares of the kingdom, Gonsalvo was appointed governor and commander in Apulia and Calabria, and Lewis d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, as viceroy, took up his residence in Naples. As the terms of the partition-treaty, specifying the limits of the two divisions, were not explicit, disputes immediately arose betwixt the two governors about the extent of their respective territories. Though Apulia had always been divided into three parts, namely, Terra d'Otranto, Terra di Bari, and Capitanata, yet the French insisted that Capitanata belonged to Abruzzo, alleging, that they were not obliged to stand to the modern division made by Alphonsus of Arragon, especially as Capitanata was disjoined from the rest of Apulia by the river Ophanto *. These disputes soon branching out into others, the viceroy went to Melphis, and the governor to Attela, and entered into a negociation for terminating all differences; but not being able to come to any agreement, it was resolved to wait the decision of Lewis and Ferdinand, and in the mean time to make no innovation. The viceroy, however, conscious of his own superiority of force, a few days after published an imperious declaration, threatening Gonsalvo with hostilities if he did not immediately renounce all pretensions to Capitanata.

The French begin hostilities against the Spaniards.

A.D. 1503.

Immediately after this declaration, the French troops began to seize the towns belonging to the Spaniards. Lewis, instead of reproving the viceroy, took the princes of Salerno and Bisignano, and some others of the chief barons, into his pay, and sent a reinforcement of two thousand Switzers to Naples, so that in a short time the French reduced almost the whole kingdom, Gonsalvo retiring with his army into Barletta, without money, and almost destitute of provisions. The French, elated with their successes, towards the end of the year began to be less attentive to the war; and Gonsalvo receiving fresh succours from Sicily and Spain, in the following spring, was again able to appear in the field, when he gained several considerable advantages over the French †. Mean while Philip, archduke of Austria, and son-in-law of Ferdinand, passing through France in his return from Spain to Germany, had an interview with Lewis

* Guicciard. lib. v.
 † Guicciard. lib. v.

† Bellefor. lib. vi. cap. 2, & 9. Marian. lib. xxvii. cap. 10, & 13. Giannone.

at Lyons, and, contrary to the inclination of his father-in-law, negotiated a peace with regard to Naples, by which treaty it was stipulated, that the former division of the kingdom should again take place, but the provinces in dispute should be consigned in trust to Philip; that Philip's son Charles should marry Claudia, the daughter of Lewis; that for the future Naples should be governed in the name of the two children, who should assume the titles of king and queen of Naples, and duke and duchess of Apulia and Calabria.

A peace proposed by the arch-duke Philip.

This peace was immediately published in Naples, and the French general proposed a cessation of arms till the ratification of the treaty should come from Ferdinand. Gonsalvo, however, rejected this proposal, resolving to make the best advantage of his present superiority; and on the 27th of April gained a decisive victory over the French in Apulia, when the duke of Nemours was slain. After this victory, all the cities of the kingdom surrendered to the Spaniards, and on the 14th of May Gonsalvo entered Naples in triumph. Ferdinand, hearing of the success of his arms in Naples, absolutely refused to ratify the treaty concluded by his son-in-law, and accused him of having exceeded his commission and instructions. The king of France, thinking that he had been basely over-reached, resolved to continue the war with greater vigour, and even to invade Spain by Roussillon and Fontarabia. In the mean time he ordered an army to march from Milan to Naples, and sent succours by sea to Gaeta, whither the remains of the French had retired, and were besieged by the Spaniards; but the vessel loaded with cannon and stores was lost in the mouth of the Garigliano. On the 26th of December, Gonsalvo entirely routed and dispersed the French army, and six days after obliged Gaeta to surrender, when the French agreed to evacuate the kingdom, except a few places in Calabria and Apulia.

The French are entirely defeated by the Spaniards.

A.D. 1504.

They quit the kingdom of Naples.

Lewis XII. having lost his friend Alexander, thought proper to agree to a truce, when it was concluded that each party should keep what they possessed, without, however, having any mutual intercourse or commerce in Naples. Gonsalvo, under pretence of this article, blocked up the towns belonging to the French, who, for want of provisions, were obliged entirely to quit the kingdom (Z). In the

(Z) Soon after, Frederic, of his age, having been for the late king of Naples, died at some time flattered with the deceitful promises of Ferdinand, Tours, in the fifty-second year who,

A.D. 1505. *Lewis renounces his claim to Naples.* the course of the following year, Ferdinand, who had been a widower for some months, renewed his negotiations with Lewis, and contracted an alliance with his niece Germana, when it was stipulated, that the kingdom of Naples should be accounted her dowry; but if she had no issue, it should return to Ferdinand and his heirs, and that Ferdinand in ten years should pay to Lewis seventy thousand crowns for the expences of the war ^y. The barons likewise, who had espoused the French party, were restored by this treaty to their liberty, their country, estates, and dignities, and all confiscations made by the king of Spain or Frederic were annulled.

S E C T. VIII.

The French invade Naples, in the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.—Divers Endeavours to introduce the Inquisition in Naples.

Acknowledges Ferdinand as king.

THOUGH Ferdinand claimed the kingdom as heir to Alphonfus I. who was his father's brother, yet, reckoning the four preceding princes lawful kings, on account of the pope's investiture, he assumed the name of Ferdinand III. and after, Lewis had renounced his pretensions, he published an edict, wherein, reputing them lawful kings, and his predecessors, he confirmed all their deeds, concessions, and privileges. A few months before he thus acquired the kingdom of Naples, Ferdinand lost the kingdom of Castile by the death of his queen Isabella, the heiress of that kingdom. She indeed, by her last will, left her husband regent of the kingdom during his life; but the archduke Philip, who had married their daughter Jane, arriving in Spain, and insisting upon the administration, Ferdinand was obliged to quit Castile, and retire to Arragon.

A.D. 1506.

Ferdinand, being jealous of Gonfalso, comes to Naples.

After his return to Arragon, being jealous of the authority and influence of Gonfalso, who, though several times recalled to Spain, had still formed excuses for continuing

^y Guicciard. lib. vii. Marian. lib. xxviii. cap. 14.

who, to amuse the king of France, pretended a desire to restore him to the kingdom. Frederic, by his wife Isabella, left three sons and two daughters, who all died without issue (1).

(1) Giannone. Guicciard.

in Naples, he resolved to go thither in person, under pretence of seeing the kingdom, and settling the form of government, but in reality with a design of seizing Gonsalvo, who he suspected had a design either of usurping the kingdom to himself, or delivering it to Philip. On the 4th of September, Ferdinand, with his queen Germana, sailed from Barcelona with fifty ships, and, coasting along Provence, upon their arrival at Genoa, were met by Gonsalvo, whom the king treated with great distinction. On the 1st of November he entered Naples, when he created Gonsalvo duke of Sessa, having before confirmed to him the office of high-constable, the duchy of St. Angelo, Terranova, and other estates, amounting to above twenty thousand ducats of yearly revenue, and given him a promise under his hand of the mastership of the order of St. Jago, upon his arrival in Spain.

The Neapolitans expected great things from the presence of Ferdinand; but as he was obliged, by his treaty with the king of France, to restore the Anjouian barons to their estates, his royal revenues were exhausted in procuring equivalents for those of his own party; so that, contrary to the custom of new kings, he was forced to deny granting favours and exemptions, and exacted new subsidies from the people, who had vainly expected to be eased, and to have all their grievances redressed. By this conduct he disobliged both parties; and by refusing to pay the annual tribute to the holy see, he also offended the pope, who refused to grant him the bull of investiture. Philip, king of Castile, in the mean time dying at Burgos, Ferdinand resolved as soon as possible to return to Spain, to resume the government of that kingdom, to which he was invited by the grandees, and by his daughter Jane, who was so affected with grief for the loss of her husband, as to be incapable of the administration. Having granted some new privileges to the city of Naples, and to the seggio del popolo, and appointed Don John of Arragon, count of Ribagorça, viceroy of the kingdom, on the 4th of June he left Naples, taking along with him the great captain Gonsalvo, and about three weeks after landed at Savona, where he had several conferences for three days with the king of France, who, as a testimony of his respect for Gonsalvo, took a gold chain which he himself wore, and put it about his neck, and prevailed with Ferdinand to allow him to sup at the same table with them and the queen. This was the last of the Great Captain's glorious days, for, immediately upon his landing in Spain, Ferdinand ordered him to quit

A.D. 1507.

*He sets out
on his re-
turn to
Spain.*

*Gonsalvo
disgraced.*

the

the court, to retire to his own estate, and not to depart from thence without leave ^z.

*The count
of Ribagorfa suc-
ceeds as
viceroy.*

The government of Naples, from its first establishment under the Normans, and during the reign of the family of Anjou, had been framed according to the model of the kingdom of France, from which it derived many maxims and customs; but from this period a new polity, and new magistrates and laws, agreeable to the Spanish customs and principles, were introduced. The new viceroy, Ribagorfa, being assisted by two eminent lawyers, who were called collateral regents, governed the kingdom for two years and four months with great sagacity and discretion. Ferdinand, the year after his return to Spain, in the month of December, entered into the general league of Cambray against the Venetians. This republic retained several towns in Naples, on the coast of the Adriatic, as pledges for the money which she had formerly spent in assisting the Arragonian kings against the French; and now the viceroy sent Fabrizio Colonna, duke of Tagliacozza, to recover those cities. Fabrizio marched with his army against Trani, which, without making any opposition, immediately surrendered. With the same ease he made himself master of Monopoli, Mola, Polignano, Brindisi, and Otranto, and reunited them to the crown of Naples. The Venetians, who were at the same time attacked by the king of France, the pope, and the emperor, despairing of defending the cities they possessed on the continent, had given orders to the governors to withdraw the garrisons ^a. The count of Ribagorfa soon after being recalled to court by the king, Don Raimondo de Cardona, on the 24th of October, arrived at Naples as his successor, and continued viceroy during the life of Ferdinand, who died about seven years after this transaction ^b.

A.D. 1509.

*The Venetians
obliged to
deliver up
the cities
they held in
the king-
dom.*

A.D. 1516.

*Ferdinand
dies.*

Charles, archduke of Austria, then in the sixteenth year of his age, succeeded to the whole Spanish monarchy, taking the title of king without the consent of the states, his mother Jane being still alive, and in vain pressed by several of the grandees to assume the administration in her own right. Charles was then in Brussels; from whence he wrote an affectionate letter to the Neapolitans, promising them his friendship, and enjoining them to obey Don Raimondo de Cardona, whom he confirmed viceroy; then he set out for Spain, where he arrived about the end of the year following. Before he left Flanders, he concluded an alliance with Francis I. who had lately succeeded to the

A.D. 1517.

*The arch-
duke
Charles
arrives in
Spain.*

^z Aust. sup. citat. Jov. Elog. de Reb. Genuens. Giannone.

^a Guicciard. lib. viii. Senareg.
^b Marian. lib. xxx.

crown of France, and for some years had seemed inclined to undertake an expedition against Naples. Charles, having met with some difficulty in the succession to the kingdom of Arragon, as being the son of the female line, which, according to the ancient custom of that nation, had no claim while any of the male branch existed, Francis expected that he would resign the kingdom of Naples to him, to avoid a second contested succession. The succession, however, to Arragon, was secured to Charles by a law made by Ferdinand and Isabella, upon an ancient precedent. Francis being alarmed with the report that the emperor intended to invade the duchy of Milan, thought proper to propose a treaty with Charles, who, to avoid a war in the beginning of his reign, and prevent the Arragonian malecontents from making any opposition in expectation of foreign assistance, readily agreed to the proposal. The treaty was accordingly concluded on the 13th of August, at Noyon, when, with regard to the kingdom of Naples, Francis agreed to give his daughter Louisa, then only a year old, in marriage to Charles, assigning for her dowry all that part of Naples which had been assigned to the late king of France by the partition betwixt him and Ferdinand. Charles promised to pay yearly one hundred thousand crowns to the king of France for the maintenance of his bride, till she should be fit for marriage. It was farther stipulated, that if the intended spouse should die before marriage, Charles should marry any future daughter under the same conditions, and, in case of want of issue, the part of the kingdom of Naples now in dispute should return to France.

Concludes a treaty with the king of France.

About fourteen months after Charles arrived in Spain, the German empire became vacant by the death of his grandfather Maximilian. Both Charles and Francis openly aspired to the imperial dignity; but the interest of Charles prevailing, on the 28th of June he was elected emperor. His promotion was not very agreeable to Leo X. who, for the security of the apostolic see, wanted a prince of small authority to be elected emperor; however, he disssembled his sentiments, and even before the election granted him a bull, dispensing with the investiture of Naples, and allowing him to accept of the imperial dignity. The Spaniards, in the mean time, who were disgusted with his promotion to the empire, and oppressed by the governors whom he had left in Spain, openly took arms against them, and

A.D. 1519.

Is chosen emperor of Germany.

c Guicciard. lib. xii. Fed. Leonard. tom. ii. p. 144.

formed the government upon a new model, which they administered under the name of the Holy Junta.

A. D. 1521.

*Francis I.
invades
Spain.*

While the Spanish governors were employed in quelling these revolters, Francis I. envious of the emperor's greatness, sent a powerful army into Navarre, which, after having conquered that kingdom, penetrated into Spain. The Spaniards did not concern themselves with the invasion of Navarre; but when the French entered Castile, both factions united, and entirely defeated the invaders. According to Guicciardini, the king of France undertook this expedition at the instigation of pope Leo, who was likewise jealous of the power of the emperor Charles, and entered into a private negotiation with Francis for driving the Spaniards out of Naples. They agreed to invade the kingdom with joint forces, on condition that Gaeta, and all the territory betwixt the Garigliano and the ecclesiastical state should be given to the church, and the rest of the kingdom devolve to the king of France's second son; and that both he and the kingdom should be governed by the pope's legate residing in Naples, till he should be of age. Francis, afterwards reflecting that the pope hitherto had shewed himself no friend to him, that he had opposed him in recovering Milan, and probably would not wish to see him in possession of Naples, and that if his holiness should join the Spaniards after his troops had entered Naples, he would not only lose that kingdom, but likewise be obliged to abandon Milan, put off ratifying the treaty for these reasons; a circumstance which instigated the pope to have recourse to the emperor against him. As the emperor and Francis began now to be jealous of each other's power, Leo earnestly desired to occasion a rupture betwixt them, and soon after engaged in a defensive alliance with Charles, who was greatly irritated against the French on account of the late invasion of Navarre. In consequence of this league, Charles invaded the duchy of Milan, which in a few months he subdued^d.

A. D. 1524.

*Charles
enters into
an alliance
with the
pope
against the
king of
France.*

About three years after this event, Francis marched in person with a powerful army into Italy, and, quickly recovering the greatest part of the Milanese, sent a considerable body of men to invade Naples, under the command of Stuart, duke of Aubigny. Don Carlos de Lanoy, a Fleming, who about two years before had succeeded Ribagorça as viceroy, put the kingdom in a state of defence; then, leaving a deputy in Naples, proceeded to Lombardy.

^d Guicciard. lib. xiv.

There he took the command of the imperial army, and, on the 24th of February, entirely defeated the French in the neighbourhood of Pavia, and took the king of France prisoner, whom he afterwards conducted to Spain. Francis continued a prisoner more than twelve months, but at last recovered his liberty upon very hard conditions, by which he entirely renounced all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, in favour of the emperor. Though he gave his two eldest sons as hostages for the performance of the conditions, yet, upon his return to France, he absolutely refused to fulfil his engagements, and renewed his preparations for invading Italy. On the 17th of May he concluded an alliance against Charles with the pope, the Venetians, and Sforza, who claimed the duchy of Milan. By this treaty the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were to be consigned to pope Clement, who, with the Venetians, and several other princes of Europe, began to be alarmed at the prosperity of Charles^c.

Francis is taken prisoner, and carried to Spain.

A.D. 1526.

A league against the emperor.

Clement wrote to the emperor, excusing himself for entering into the treaty, and accusing Charles of having done many things to the prejudice of the apostolic see^f. Charles justified his proceedings in a long letter to the pope, and immediately sent back Lanoy to Naples^g. The viceroy, upon his arrival, caused the fortifications of many places to be repaired, and particularly fortified the cities on the coast of the Adriatic, to prevent any invasion from the Venetians. The Spaniards in the mean time, notwithstanding the opposition of the Venetian and papal forces, made themselves masters of the castle of Milan; and the Spanish ambassador at Rome, Don Hugo Moncada, persuaded the Colonna to surprise and seize the pope in the Vatican palace. Clement saved himself in the castle of St. Angelo; but the Colonna seizing and plundering the Vatican, he agreed to a truce with the emperor, promising to recall his troops from Milan, and to pardon the Colonna. During these transactions at Rome, continual reinforcements from France and Germany were pouring into Lombardy, in order to strengthen the armies for the following campaign. The pope, having recovered his liberty, refused to agree to a truce; but, being greatly irritated against the emperor, he invited into Italy prince Vaudemont, who pretended to be heir of the house of Anjou, that he might revive the Anjou faction in the kingdom of Naples against the Spaniards.

A.D. 1527.

The pope invites prince Vaudemont to invade Naples.

^c Guicciard. lib. xvi. Bellefor. lib. vi. cap. 36. Epist. Princip. tom. i & ii. ^f Sleidan. lib. vi. ^g Goldast. Const. Imper.

The viceroy Lanoy, being informed of the invitation given to Vaudemont, resolved to begin hostilities against the ecclesiastical state; and, in the end of December, advanced with an army to Cefano and Cepperano. The pope, in order to oblige him to withdraw his troops, in the beginning of the year sent Renza di Ceri into Abruzzo with six thousand foot, who took possession of Aquila, and several other places in that neighbourhood. About the same time Vaudemont arriving with twenty-four galleys, and being joined by those of the pope and the Venetians, began to infest the Neapolitan coasts. He assumed the title of king of Naples, and was appointed the pope's lieutenant. In the beginning of March he pillaged Mola di Gaeta, and afterwards took Castello a Mare, Torre del Greco, Sorrento, and Salerno. The imperialists, however, were superior in Lombardy; and as the other army undertook no enterprize, but only followed their motions, the duke of Bourbon, the imperial general, began his march for Rome.

Clement, terrified at his approach, immediately sent for Lanoy, with whom he agreed to a truce for eight months, promising to deliver up all the places his troops had conquered in Naples, and to give sixty thousand ducats to the imperial army, on condition it should not enter the territories of the church or of Florence. In consequence of this truce, he recalled his sea and land forces from Naples, and disbanded his troops. Lanoy accordingly proceeded to Bourbon, who absolutely refused to agree to the truce, and, advancing with his army, on the 6th of May attacked the city. He himself was killed in the beginning of the attack; but his army took and pillaged the city. The pope was afterwards obliged to deliver up the castle of St. Angelo, and surrender himself a prisoner^b. Lanoy having failed in his endeavours to dissuade Bourbon from his enterprize, left him before his arrival at Rome, and by another route set out for Naples; but, falling sick in Averfa, died in that city, not without the suspicion of poison. The collateral regents governed the kingdom till towards the end of the year, when Don Hugo di Monçada, a Spaniard, was appointed viceroyⁱ. As Lautrec, the French general, had entered Italy with an army, to relieve the pope, and attack Naples, the imperialists at last concluded a treaty with Clement, which, in the beginning of Decem-

*Is made a
prisoner by
the impe-
rial army.*

*Monçada
succeeds
Lanoy as
viceroy.*

^b Guicciard. lib. xvii. Bellai, lib. iii. Belcar. lib. xiii.

ⁱ Giannone.

ber, was ratified by Don Hugo, when the pope obtained his liberty, though upon very hard conditions.

The pope obtains his liberty.

Lautrec, about two months after this event, advanced with an army of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse to Abruzzo, all the cities in that province, from their natural fickleness, or aversion to the Spaniards, declaring for him before his army appeared. He afterwards took Melphis by storm, and Ascoli, Barletta, Venosa, Capua, Nola, Acerra, and Averfa, submitted to him without opposition, whilst the Venetians took possession of Trani and Monopoli, and the French fleet infested the southern coast. The Venetians likewise took Polignano, Otranto, and Brindisi, and, landing their troops, all the neighbouring cities surrendered. The imperialists in the mean time, having put a strong garrison into Gaeta, assembled their chief force in Naples, where all were in the utmost confusion and consternation, the enemy appearing on the last of April before the walls, and the people believing themselves abandoned by their tutelar saint Januarius, whose blood, when produced on the 2d of May, did not liquify. The viceroy was obliged to prohibit the public processions, and used all diligence to supply the city with provisions, and reinforced the garrison by inlisting the citizens. He had several disputes about the chief command with the prince of Orange, who had succeeded Bourbon, and was chiefly intent upon keeping the communication open with the sea. For this purpose he fitted out a small number of galleys, and imprudently attacked the French fleet, though greatly superior, in which action he was killed, having enjoyed the government only about six months. Upon his death, Philibert of Chalons, prince of Orange, assumed the office of viceroy. Notwithstanding this considerable victory, the French were soon after obliged to raise the siege with great loss; for Andrew Doria, being dissatisfied with the king of France, on the 4th of July left Naples with several galleys; and some people, infected with the plague which raged in the city, being sent into the camp, the French were almost totally destroyed; Lautrec, prince Vaudemont, and many other persons of distinction, being likewise cut off. The marquis of Saluce, who succeeded Lautrec, endeavoured to save the remains of the army in Averfa, but was defeated on his march by the garrison, and obliged to deliver up Averfa. The prince of Orange a few days after received the submission of Capua, Nola, and all the other towns of Terra di Lavoro, and, proceeding to Abruzzo and Apulia, drove the French entirely out of those provinces.

A.D. 1528.

Lautrec invades Naples.

Besieges the capital.

Moncada is killed.

The French raise the siege of Naples.

A.D. 1529. ^k. The French being thus expelled from Naples, the pope entirely abandoned their party, and agreed to an alliance with the emperor, who promised to oblige the Venetians to deliver up the places they held in the ecclesiastical state, and engaged likewise to re-establish the pope's family in Florence.

The emperor and pope are reconciled.

The Neapolitans oppressed by the prince of Orange.

Though the kingdom was now delivered from a foreign enemy, yet tranquillity was far from being restored; for the prince of Orange rigorously oppressed those barons that had declared for the French. The late viceroy Moncada, finding himself unable to oppose Lautrec, had given permission to many of the barons, in cases of necessity, to set up the French standard, and open their gates to the enemy, in consideration of large sums of money he received from them. The prince of Orange, however, alleging that Moncada had no authority to remit the allegiance due from subjects to their sovereign, would not admit the excuse of the barons, and began to punish them as rebels; some with death, and others with forfeitures. The duke of Bojano and the count of Morone were executed, and the prince of Melphis, the duke of Somma, the marquis of Montefarchio, and the counts of Nola, Castro, and Conversano, with many others, lost their estates. The new viceroy also, with the connivance of the emperor, who was always in want of money, obliged many, who were barely suspected of favouring the French, to purchase their security by the payment of large sums^l. Charles, soon after his treaty with the pope, having concluded a peace with the king of France at Cambray, Francis thereby engaged to evacuate Barletta, the only place he held in Naples, to renounce all claim to that kingdom, and to assist the emperor in obliging the Venetians to deliver up all the places they had seized in the kingdom. The prince of Orange, in the mean time, by the emperor's orders, had proceeded with the greatest part of his army to Tuscany, in order to oblige the Florentines to accept of Alexander de Medicis, grand-nephew of the pope, as their sovereign^m. While the prince was besieging Florence, the emperor arrived at Genoa with a powerful fleet, on board of which were one thousand horse and nine thousand foot; and about the same time the duke of Wirtemberg entered Lombardy with eight thousand German infantry. Charles, by these numerous forces, rendered himself very formidable to the Italian states, so that the Venetians thought proper to agree to an accommo-

The French renounce all pretensions to Naples.

^k Giannone.

^l Giornal. nel Rosso.

^m Guicciard. lib. xix. dation,

dation, by which they engaged to restore to him all that they possessed in Naples, and to assist him with fifteen light gallies, in case any Christian prince should attack that kingdom. This peace was solemnly published on the first day of the following year at Bologna, where Charles received the imperial crown from the pope, and then set out for Germany.

A.D. 1530.

The kingdom of Naples in the mean time was oppressed by cardinal Pompeo Colonna, who, upon the departure of the prince of Orange, had been appointed viceroy. The cardinal had served the emperor in his disputes with the pope, who had been provoked to deprive him of his hat for the insult he had lately received from his family in Rome. Colonna was afterwards restored to his dignity, but not to the pope's favour. He neglected all care of religious matters, and gave himself entirely to arms and amours. Upon his arrival at Naples, he found the kingdom drained of money, and full of disorders and irregularities, which at first he did not give himself any trouble to restrain, but was wholly occupied in raising taxes and donations to supply the emperor's necessities. The prince of Orange had introduced an intolerable licentiousness and debauchery among the young nobility, who, in contempt of the law, openly rescued malefactors from the hands of justice, defrauded tradesmen, oppressed the common people, and gave protection to the most enormous villains in their palaces, where they kept bravoës to execute their wicked purposes.

*Cardinal
Colonna
succeeds the
prince of
Orange as
viceroy.*

The cardinal, without regarding these enormities, employed himself in extorting a donative for Charles, on account of the birth of a young prince, and soon after sent three hundred thousand ducats to Bologna, to help to defray the charges of the emperor's coronation. As Solyman, emperor of the Turks, threatened to invade Austria, Charles ordered the cardinal to assemble a parliament, and to require a donative of six hundred thousand ducats. The representatives at first remonstrated against this demand, as the kingdom had lately been afflicted with war, famine, and pestilence; but the viceroy being inflexible, it was at last resolved to raise the six hundred thousand ducats by a tax on houses, and to pay the sum within four years. Upon the payment of the first quota, the prince of Salerno, who carried the money, obtained a confirmation of the old privileges, and likewise several new grants. The cardinal about this time, roused by the universal dissoluteness that prevailed through the kingdom, began to act with vigour against criminals of all ranks, and, by several severe ex-

A D. 1532.

His death.

amples of justice, in some measure restored order to the state ; but, before he could accomplish the reformation he intended, he was cut off by death.

*Don Pedro
di Toledo
appointed
viceroi.*

He was succeeded in the government by Don Pedro di Toledo, a Castilian, marquis of Villa Franca, who arrived at Naples on the 4th of September. This officer no sooner entered upon the government than he began to reform the tribunals in Naples. Having called before him the king's council, the magistrates, and other officers, he charged them to administer justice with expedition and impartiality. He gave access and audience to all without exception; and, to strike terror into offenders, executed some persons of note, who, presuming upon their great alliances, had committed many crimes. By an edict, he prohibited all persons, of what quality soever, from wearing any arms in the streets, except swords, and ordered that none should go abroad even with a sword from two hours after sun-set till morning. Night robberies in the city he punished with death, and ordered the benches of artificers, and several dark porches which served as receptacles for rogues, to be removed. He appointed new captains of the watch, deprived the nobility of the privilege of granting a sanctuary in their palaces to malefactors, and published several edicts against duelling, and those who should be found at night using ladders of ropes, wood, or of any other matterⁿ.

*He reforms
several a-
buses.*

A.D. 1534.

While he was thus employed in reforming abuses, the emperor had returned to Italy; and, after having a conference with the pope at Bologna, had proceeded to Spain. The coasts of Naples likewise were infested by the pirate Barbarossa, who had entered into the service of the Turkish emperor Solyman. In the second year of Don Pedro's government, being ordered to restore Ariendino Barosso, by some called Moliresetto, who had been expelled from the kingdom of Tunis by his brother Muley Hassan, he passed the Pharo of Messina, about the end of July, with a fleet of eighty gallies. He made a descent in Calabria, burnt some ships, and carried off the inhabitants of St. Lucido. He afterwards burnt Cetrano, together with six gallies then on the stocks, and, passing in sight of Naples, landed some of his troops on the island of Procida, which he pillaged. Fondi was also plundered, and many of the inhabitants of Sperlonga were made captives. The Neapolitans, in order to protect their coasts from the insults of the Turks, met in parliament on the 20th of August, and gave the emperor a donative of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats^o.

*Naples
threatened
by the pi-
rate Bar-
barossa.*

ⁿ Giannone.

^o Giornale nel Rosso. Summont. tom. iv.

Charles in the mean time formed a resolution of reducing the naval power of the infidels, as Barbarossa, who had usurped the government of Algiers, and restored Muley Hassan to the kingdom of Tunis, continued to infest all the coasts of Spain, Italy, and Sicily. He employed the whole winter in making preparations for an expedition to Africa, resolving to go thither in person. The viceroy and the princes of Salerno and Bisignano, the dukes of Castrouillaro and Nocera, the marquises of Castelvetero and Della Valle, each built a galley at his own expence, and, when the fleet sailed from Naples, on the 17th of May, to Cagliari, the general rendezvous, many of the nobility embarked, and, with them, the two sons of Don Pedro. Charles having defeated the Moors, and restored Moliresetto, whom he made tributary, left the Spanish garrison in Goletta, a strong fort which commanded the harbour, and about the middle of August set sail for Sicily, where he arrived and dismissed the greatest part of his fleet. Having afterwards made a progress through the island, he passed the Pharo of Messina, and landed at Reggio, from whence he proceeded through Calabria and Basilicata to Naples, which he entered in triumph on 25th of November.

A.D. 1535.

A.D. 1536.

The emperor arrives at Naples.

Upon the emperor's arrival in Sicily, the marquis del Vasto, the prince of Salerno, and many others of the nobility, earnestly solicited him to remove Toledo from the government, alleging, that his administration was rigid and severe, and not agreeable to the genius and state of the kingdom. In hopes of persuading Charles to hearken to their solicitations, when the parliament assembled in the beginning of the following year at Naples, they imprudently offered a donative of a million and a half of ducats, without considering their ability, so that the emperor was obliged afterwards to remit one third of the sum. They then proposed to ask the removal of the whole ministry; but the motion was opposed with great warmth by the majority. Charles, instead of removing Toledo from the government, heaped new favours upon him every day. During his stay at Naples, he consulted him in his most weighty affairs; and at his departure, in the end of March, invested him with greater authority than he had before enjoyed.

Enlarges the authority of Toledo.

Upon the departure of the emperor, Toledo applied himself with great vigour to enlarge and beautify the city of Naples, and to render it more opulent and healthy. He ordered the streets to be made plain and strait, and to be new paved; and he surrounded the city with a new and strong wall. He caused many magnificent churches and hospitals to be built; adorned the city with many fountains of marble;

ble; and enlarged the arsenal, making conveniencies in it for building sixteen gallies at once. To prevent the air from being corrupted, he caused the standing waters near Averfa, Acerra, and Eragola, to be drained off by a large and deep canal. That the city might be always well stored with grain, he prohibited the exportation of corn, and ordered that no magazines or granaries of wheat or barley should be kept within thirty miles of Naples^p.

A.D. 1537.

*He defends
the king-
dom against
the Turks.*

Don Pedro was likewise very careful to secure the coasts against the descents of the Turks. Being apprised of the designs of Solyman against the kingdom, he wrote to the emperor for a reinforcement of Spanish infantry, armed the militia of Naples, and, assembling a parliament of the barons, laid before them the intelligence he had received. Having certain information, that, about the middle of July, Barbarossa had arrived at Valona with two hundred sail of ships, and that the sultan had marched thither with twenty thousand men, he left Naples, and made a general review of the whole army at Melphis. The Turkish fleet having sustained some loss in an encounter with that of the Genoese and the pope, and Solyman having intelligence that the viceroy was in the field with thirty thousand men, he thought proper to withdraw his troops, after they had made a slight descent in Apulia, and another on the coast of Otranto. After the enemy had retired, the viceroy allowed all those engaged in the expedition to return to their own homes; and to prevent any future insult from the infidels, he resolved to fortify all the places upon the coast, which he visited in person, attended with skilful architects and engineers. He fortified the cities of Cotrone and Vesti, and caused castles to be built at Reggio, Otranto, Lecce, Gallipoli, Trani, Barletta, Brindisi, Monopoli, and Manfredonia. The kingdom being thus put in a state of defence, continued for some time free from any alarms. About seven years after this period, Barbarossa arrived on the coast, sacked the islands of Ischia and Procida, and endeavoured to make a descent near Pozzuolo, which city he cannonaded from his ships; but the viceroy marching immediately thither from Naples with a large body of horse, and a great multitude of people from the adjacent cities, forced the Turks to abandon their enterprize, and to retire towards the Levant.

A.D. 1540.

*The Jews
are banish-
ed from
Naples.*

Toledo, about the same time, published a proclamation, ordering all the Jews to leave the kingdom. They had been very numerous in different parts of it for near three hundred centuries, and had particularly increased since their

^p Aust. sup. citat. Giannone.

banishment

banishment from Spain, by Ferdinand the Catholic. They had acquired great riches by lending money upon extravagant interest; but their usury about this time increasing, and the city being full of complaints against them, they were banished by the emperor's desire. The viceroy, for the conveniency of raising money upon pledges, established a bank, called Monte della Pietà, which continues to the present time, and lends money upon pledges at moderate interest.

The inquisition had been first established about three centuries before, in consequence of the proceedings of St. Dominic against the Albigenses. The kings of the house of Anjou where the first who admitted inquisitors from Rome into Naples, who went through the provinces by leave from those kings, without keeping any fixed court. The kings of the house of Arragon rarely allowed them to enter the kingdom, obliged them to give an account of their proceedings, and would not suffer them to execute any sentence without a special licence. The inquisitors, in the beginning of the reign of Ferdinand, endeavoured to establish their authority on a surer footing; but the Neapolitans, alarmed with the shocking inhumanities and barbarities exercised a few years before against the Jews and Moors in Spain, obliged the Great Captain Gonsalvo to stipulate, that no inquisitor should be allowed to enter the kingdom. The inquisitors, however, soon found mean of insinuating themselves; and as at that time there was no suspicion of any new doctrines, that they might not be idle, they began to take cognizance of crimes formerly tried by the ordinary tribunals. They made themselves judges of blasphemy, fortune-telling, conjuring, and many other impostures. They were at last expelled the kingdom with ignominy; and Ferdinand, being apprehensive of an insurrection, promised the Neapolitans that no inquisition should be introduced among them for the future.

The doctrines broached by Luther in Germany occasioned new attempts to establish this formidable tribunal. His opinions soon penetrated into Italy, and began to meet with many favourers in Naples; so that the emperor Charles, during his residence in the kingdom, prohibited his subjects by an edict, under pain of death, from holding any correspondence with those infected with the heresy of Luther. The doctrines of the reformation, however, at the same time were publicly, though artfully, taught by the famous capuchin Bernard Ochus, or Ochino, who, on account of his

A.D. 1546.

^a Giornale nel Rosso. Giannone. Eugenio. Nap. Sacr. lib. v. p. 334.

^b Marian. Hist. lib. xxx. Surit. Annal.

eloquence and learning, had been invited to preach at Naples during Lent, and was approved by the emperor, who declared, "That he preached with such spirit and so much devotion, that he made the very stones weep^s." Bernard, during his abode at Naples, made many disciples, who after his departure privately instructed others, among whom were some famous preachers, and persons of rank and fortune, who began to form congregations and conventicles. The jealousy of the viceroy being awakened, he published a severe edict against heretical books, and ordered some books of Melancthon and Erasmus, that had been dispersed at Naples, to be publicly burnt. Several academies, which were about this time formed by the nobility of the seggior for the advancement of learning, were ordered to be suppressed; and, in the end of the year, Toledo, having received orders from the emperor, if possible, to introduce the inquisition, desired Paul III. to send a deputy from that tribunal in Rome to Naples. The deputy accordingly arrived at Naples with the pope's brief, to which the viceroy, after deliberating a few days, granted the royal exequatur, ordering it to be affixed upon the door of the cathedral, and not to be proclaimed through the city by sound of trumpet, for fear of an insurrection. The edict no sooner appeared upon the cathedral door than the whole city was filled with uproar and tumult; and the deputies of the nobility and commons sent some of their number to Pozzuolo to complain to the viceroy, who being alarmed at their obstinacy and rage, promised that there should be no more mention of an inquisition, but that heretics should be prosecuted according to the canons. The Neapolitans, upon receiving this answer, testified their joy for three days by bonfires and illuminations; but, about two months after, their fury was again excited by a second edict, which appeared on the 11th of May, more alarming than the former, as it mentioned the inquisition openly. The people immediately, in a tumultuous manner, tore down the edict, ran to arms, and made a new election of officers, who they were certain would not be in the interest of the viceroy.

A.D. 1547.

Great tumults on account of the inquisition.

Skirmishes betwixt the Spaniards and Neapolitans.

Toledo, hearing of the insurrection, came in great rage to Naples, and reinforced the garrison of Castel Nuovo with three thousand Spaniards from the neighbouring towns. For ten or twelve days there were continual skirmishes betwixt these Spaniards and the citizens. A cessation of hostilities was then agreed to, and both parties sent deputies to the emperor; but in the mean time the citizens, being

^s Giorn. nel Rosso.

informed

informed that the viceroy had accepted the offer of five thousand Florentine foot, immediately levied ten thousand men, and mustered the inhabitants fit to bear arms, to the number of fourteen thousand. With this force they renewed hostilities against the Spaniards; but in their daily skirmishes they were generally worsted. The deputies at length returning from the emperor, the citizens were peremptorily ordered to obey the viceroy, and deliver up their arms to him; which command was immediately complied with, that the insurrection might not appear to have been a rebellion against their lawful sovereign. On the 12th of August a general pardon was granted to all concerned in the late tumult, excepting only thirty-six persons, one of whom was afterwards executed. The city was fined in a hundred thousand crowns; but the emperor never exacted the money^t. By this vigorous opposition, the emperor and the viceroy being both deterred from their design of introducing the holy tribunal, Toledo assisted the vicar of Naples in proceeding against heretics according to the canons; and, a few years after, the Neapolitans obtained a bull from the pope, ordaining, that the goods of heretics should not be confiscated^u (A).

Peace restored by the emperor's edict.

S E C T. IX.

Naples is exhausted and oppressed under the Spanish Government.

ABOUT four years after this commotion the Neapolitans were alarmed with the news of the great preparations making at Constantinople for invading their kingdom. The prince of Salerno, from his enmity to Toledo, who he suspected had hired assassins against him, had left Naples and gone to France, where he excited Henry II.

A.D. 1551.

The Turks make preparations to invade Naples.

^t Uberr. Foliet. de Tumult. Neap. Thuan. Hist. Giannone.
^u Giannone, ex MSS. Giur Chioccor. tom. viii.

(A) Several other attempts were afterwards made during the reigns of Philip II. III. IV. and Charles II. to establish the inquisition in Naples; but by the jealousy and vigilance of the people, they all proved ineffectual. At last the emperor, Charles VI. in the beginning of the present century, published an edict, expressly prohibiting all causes relating to the holy faith to be tried by any persons, except the archbishops and bishops, as ordinaries (1).

(1) See Giannone, lib. xxxii. sect. ii. & iii.

then

then at war with the emperor, to attempt the conquest of his native country, which he assured him would be an easy enterprize. Henry, who inherited his father's rivalry and hatred of the emperor, ordered some galleys to be fitted out at Marseilles, and, by his ambassador at Constantinople, solicited Solyman to send a fleet against Naples. Toledo, in the mean time, assembled the barons of the kingdom, and raised a fund of three hundred thousand ducats for supporting the war. He likewise sent for Doria with forty galleys from Genoa; but before his arrival the Turkish fleet of a hundred and fifty large galleys appeared on the coast, and having burnt some maritime towns, on the 15th of July anchored before Naples. Soon after the bashaw descrying the Genoese admiral, pursued his fleet, and, before he could reach the shore sunk two, and took seven of his ships. However, the prince of Salerno not appearing with the French galleys, he, in a few weeks, retired with his formidable armament, and sailed to the Levant, the prince, who quickly followed him, in vain solicited him to return. The bashaw, as it was then reported, had entered into a secret treaty with Mormile, one of those whose estates had been forfeited on account of the late commotion, who prevailed with him to retire upon receiving two hundred thousand ducats. Mormile for this service was allowed to return to Naples, and received an equivalent for his estate*.

Toledo having removed this formidable enemy, began to proceed with rigour against several persons, who he suspected were privy to the designs of the prince of Salerno, and, by his arbitrary and severe proceedings quickly rendered his government both terrible and odious. About this time the Siennese, having been oppressed by the Spaniards, obliged the governor and garrison to evacuate their city, and soon after introduced the French; on which account the emperor ordered Toledo to march from Naples to reduce the republic. The viceroy, during the winter, was very diligent in making preparations for his expedition to Tuscany; and, in the beginning of the following year, sent his son Don Garcia, with twelve thousand men, into the Siennese territories, where he quickly reduced several castles. He himself, leaving his third son, Don Lewis, lieutenant of the kingdom, embarked with a considerable number of Spanish soldiers on board of Doria's fleet, and proceeded to Leghorn, though he had been for some time afflicted with a rheum and fever. His distemper increasing,

A.D. 1552.

Their fleet arrives on the coast.

A.D. 1553.

Toledo sends an army against the Siennese.

* Spond. Annal. an. 1552. Sigon. in Vita Aur. lib. i. cap. 36.

he went for the benefit of the air to Florence, where he died on the 12th of February.

Cardinal Pacecco, the imperial ambassador at Rome, A.D. 1554. succeeded Toledo as viceroy, and, in the month of June, arrived at Naples. He was descended of an illustrious family in Spain, who were in possession of the duchy of Escalona and marquisate of Villena, and he distinguished himself by his abilities and learning at the council of Trent. The Neapolitans, apprehensive that he was a severe man, were at first greatly alarmed; but their fears were quickly dissipated; for the cardinal being of a calm and sweet disposition, not only treated them with great humanity, but, in the second year of his government, obtained for them a confirmation of their privileges from the emperor. He refused to imitate the rigorous methods of his predecessor, with regard to sudden imprisonments, tortures, and criminal punishments, inflicted upon delinquents on bare information, and preserved the peace of the kingdom by his prudent and provident regulations. When the emperor resigned the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the Milanese, to his son Philip, on account of his marriage with queen Mary of England, the cardinal, on the 25th of November, gave the marquis of Pescara, Philip's envoy, possession of the kingdom of Naples.

Julius III. likewise granted the bull of investiture in favour of Philip; but Paul IV. of the family of Caraffa, who about seven months after succeeded to the papal chair, immediately declared himself his enemy, and endeavoured to deprive him of the kingdom. Paul was by birth a Neapolitan, remarkable for an austere and peevish disposition. He had conceived a hatred to the Spaniards, because some of his relations, who, upon Lautrec's invasion, had declared for the French, were punished as rebels. During the commotion at Naples on account of the inquisition, he had used his utmost endeavours to occasion a general insurrection, and to persuade the pope to seize the kingdom for the church. The emperor and Toledo, sensible of his partiality to the French, refused a benefice to his nephew, and for several years prevented himself from taking possession of the archbishoprick of Naples. His promotion alarmed Philip, who ordered cardinal Pacecco, then in Rome on account of the election, to continue in the city to watch his proceedings; and soon after, hearing of his negotiations with the king of France, sent Don Ferdinando Alvares de Toledo, duke of Alva, then governor of Milan, to Naples,

Cardinal Pacecco appointed viceroy.

Paul IV. professes an enmity to the Spaniards.

The duke of Alva appointed viceroy.

as viceroy, to put the kingdom in a posture of defence against the pope's designs. Alva arrived at Naples about the end of the year, and took the command from Bernard de Mendoza, who, upon the departure of the cardinal, had been appointed lieutenant of the kingdom. The pope, in the mean time, notwithstanding his great age and reputation for sanctity, began to cherish the most ambitious schemes, and indulge the most unchristian resentment against the Spaniards. He immediately promoted his three worthless nephews to dignities, protected the Neapolitan malecontents at Rome, depressed all those who were in the interest of Spain, and entered into a treaty with the king of France, by which he promised to give the kingdom of Naples to his second son. Under pretence likewise, that the Spaniards had formed a conspiracy against his person, he imprisoned Philip's ambassador at Rome for England; and alleging that the arrears of tribute had not been paid in due time, he drew up a bull, declaring that Philip had forfeited the kingdom.

A.D. 1556.

Alva invades the ecclesiastical territories.

These outrageous proceedings of the pope; his ardour in fortifying Rome, and other places in the ecclesiastical state; and his great warlike preparations, excited the diligence of the duke of Alva, who having in vain made him several offers of accommodation, at length, in the beginning of September, advanced towards the ecclesiastical state with an army of twelve thousand foot, three hundred men at arms, and eighteen hundred light horse, and before the end of the year reduced all the papal territories in the neighbourhood of Rome. The success of Alva exasperated the pope, who, being disappointed of his succours from France, oppressed the inhabitants of Rome with the most arbitrary and grievous exactions. Though he would not hearken to an accommodation, yet he obtained a truce for forty days from Alva, who immediately returned to Naples, to make proper preparations for opposing the duke of Guise, who had entered Piedmont with an army to the pope's assistance.

A.D. 1557

Having assembled the barons of the kingdom, he obtained from them a donative of a million of crowns for the king's use, and twenty-five thousand for himself; and to distress the pope, who had imposed a tax of two-tenths upon all ecclesiastical revenues in the kingdom, he used his utmost diligence to prevent any money from going to Rome. He sequestered the revenues of many archbishopricks, and other benefices, which were collected in the name of the royal chamber or exchequer, and registered the wealth and plate of all the churches and monasteries, great part of which treasure was carried to Naples. He also ordered all the bells

bells of the churches and monasteries in Benevento, and all the brass cannon of that city, to be coined into money, and to be valued, in order to be paid at the conclusion of the war; and hearing that the French had arrived on the frontiers of the kingdom, on the 11th of April he set out for Abruzzo. The truce having been for some time expired, hostilities were again renewed, and before the vice-roy could assemble his army, the French had entered the kingdom and besieged some places on the frontiers. Alva quickly repulsed the enemy, who found themselves but ill supported by the pope; and the papal troops being soon after defeated, about the end of August he advanced with his army to the neighbourhood of Rome. The Romans threatening to revolt, the pope began to hearken to proposals for an accommodation, especially as he saw his design against the kingdom frustrated by the defeat of the French at St. Quintin, which obliged Henry II. to recall his troops from Italy. Accordingly, by the mediation of the Venetians and the duke of Tuscany, the peace was concluded on the 13th of September, when it was agreed that the duke of Alva should go to Rome and ask pardon of the pope, who engaged to renounce his alliance with the French; that all places taken from the pope should be restored, and their fortifications demolished; that both parties should grant a pardon to all offenders, excepting only the Colonna, who the pope alleged had been the authors of the war; and that Palliano should be kept by a Neapolitan nobleman, till it should be disposed off by the joint consent of the pope and Philip².

*Threatens
Rome.*

*A peace
concluded
with the
pope.*

The news of this peace were very agreeable to Philip, and he bountifully rewarded all those who had distinguished themselves in the war. The duke of Alva, upon his return to Naples, was received with acclamations and rejoicing; but, to the great grief of the Neapolitans, he was quickly recalled to Spain, and Don Juan Manriques de Lara, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom. About five months after he was succeeded by the cardinal de Cueva, who, before he had enjoyed the government half a year, was ordered to proceed to Rome, where he assisted at the election of a new pope, upon the death of Paul IV. During the government of these two lieutenants, the kingdom suffered greatly by the invasions of the Turks. Soon after the departure of the duke of Alva, the Turkish fleet, consisting

A.D. 1558.

*The Turks
invade the
kingdom.*

² Alesand. Andrea ap. Giannone. Monluc. lib. iv. Thuan. lib. xvi. & xviii. Belcar. lib. xxvii. Natal. lib. x.

of a hundred and twenty galleys, under the command of Mustapha bashaw, appeared in the Neapolitan seas. The infidels, after having depopulated the city of Reggio, entered the gulf of Naples, and landing in the night, pillaged and destroyed the cities of Massa and Sorrento, of which last place they carried off almost the whole inhabitants into slavery. Those who remained were forced to sell their possessions at a low price, and to send the money to Constantinople for the ransom of their friends; so that even to this day, from that calamity, the city remains poor and thin of inhabitants^a.

A.D. 1559.

*The duke
of Alcala
appointed
viceroy.*

Philip, in the mean time, losing both his father, the emperor, and his wife, queen Mary of England, in the beginning of the following year proceeded from Flanders to Spain, where he resolved for the future to fix his residence. Soon after his arrival, he sent Don Parafan de Rivera, duke of Alcala, as viceroy to Naples, where he arrived on the 12th of June, the same day that cardinal Cueva set out for Rome. The duke before had given proofs of his abilities as viceroy of Catalonia, and, according to Thuanus, was a man of prudence, probity, courage, and piety. During the first years of his government he had many difficulties to struggle with, which, by his prudence and wisdom, he soon removed. At his arrival the kingdom was greatly afflicted by a general dearth. The people were alarmed with frequent earthquakes, which were felt through all the provinces, particularly in Principata and Basilicata, where many cities were destroyed, and the country desolated, while the plague, and other grievous diseases, daily carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. The Turks likewise infested the coasts with frequent descents, and even presumed to pillage part of the suburbs of Naples, from whence they carried off a great many captives.

A.D. 1563.

The state was also disturbed by some commotions occasioned by the followers of the doctrines of Calvin^b; and great troops of banditti had rendered themselves very formidable in Calabria. These outlaws chose one Marco Berardi, of Cosenza, for their leader, who assumed the title of king, and usurped the regal ensigns and royal authority over his followers. He supported his small army for some time by plundering the neighbouring provinces, and made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the city of Cotrone. The viceroy ordered Fabrizio Pignatelli, the president of that province, to march against him with six hun-

^a Thuan. lib. xx. Giannone, lib. xxxiii.
ut supra.

^b Giannone,

dred horse, who was so successful as to ruin and disperse the banditti by frequent stratagems, though their numbers were at first so formidable that he durst not hazard a general engagement^c.

The attention of Alcala, during his whole administration, was chiefly engrossed by the extravagant pretensions of the ecclesiastics and ministers of the church of Rome, who, by various methods, attempted to make dangerous encroachments upon the king's temporal authority. As the council of Trent was about this time dissolved, and its decrees were published, the pope used his utmost endeavours to have them received and acknowledged in the dominions of all those princes who still adhered to the church of Rome. As many of the decrees, however, tended to establish the usurpations of the popes, the catholic princes paid little or no regard to them, and some of them even at first prohibited them from being published. The king of Spain, as an obedient son of the church, pretended to receive the decrees of the council in all his dominions; but at the same time gave secret orders to Alcala to admit of no innovations with regard to the royal prerogatives. The viceroy accordingly allowed printed copies of the decrees of the council to be dispersed over all the kingdom, but would never consent to grant the exequatur regium, or royal permission in their behalf. He even gave orders to the presidents of the provinces, and other officers of the kingdom, not to suffer any innovation to be made, and vigorously opposed the prelates who appeared fond of putting in execution those decrees of the council derogatory to the king's authority.

He vigorously opposes the usurpations of the church of Rome.

Alcala likewise exerted himself in rejecting the bull of Pius V. in *Cœna Domini*, which, besides an infinite number of extravagancies, entirely overthrows the power of princes, by subjecting their government to the censure and correction of the court of Rome, and prohibiting them, under the pain of excommunication, from laying taxes upon their subjects without the permission of the apostolic see. As the prelates, notwithstanding the prohibition of the viceroy, dispersed the bull through the kingdom, great disorders immediately ensued, on account of raising the taxes, which obliged Alcala to write for new instructions to Spain. Having received orders from Philip to punish those who had dispersed the bull, he confiscated the estates of some prelates who had transgressed his mandate, prohibiting the publication, and imprisoned those printers and booksellers who had printed and dispersed the copies. Pius exclaimed

A.D. 1567.

^c Thuan. lib. xxxvi.

against these proceedings of the viceroy; but, instead of using his usual arms of excommunication and interdiction, according to Giannone, he had recourse to a cunning, malicious, and scandalous shift, namely, to order the confessors, both regular and secular, to deny absolution to their penitents if they refused to acknowledge the bull. The clergy hoped by this expedient to triumph, and the confusions in the kingdom increased: but the ardour of the pope soon abating, the prelates likewise grew more remiss, and contented themselves with publishing the bull from the pulpits every Holy Thursday; in which state the dispute continued during the rest of the government of Alcala, though it was afterwards frequently prosecuted with spirit by his successors.

A.D. 1569. He also opposed the encroachments attempted by the apostolic visitors, and prohibited laymen from answering any citation from the court of Rome: he would not allow the ecclesiastics to take the cognizance of mixed causes, that is, of such causes as properly belonged to the jurisdiction of secular magistrates, which they alleged might all be tried in ecclesiastical courts; and he vigorously insisted upon the king's right to one half of the tithes raised upon the ecclesiastics in the kingdom^d.

*Provides
for the
defence
of the king-
dom against
the Turks.*

Alcala, during these troublesome disputes with the ecclesiastics in defence of the king's prerogatives, was obliged to be constantly upon his guard against the invasions of the Turks. In the sixth year of his government the infidels alarmed all Italy, by a most formidable invasion of the island of Malta^e. The viceroy, being apprehensive lest they should make an attempt upon Sicily, was at great pains in fortifying the maritime cities, and providing them with strong garrisons. His fears soon appeared to be well founded. The Turks failing in their enterprize against Malta, failed next year with a numerous fleet into the Adriatic, and endeavoured to surprise Pescara. Being, however, repulsed by the garrison, they ravaged all the neighbouring coast; and having pillaged all the towns, they returned with an immense booty, and a great number of captives to their ships. Some time after, by another formidable naval armament, they gave a fresh alarm to Naples, which obliged the viceroy to send for three thousand Germans for the defence of the kingdom: but the storm falling on the island of Cyprus, he sent twenty-three galleys, with three thousand soldiers, and a great many Neapolitan knights, to

A.D. 1570.

^d Giannone, lib. xxiii. cap. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9-xxxviii.

^e Thuan. lib.

the assistance of the besieged. The duke in the mean time having, by his continual application and many anxious cares, impaired his health, was, in the following spring, seized with a violent rheum and fever, of which he died on the 2d of April, at Torre del Greco, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the twelfth of his viceroyalty. He greatly distinguished himself by his prudent and mild government, and was extremely benevolent and charitable to the poor and afflicted, by founding some hospitals for their relief, and distributing money to those who were ashamed to publish their necessities^f.

A.D. 1571.

His death.

Upon the death of Alcala, the supreme government devolved to the collateral regents, but they held it only for a few days. Don Anthony Perenotte, cardinal of Granville, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, on the 19th of April arrived at Naples as viceroy, in consequence of an order which he had received some time before from Philip. He was the son of the famous Granville, counsellor to the emperor Charles V. who conferred upon him the bishoprick of Arras, and employed him in several embassies to England and France. After he was created cardinal, he had the charge of the most weighty affairs in Flanders, under the duchess of Parma; but, by his rigour, rendering himself odious to the people, he was recalled to Spain.

The cardinal of Granville appointed viceroy.

The cardinal, during his government in Naples, was chiefly engaged in opposing the formidable power of the Turks, in raising subsidies to supply the great necessities of the king, and in frustrating the insolent attempts of the ecclesiastics to encroach upon the royal jurisdiction and prerogatives. He was very diligent in reinforcing the fleet of Don John of Austria, who arriving at Naples on the 9th of August, and being joined by the Neapolitan and Sicilian galleys, and many of the chief barons and noblemen of both kingdoms, on the 7th of October, gained the memorable victory over the Turks, in the gulf of Lepanto. In the following year, he likewise sent on board the prince's fleet, the Spanish garrison of Naples, and five thousand Italian forces; but the summer passed off without any enterprize of importance. The Venetians concluding a separate peace with the infidels, and withdrawing their forces from the allies, Don John sailed from Naples, and reduced Tunis, after which expedition he returned to Italy; but while the cardinal and he were celebrating his safe return with bull-fests and tournaments, the Turks, who, they expected, after the late defeat, would not dare to insult their coasts,

He assists Don John of Austria against the Turks.

A.D. 1573.

^f Giannone, ut supra.

landed in Otranto, and pillaged the small city of Castro : and soon after having expelled the Spanish garrison from Tunis, recovered the possession of that kingdom, which, for many years, with small interruptions, had been tributary to the Spaniards.

*Raises
large subsi-
dies upon
the Neapo-
litans ;*

Philip, in order to raise money, began to mortgage his revenues to the Genoese, at most extravagant interest, and alienated cities and lands in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. He particularly extracted large sums from Naples. The cardinal, during his government of little more than four years, obtained two donatives, amounting to the sum of two millions three hundred thousand ducats, besides other sums raised by the sale of titles, and great quantities of stores and provisions sent out of the kingdom, under pretence of supplying the fort of Goletta, which commanded the harbour of Tunis.

*and opposes
the in-
croachments
of the
clergy.*

He likewise imitated his predecessor in opposing the usurpations of the clergy, and even exerted himself with more vigour with regard to mixed causes, by ordering the archbishop's prison to be broke open, and by taking from thence a thief, who had been guilty of sacrilege, whom he tried in the civil court and executed. Though the vicar of the archbishop excommunicated all those who were concerned in executing the orders of the viceroy, the cardinal, nevertheless, banished the vicar from the kingdom, sequestered all the archbishop's revenues, and imprisoned the counsellors of his court, and the beaules who had pasted up the copies of the sentence, which he ordered to be defaced.

A.D. 1574.

The court of Rome was greatly irritated by the cardinal's proceedings, but condescended, however, to drop the affair, and to absolve all those privately in the treasury-chamber who had incurred the sentence of excommunication.

A.D. 1575.

*He is re-
called to
Spain.*

The cardinal is said to have disgusted Don John of Austria, by preventing him from extorting a private donative from the Neapolitans ; on which account the prince, by his interest at the court of Spain, procured his removal from Naples, in hopes that his favourite, the duke of Sessa, would be appointed his successor. The cardinal, next year, in the beginning of July, returned to Spain, where he was created counsellor of state, and president of the supreme council of Italy ; but Philip, jealous of Don John's authority, instead of the duke of Sessa, appointed as viceroy the marquis of Mondejar, the prince's enemy.

Don Inigo Lopez Hurtado de Mendoza, marquis of Mondejar, arrived at Naples about ten days after the depar-

ture of the cardinal. He quickly disobliged both Granville and Don John of Austria. Having, with great imprudence, confided in some flatterers, who insinuated themselves into his favour upon his first arrival, he revoked many wise regulations made by the cardinal, who naturally taking offence at such a reformation, kept a watchful and jealous eye over all his proceedings. The marquis likewise could not dissemble his sentiments of Don John, whom he looked upon with great disgust, as he still continued to divert himself in Naples with feasts and tournaments, and made such a shining figure as quite eclipsed the dignity of the viceroy. The heart-burnings betwixt them soon broke out into an open quarrel; so that one day, after some angry words, Don John drew his dagger, and with great difficulty was prevented from stabbing the marquis. He soon after, by his imprudent conduct, incurred the hatred of the Neapolitan nobility and commons. The nobility were offended by his endeavouring to impose upon the seggi of Naples, a Fleming, who was provincial regent at Madrid, and his spy, as a person of noble birth; and the common people were greatly irritated, by a report, that he intended to adulterate the meal of corn with that of the herb calf's-foot, or wake-robin, by the botanists called aion, with which Julius Cæsar is said to have supported his troops in Albania, when besieging the army of Pompey. His enmity with the cardinal and Don John, and the universal discontent he had raised, prevented him from receiving any honour from his prudent regulations; so that, though by his provident care and severe edicts, he had prevented the plague from entering Naples, which, for two years, had dispeopled many cities in Italy, the general security was attributed to the foresight of the city of Naples, but chiefly to their patron Januarius and other saints^b. The viceroy sent some troops to Apulia and Calabria, who repulsed the Turks, who had landed on those coasts: but the advantages gained over the infidels on this occasion, were attributed to the vigilance and valour of Nicolo Bernardino, prince of Bisagnanoⁱ. The marquis, at length, entirely alienated the Neapolitans, by attempting to take a rich young heiress by force from a nunnery, with intention of marrying her to his eldest son. This outrage being represented by the nobility to the king, and aggravated by Granville, the marquis was immediately recalled, and obliged to leave Naples in the beginning of winter, after he had governed as viceroy four years and four months. During his administration Philip ob-

The marquis of Mondejar appointed viceroy,

His government disagreeable to the Neapolitans.

A.D. 1579.

He returns to Spain.

^b Summont. par. iv. lib. i.

ⁱ Thuan. lib. lii.

tained three donatives from Naples, amounting to three millions four hundred thousand ducats. He made many wholesome regulations for the good government of the city and kingdom, and left twenty-four statutes or pragmatics, in which there are many prudent and commendable provisions^k.

*Is succeeded by
the prince
of Pietra-
persia.*

When Mondejar was recalled, Don Juan de Zuniga, a second son of the family of Miranda, and prince of Pietrapersia, who had been Philip's ambassador for several years at Rome, was appointed viceroy. He arrived at Naples on the 11th of November, three days after the departure of his predecessor, and, at his landing, refused the vain pomp of a bridge, desiring one thousand five hundred crowns, appropriated for that purpose, to be given to the hospital for incurables^l. A few months after his arrival, having received an order to furnish all the succours possible for an expedition against Portugal, to make good Philip's pretensions to that kingdom, he fitted out seventeen vessels, on board of which he embarked six thousand soldiers, and four thousand pioneers, under the command of the prior of Hungary and Don Carlo Spinelli. To support the charges of this armament, he assembled a parliament on the 29th of September, and obtained a donative of one million two hundred thousand ducats. About two years after he ordered the Gregorian reformation of the calendar to be observed in Naples; and as Philip now limited the time for the government of his viceroys to three years, he soon after returned to Spain, leaving the reputation of an excellent governor, his departure being universally regretted, on account of his piety, meekness, and courteous behaviour^m.

A.D. 1582.

*He is re-
called.*

*The duke of
Ossuna ap-
pointed
viceroy.*

Don Pedro Giron, duke of Ossuna, who had distinguished himself in the wars of Granada, and the conquest of Portugal, in the month of November arrived at Naples, as successor to Zuniga. He soon rendered himself odious to the nobility by his reserve and haughty demeanor. To procure the popularity, which at first he had slighted, he entered himself into the body of the nobility of the seggio of Nido, but could not remove the bad opinion that had formerly been conceived of him. He was much disquieted by the continual demands of subsidies for Spain; but by promising new favours and privileges, which were actually granted, he obtained two donatives, amounting to two millions four hundred thousand ducats. Towards the end of his government, which, notwithstanding the late resolution, continued four years, he began to acquire the good-will of

^k Summont. ut supra.

^l Summont.

^m Giannone.

the Neapolitans, by his diligence in the dispatch of business, and his zeal for the impartial distribution of justice. During his administration he executed many public works, which were greatly beneficial to the nation; so that, at his departure, he was honoured with many encomiums, and followed with the blessings of the peopleⁿ.

The duke of Ossuna was succeeded in the viceroyalty by Don Juan de Zuniga, count of Miranda, and nephew of the late prince of Pietraperfia, who arrived at Naples in the month of November. During almost the whole time of his government, which continued nine years, he was chiefly employed in extirpating the banditti, who had become very formidable in Naples and the ecclesiastical state. These robbers for several years had infested the kingdom in small bodies; but having been overlooked by the viceroys, their numbers greatly increased, especially as the famous Sixtus V. who the year before had ascended the pontifical chair, by his vigorous prosecution of those in the territories of the church, forced them to fly into the kingdom. Having by these reinforcements become very numerous, they openly took the field, and pillaged several walled towns, carrying desolation and ruin every where; so that commerce and traffick were entirely interrupted. The soldiers sent against them were frequently baffled and severely handled; but, in the second year of his government, the viceroy was so fortunate as to seize their noted leader, Benedetto Mongone, who, in terrorem, was put to death by tortures. The banditti, however, still kept in a body, and one Marco Sciarra assuming the command, and taking the title of king of Campagna, quickly became more formidable than his predecessor.

Sixtus sent a brief to the count, empowering him for three months to pursue them even into the territories of the church, without asking any farther permission. This was afterwards renewed; Sciarra, however, defended himself for three years against all the attempts of the viceroy, who having received orders from Spain to watch the motions of the pope, sent four thousand horse and foot into the ecclesiastical state, under pretence of pursuing the banditti. Sixtus, during his whole pontificate, had shewn himself but a very cold friend to the Spaniards, whose overgrown power he had formed a design to reduce. This year he openly quarrelled with Philip, fitted out a considerable number of galleys, and gave orders for assembling and disciplining the militia, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, with

A.D. 1586.

He is succeeded by the count of Miranda.

A.D. 1587.

The kingdom is pillaged by troops of banditti.

ⁿ Giannone.

intent of marching in person against the kingdom of Naples; but all his designs were frustrated by death, which happened on the 27th of August °.

A.D. 1592.

*The banditti
extirpated
by the vice-
roy*

The inconsiderable force sent by the viceroy into the territories of the church, with the design of awing the pope, was attacked and routed by the banditti, who, encouraged by their victory, pillaged Serra Capriola, Vasto, and the city of Lucera, and committed great outrages through the kingdom for near two years. The viceroy at length giving the command of the troops to the count of Conversano, while Clement VIII. sent Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini to expel them from the ecclesiastical state, the banditti, being hemmed in on both sides, were quickly reduced to great extremity, and deserted by their captain Sciarra, who was invited by the Venetians to take the command of their troops, in a war in which they were then engaged against the Uscocs. Though Sciarra went to Venice with sixty of his followers, yet the banditti who remained, receiving assistance from him, and being headed by his brother Luca, continued for some time to infest the country till the death of Sciarra, who was soon after betrayed by one of his associates in the March of Ancona. Upon his death the count of Conversano entirely rooted out the whole gang of robbers, and returned with great honour to Naples.

The viceroy, in the mean time, had caused four galleasses to be built at Naples, which were employed in the fatal expedition against England; and the French having, about this time, invaded Savoy, he sent four thousand five hundred foot to the assistance of the duke, to prevent them from penetrating into the Milanese. To support the charges of these expeditions, he raised during his government no less than five donatives, amounting to six millions of ducats. As the Turks were reported to be fitting out a formidable fleet at Constantinople, he sent a body of troops into Calabria, and garrisons to the castles of Brindisi, Otranto, Tarento, and Gallipoli. The infidels soon after anchored with one hundred sail in St. John's bay, and pillaged Reggio, and fourteen villages in the neighbourhood. They afterwards sailed to Otranto and Gallipoli; but finding those coasts well guarded, they retired to Valona. The count, about two years after, returned to Spain, having gained the affections of the Neapolitans, by his generosity and zeal in removing several abuses of the law. During his government he improved both the city and kingdom by several public works. He likewise published fifty

A.D. 1595.

*Miranda is
recalled to
Spain.*

• Leti Hist. Sixt. V. Idem Hist. Eliz. Spond Annal.

prag-

pragmatics, and divers provisions concerning the price of corn, and other necessaries of life ^p.

A few days after the departure of the count of Miranda, Don Enrique de Gusman, count of Olivares, arrived at Naples, as his successor. He had resided at Rome twelve years as ambassador from Spain, where, on account of the extravagant and odd humour of Sixtus V. he had many troublesome and difficult matters to transact. As he was eminent for his great skill and facility in dispatching the most weighty affairs, and had acquired great reputation for prudence, the Spaniards gave him the surname of Gran Papelista, that is, a person always busy among papers or writings. After his departure from Rome, he went to govern Sicily, and from thence he came to Naples. It was quickly observed, that he was of a serious and severe disposition, and an enemy to diversions. He banished dancing, comedies, and feasts, usually given by his predecessors in the palace, and discouraged the formality and ceremony of a levee. His chief study was to give audience at all hours, and to see justice duly and rigorously administered. What distinguished him above his predecessors, was his careful attention to the œconomy of government, whereby he reformed many abuses, particularly the immoderate luxury in the women's dress, and the vanity of titles, which many, without foundation, arrogated to themselves both in writing and speaking. He was careful to maintain plenty in the city and kingdom; and in order to beautify and adorn Naples, he employed the famous architect Dominica Fontana, under whose direction he erected several magnificent works, and caused several streets to be levelled, and built strait and uniform. Philip II. of Spain dying, in the third year of his government, occasioned his administration to be but of short continuance; for Philip III. with whom he was no favourite, receiving several complaints against him from his enemies, sent the count of Lemos as his successor, who arrived at Naples before his departure, a circumstance which obliged him to leave the city in an abrupt manner, and retire to the palace of the duke of Nocera. According to Giannone, there never was a more just, a more prudent man, or one of more indefatigable application, than the count of Olivares. During his government, which did not continue quite four years, he published thirty-two pragmatics, all of them useful and well digested ^q.

The count of Olivares appointed viceroy.

His prudent government.

He is recalled by Philip III.

Philip III. this year obtained the investiture of Naples A.D. 1599. from Clement VIII. and the viceroy Don Fernando Ruy de

^p Giannone.

^q Idem ibid.

*The count
of Lemos
appointed
viceroy.*

Castro, count of Lemos, arriving at Naples on the 16th of July, the count of Olivares, three days after, embarked for Spain. The attention of Lemos was quickly engaged by the discovery of a formidable conspiracy, which had been hatched for more than a year in Calabria, under the direction of Tommasa Campanella, a furious enthusiast. Campanella, on account of his wicked life, and on suspicion of heresy, had felt the censures of the inquisition, and had suffered a long imprisonment in Rome; but upon a profession of penitence he was set at liberty, and ordered to confine himself to a convent in Stilo, his native city. In resentment for the usage he had received at Rome, upon his return to Calabria he formed the design of expelling the Spaniards from Naples, and rendering the kingdom independent on the holy see. As he had acquired great reputation for his skill in astrology, he first persuaded the monks of the convent where he lodged, and afterwards many others, that great revolutions of kingdoms, particularly of Naples, would happen in the first year of the ensuing century; that the people ought therefore to be forewarned, in order to be ready to shake off the yoke of the tyrannical kings of Spain, as he intended then to form the kingdom into an excellent republic. In his sermons he openly declared, that he was appointed by God for delivering the nation, while the monks his associates, to the number of three hundred, in their discourses verified his assertions, and declaimed against the tyranny of the kings of Spain. Besides the monks, the bishops of Nicastro, Girace, Melito, and Oppido, entered into the conspiracy, and a great many provincial barons, and some of the city of Naples. They proposed to introduce a general liberty, to kill all the Jesuits, and those priests and monks that should refuse to join them, to burn all books, and to make new statutes. Having likewise concluded a treaty with a Turkish admiral, who promised to appear in the month of September with a fleet to their assistance, they assembled one thousand eight hundred fugitives, whose number was daily increasing, when the plot was discovered by two of the conspirators. The viceroy immediately sent Don Carlo Spinelli with a body of troops into Calabria, under pretence of fortifying those coasts against the infidels. The designs of the conspirators by these means being anticipated, many of them were seized and put to death. Campanella was likewise apprehended and put to the torture; but by his stupid and contradictory answers, he had the good fortune to be deemed a madman, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; but finding means, however, to escape, he fled to

France,

*He quells
a formidable con-
spiracy.*

France, where he died about thirty-nine years after this transaction.

The conspiracy being quelled, the viceroy went to the jubilee at Rome, from whence he soon after returned to Naples, the kingdom being alarmed by the Turks, who, in the month of August, landed at Scalea, on the coast of Calabria, but were repulsed with considerable loss to their galleys. Philip soon after acquainting him that he intended to visit Naples, he resolved to build a magnificent palace for his reception, which was accordingly begun under the direction of Fontana; but the count in the mean time falling sick, died on the 13th of October, in the third year of his government. During his illness, he obtained a royal writ, granting the lieutenantancy of the kingdom to his son Don Francesco de Castro, a youth of twenty-three years of age, who held the government near eighteen months, and was engaged in defending the kingdom against the Turks, who landed in Calabria and pillaged Reggio.

A.D. 1601.

His death.

Next year, in the month of April, Don Juan Alfonso Pimentel d'Errera, count of Benevento, arrived as viceroy at Naples. He applied himself, with great assiduity to reform the abuses of the tribunals, especially with respect to criminal causes, ordering all the processes of this kind that were lingering in the provincial courts, to be brought to Naples, where sentence was denounced against the guilty according to their crimes, without delay. As he ordered criminals to be dragged even from the sanctuaries, he quickly had disputes with Rome about the ecclesiastical immunity. He was likewise obliged to add to the oppression of the Neapolitans, by imposing new taxes upon them, as the demands from the court of Spain were very pressing, and continually repeated. He accordingly laid a new duty upon fruit, which filled the people with discontent, so that they threatened an insurrection. Their murmurs were increased by a new duty upon salt, and the stagnation of commerce, occasioned by the insatiable rapacity of the money-clippers and false coiners, who had debased the coin. The viceroy, to put a stop to this practice, ordered the zannette, a coin of about the value of a six-pence, to pass current, whether of full weight or not, and the other money to be received by weight.

A.D. 1603.

He is succeeded by the count of Benevento.

As the Turks continued to infest the kingdom, and to carry off a great many captives, the count formed a resolution of destroying Durazzo, which served the infidels for a place of retreat. He accordingly fitted out a considerable

He defends the kingdom against the Turks;

squadron of ships, and sent them, under the command of the marquis of St. Croce, to Albania, who landing his men and artillery on the coast near Durazzo, took the castle by storm, and pillaged and destroyed the city. At the same time Don Lelio Orsini was sent with a body of troops into Calabria, against the banditti of that province, of whom he destroyed a great number, without however being able entirely to extirpate them, as they sheltered themselves among inaccessible mountains.

*and opposes
the en-
croach-
ments of the
ecclesiastics.*

The viceroy, in the mean time, was engaged in warm disputes about the immunity of churches and sanctuaries with the ecclesiastics, who, in consequence of a bull, published about twelve years before by Gregory XIV. insisted, that it belonged to them to determine what criminals had a right to a sanctuary. Besides, they at their own pleasure, extended the immunity of places not only to church-yards, monasteries, chapels, oratories, hospitals, and bishops palaces, but also to porches, houses, cloisters, gardens, and bakehouses in the neighbourhood of churches. The count having received orders from Spain to admit of no innovations, opposed the encroachments of the ecclesiastics with great vigour. The dispute, however, has never been absolutely decided; for the ecclesiastics, even to the present times, have frequently renewed their claim to the pretended immunity, and have often been punished by banishment, imprisonment, and sequestration of their revenues. While the count of Benevento was thus employed in opposing the ecclesiastics, Philip III. who was very inattentive to the affairs of government, and allowed himself to be governed by his favourites, by their persuasion recalled him to Spain, and sent the son of the late count of Lemos as his successor. The young count of Lemos accordingly, in the month of June, arrived at the island of Procida, where he continued two or three weeks, that Benevento might have leisure to prepare for his departure. Benevento at last, after he had governed the kingdom about seven years, on the 1st of July embarked with his countess for Spain, leaving behind him shining monuments of his justice and magnificence^s.

A.D. 1610.

*He is re-
called.*

*The count
of Lemos
appointed
viceroy.*

Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, count of Lemos, was son to the predecessor of Benavento, and brother of Don Francesco, the late lieutenant of the kingdom. Upon his arrival at Naples, finding the royal patrimony exhausted, no money in the military chest, and the corporation for supplying the city with corn many millions of ducats in debt, he immediately applied himself to remedy these mis-

* Giannone, ut supra.

chiefs, and by his prudent and frugal management of the public money, he soon increased the provisions and royal treasure; so that during his government the kingdom enjoyed great plenty. He studied to have justice duly administered, and law-suits quickly dispatched, awing the judges into a faithful discharge of their offices, and a strict punishment of malefactors, to whom he was severe and terrible.

Above all, he was a great encourager of learning, in which he himself had made great proficiency. As the professors of the university of Naples taught their scholars in some vaults under ground, near a church of the Dominicans, where they were much disturbed with the noise of the bells, the count, out of his love to learning, caused a large and magnificent structure to be built for the Muses, under the direction of Fontana, which, according to Giannone, for stateliness and beauty cannot be paralleled by any university in Europe. He likewise composed a body of academical laws for the masters and students of the university; and by the encouragement he gave to men of learning, raised a spirit of emulation among the Neapolitan nobility, who began to revive the institution of academies, at some of which, particularly that of the Otiosi, the count himself recited a comedy of his own composing. He adorned the city of Naples with other buildings, and caused several public works to be erected in different parts of the kingdom; but hearing that the duke of Ossuna was appointed his successor, he left the administration to his brother Francesco till the duke's arrival, and on the 8th of July embarked for Spain, in order to take upon him the charge of president of the supreme council of Italy.

Don Pedro Giron, duke of Ossuna, soon after the departure of the count of Lemos, arrived at Naples from Sicily, where he had been for some time governor. To gain the affections of the people, he was very magnificent and liberal. He eased them of two taxes, and, nevertheless, obtained from them a donative of one million two hundred thousand ducats, which were sent to Spain to supply the necessities of that crown. A war breaking out betwixt the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy, who had invaded Montferrat, and was assisted by the Venetians, the viceroy, who had no affection for the republic, sent a body of troops to the assistance of the governor of Milan against the duke, and fitted out a fleet to act against the Venetians in the Adriatic gulf. He did not openly declare war against the Venetians, but sent the fleet into the gulf under pretence of assisting Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, who was then at war with the re-

A.D. 1616.

He builds a magnificent edifice for the university of Naples.

Encourages learning.

He is succeeded by the duke of Ossuna.

He infests the trade of the Venetians in the Adriatic.

public, having espoused the quarrel of the Uscocs, a barbarous people of Croatia, his subjects, who had made incursions into the Venetian territories. The Venetians complained of these hostilities at the court of Spain, who sent an order to the viceroy not to infest the republic. The duke, however, in open contempt of this command, continued to send small squadrons into the Adriatic, which seized several vessels belonging to the republic, and threatened to attack their territories. The Venetians, suspecting that the viceroy's proceedings were connived at by the court of Spain, fitted out a fleet in their own defence; at the same time negotiating a peace with the archduke Ferdinand, and endeavouring to reconcile the Spaniards and the duke of Savoy. A treaty for the peace of Italy was accordingly concluded, which greatly offended Ossuna, Toledo, the governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedmar, the Spanish ambassador at Venice. Ossuna still continued to infest the territories of the republic, and disturb their trade, being countenanced and assisted by Toledo and Bedmar, who a few months after were discovered to have hatched a most formidable conspiracy against the republic. The duke, notwithstanding the repeated complaints against him, both by the republic and the Neapolitans, who suffered in their trade by the reprisals of the Venetians, yet, by his relations and friends at the court of Madrid, still found means of justifying his conduct. He denied his having had any correspondence with the conspirators in Venice, and even continued in his own name to infest the trade of the republic, furnishing his vessels with artillery by disgarnishing the principal forts of the kingdom.

A.D. 1619.

His ambiguous designs.

The Neapolitans still renewing their complaints, and accusing the duke of oppressing the kingdom, of living in a debauched and scandalous manner, and of privately encouraging the people in licentiousness, the court of Spain at length resolved to recall him. His partizans were not able to support him any longer, as many of the Neapolitan nobility had arrived at Madrid, to solicit his removal, and a report prevailed, that the duke had formed a design of disjoining Naples from Spain, and seizing the kingdom for himself. He had for some time protected the people, without distinction, against the barons, and promised to redress their grievances, and abolish the taxes. He had foreign troops in his pay, and ships of force at his command; and, according to Nani, by secret methods, he sounded the duke of Savoy and the Venetians, in hopes that they

* Idem ibid. Nani Istor. Venet. lib. iv.

would

would support him in his enterprize. The Spanish court having intelligence of these secret designs, immediately ordered cardinal Borgia, then at Rome, to proceed to Naples, to turn out the duke, and assume the government of the kingdom. Ossuna used his utmost endeavours to delay the journey of the cardinal; but not succeeding, he attempted to raise a commotion in the city, by means of one of his creatures, Genuino, an elect of the people, who harangued the mob, and exaggerating the benefits they had received from the viceroy, assured them, that after his departure they would be treated more harshly by the Spaniards. The cardinal, who had arrived at the island of Procida, privately landed at Pozzuolo, and in the night, entered Castel Nuovo, proclaiming his arrival next morning by a general discharge of the cannon of the castle.

Ossuna wrote to the king, complaining of the cardinal for affronting him, by entering the city by stealth; but added, that he sacrificed his private injuries to the service of the crown, and was coming to justify himself before his majesty in the face of the court. On the 14th of June he embarked for Spain; but to give time for the king's passion to abate, he proceeded very slowly on his voyage, and after two months arrived at Marseilles, where he trifled away his time in balls and feasts. Arriving at length at Madrid, by means of his friends and relations he made his peace with the king, recriminated upon the cardinal, and even had the assurance to desire to be restored to the government of Naples. The council of state, then awed by the capricious favourites, debated the matter, and would have granted his desire, if the Neapolitan ambassador had not made a vigorous opposition (B). The duke's interest, however, so far prevailed, that the cardinal, in the month of November, was removed, and cardinal Antonio Zapatta, then in Rome, was ordered to proceed to Naples as lieutenant of the kingdom.

Borgia, during his short government of five months, punished those Neapolitans that had been guilty of the riot, and declared Genuino a rebel. He again imposed the taxes that had been taken off by the duke, and made other regulations that are published in three pragmatics.

A.D. 1620.

He returns to Spain, and justifies his conduct.

Cardinal Borgia succeeds him as viceroy.

(B) Philip III. dying a few months after, his successor, Philip IV. appointed the count of Olivares his prime minister, who being no well-wisher to Ossuna, ordered the crime laid to his charge to be judicially examin-

ed. The duke being found guilty, was imprisoned in the castle of Almeda, where he languished for four years, and died on the 24th of September, 1624.

A.D. 1621.

*Cardinal
Zapatta
appointed
lieutenant
of the
kingdom.*

Don Antonio Zapatta assumed the government of Naples on the 12th of December, and soon acquired the applause of the people by his care in reforming the tribunals, and obliging the judges to a constant attendance. Being easy of access, he gave audience to all persons, and was very careful to cause the city to be supplied with abundance of provisions. Naples, however, notwithstanding his endeavours, was soon afflicted with a dearth, as corn was very scarce through the whole kingdom, and could not be transported by land to the capital, the roads being rendered impassable by continued rains. The tempestuous weather, and the Turkish cruizers, prevented any supplies from arriving by sea; so that the city in a few months was reduced to the utmost distress, which provoked the populace to mutiny, and to threaten a general insurrection. One of the counsellors, in order to pacify the mob, persuaded the cardinal to go through the city to comfort the people; but he no sooner appeared than he was insulted by the populace, who, notwithstanding his German guards, threw stones at his coach, and obliged him to take shelter in the archbishop's palace, till many of the nobility ran to his assistance, and conducted him back in safety to his palace.

*His unhappy
government.*

These disorders were increased by stopping the currency of the coin called zannette, which, by the avarice of the money-clippers, was now reduced to one-fourth of the just value. As this money was refused in all payments, the viceroy caused it to be cried down; but, at the same time, not being able, on account of the scarcity of silver, to coin a new species of money, as he proposed, the nation was filled with commotions, and the Neapolitans again insulted his person. Finding the bad effects of his lenity, he resolved at length to punish the seditious, and ordered ten of the most guilty to be broke upon the wheel, and sixteen others to be sent to the gallies, which severity effectually quelled the tumults. The court of Spain being informed of the tumults in Naples, which were thought in some measure owing to the cardinal's easy and indulgent temper, he was recalled in the second year of his government, and on the 14th of December the duke of Alva arrived at Naples as his successor.

He is recalled.

A.D. 1622.

*The duke of
Alva arrives
as
viceroy.*

D. Antonio Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alva, in the beginning of his government, applied himself to redress the grievances occasioned by the stoppage of the currency of the zannette, whereby some banks in the city, and many private citizens, had been ruined. He formed a board of ministers for restoring plenty and commerce in the kingdom, and by their advice laid a new tax upon all wine sold in the city

city in hogheads or butts, which was farmed out at ninety-thousand ducats yearly. This revenue was assigned to the creditors of the banks as a third part of their credit, and another third was paid them in new-coined money. The interest of money likewise being lowered, there was a little respite from troubles, and commerce began to revive. However, the exhausted condition of Spain, and the ambition, profuseness, and bad œconomy of the ministers of that kingdom, rendered the following years of the duke's government both troublesome and dangerous. On account of a dispute about the Valteline betwixt Spain and France, and of a war betwixt the Genoese and the duke of Savoy, the duke was obliged to send out of the kingdom supplies both of men and money. To raise men he was forced to grant a pardon to all outlaws and banditti who would enlist in the service; and to furnish subsidies, he imposed a tax of two carlini upon each family, and of five shillings in the pound upon the estates of foreigners, besides appropriating the revenue assigned for the payment of the king's creditors. Being obliged not only to support the wars in Italy, but also to send men and money to Flanders, he obtained a donative from the city of Naples of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats. The kingdom, at the same time, was again afflicted with a dearth, and threatened with the plague, which raged in Sicily. The coasts were also infested by the Turks, who seized several ships, and attacked the town of Sperlonga near Gaeta, and the castle of Abate, and the tower of Licasa. To complete the nation's misfortunes, in the fourth year of the duke's government a terrible earthquake was felt in Naples, and many other parts of the kingdom. A few weeks after, in the month of April, another, yet more terrible, was felt in Calabria, which did great damage to Catanzaro, Girifalco, and other cities. These, however, were only forerunners of one still more violent, which in the following year afflicted Apulia, where it overthrew many cities, and made so great a slaughter of the inhabitants, that, there not being room to bury them, to prevent the air from being infected their bodies were burnt.

In the midst of all these troubles, the magnanimity and generosity of the duke appeared with great lustre. He encountered all difficulties with constancy and courage, and exerted himself with unwearied application in the affairs of government. He beautified Naples with several new public edifices, and, for the conveniency of travelling, caused several bridges to be built in different parts of the kingdom. While the duke thus governed the kingdom

*The nation
oppressed to
support the
Spanish
wars.*

*Alva is re-
called.*

A.D. 1629.

with general applause, he received the disagreeable news that the duke of Alcala was appointed his successor. That he might put off the time of his arrival as long as possible, he neglected to send the gallies to Barcelona; so that Alcala, after being obliged to pledge his plate for his subsistence, was forced to embark on board a Maltese galley, and on the 26th of July landed unexpectedly at Paullippo, where he continued for some weeks. Alva, in the mean time, remitted all the old debts that were owing to the exchequer, and obtained a donative of one million two hundred thousand ducats from the parliament, which he then dissolved. Having likewise obtained a free gift for himself of seventy-five thousand ducats, on the 16th of August he embarked for Spain, leaving behind him the character of a just, good, and prudent viceroy.

He is succeeded by the duke of Alcala;

Notwithstanding the wise government of Alva, the duke of Alcala upon his arrival found the kingdom in a most wretched state. Philip IV. exhausted Naples for supporting his wars in Lombardy. The forces of the nation being employed abroad, the banditti began again to plunder the provinces, and even to attack the walled towns, while the Turks, with little or no opposition, infested the coasts, and carried off captives and booty. Notwithstanding the poverty and distresses of the kingdom, the Spanish minister still made new demands upon the viceroy both of men and money. The duke accordingly sent several thousand men to Lombardy. In order to raise the money, he suspended the payment of the sums to the king's creditors, and asked a general voluntary contribution, which was regulated in such a manner, that no person was to give above one thousand ducats, and none less than ten; so that the nobility, barons, and even the advocates and clerks, were obliged to empty their purses into the viceroy's hands. These resources not being sufficient, it was resolved to sell the cities and lands belonging to the crown, and to inroach upon the regalia; expedients which increased the disorders of the kingdom. The cities, accustomed to be the king's immediate vassals, refused to submit to the new purchasers, whose dominion they dreaded. The inhabitants of Amantea and Taverna shut their gates against their new lords; and having entered an action at law, by refunding the price, were continued in the king's domains. The kingdom was so impoverished, that in the following year the viceroy with the greatest difficulty could maintain the infant Mary with her retinue for four months, who passed through the kingdom on her way to her husband, Ferdinand of Austria. The viceroy, in the mean time, was obliged

who alienates the crown-lands to support the Spanish wars.

obliged to fit out eight galleys to guard the coasts from the Turkish incursions, and to send some troops against the banditti, who infested several parts of the kingdom.

As the nation was struck with a panic on account of another earthquake, and a report that prevailed, that several profligate wretches were travelling up and down Italy, and spreading an artificial pestilence by poisoning the water in the churches and streets, the duke prohibited all persons from entering the kingdom without bills of health, and kept a strict guard upon the confines. The plague at this time actually raged in Lombardy, and even broke out in the borders of the kingdom, and in Milan. Some villains being condemned for poisoning the waters, the people were so distracted that every thing went to wreck. The advocates refused to undergo the examination appointed by the king, and deserted the courts, while the judges decided causes without any pleading, in favour of that party who gave them the largest bribe. The royal jurisdiction was likewise trampled upon by the ecclesiastics, whose incroachments were but weakly opposed by the viceroy. The duke of Alva, in the mean time, having made many complaints against Alcala at the court of Spain, Olivares ordered him to come to Spain to answer to the charges against him, giving him hopes, however, of returning to Naples. He accordingly, on the 13th of May, set out for Spain, leaving the government to the count of Monterey, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, who had arrived at Naples a few weeks before.

Great distress and consternation in Naples.

Alcala is recalled.

A.D. 1631.

D. Emanuel de Guzman, count of Monterey, had procured the viceroyalty of Naples by his interest with Olivares, who was doubly related to him, and recalled Alcala, not on account of any real mal-administration, but to make room for his kinsman. The beginning of the count's government was very calamitous, rendered by a most terrible eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which began on the night of the 15th of December. The mountain vomited flames, ashes, and stones, with so great violence, that many houses in Naples were thrown down, and the whole city was threatened to be buried under the fragments of the eruption. The stones were carried to the distance of one hundred miles, and from one side of the mountain an immense quantity of burning bitumen issued out, which separated into seven currents, and run to the sea, where it continued burning twelve days. From the other side of the mountain a torrent of hot water burst forth, which overflowed many places in the neighbourhood. The sea likewise was driven back, and for some

The count of Monterey appointed viceroy.

The Neapolitans greatly oppressed.

time left the ships stranded upon the shore. About two months after the Neapolitans were again terrified by a second eruption, which continued for several days ^u.

To these natural calamities were added others still more distressing for the nation. As the Spaniards, notwithstanding a continued run of bad fortune which attended their arms, nevertheless protracted their wars in Italy and Flanders with the most haughty perseverance, the Neapolitans were still oppressed to furnish subsidies and recruits. The viceroy likewise, in the third and fourth years of his government, was obliged to fit out ten large ships, and to send great numbers of troops to the Milanese, which was threatened with an invasion from the French. Next year, a rumour prevailing, that the French held a private correspondence with one of the chiefs of the banditti, and intended to invade the kingdom in different places, the viceroy was put to great expence in fortifying Barletta, Taranto, Gaeta, and other cities; in furnishing all the maritime places with garrisons, and fitting out thirty ships and ten tartans. But finding that the French intended only by false alarms to prevent him from sending succours to Milan, he immediately hastened the reinforcements thither, sending one thousand horse by land, and seven regiments by sea. During his government, it was found, that no less than eight thousand horse and fifty-four thousand foot had been raised for foreign wars, and that three million five hundred thousand crowns had been sent out of the kingdom in subsidies; other great sums besides being required for the expences of the kingdom; so that the viceroy was obliged to impose new taxes upon meal, flesh, and oil, and frequently to seize the revenues of foreigners. The revenues of the city of Naples being also burthened with a debt of fifteen millions, the Neapolitans at length sent the bishop of Volturara to the court of Spain to beg redress of their grievances; but the pressing necessities of the state rendered his representations ineffectual. The count, after he had governed with great prudence six years, was recalled to Spain, for which kingdom he embarked on the 12th of November.

A.D. 1537.

Monterey returns to Spain.

He is succeeded by the duke of Medina;

Monterey was succeeded in the government by D. Ramiro Guzman, duke of Medina de las Torres, who had been raised from a gentleman to that dignity by Olivares, whose daughter he had formerly married. Though the daughter of Olivares had died without issue, yet the minister being still fond of promoting the duke, procured

^u Giannone, Spond. Annal.

him

him a second match with a very rich Neapolitan heiress, by promising him the office of viceroy. The marriage was accordingly celebrated at Naples; but the court of Spain judging it necessary that Monterey should continue somewhat longer in the government, the duke was obliged to live in the kingdom several months in a private character, to the great discontent of the young duchess and her relations, who openly complaining against Olivares, at length obtained the gratification of their desires. As the court of Spain, on account of their ill-managed wars, were still making new demands of subsidies from Naples, the duke was obliged to impose new taxes upon silks, salt, oil, corn, flesh, and salted provisions; as also upon lime, playing cards, gold and silver thread, upon contracts for money, and stamped paper. The merchants were obliged to pay two hundred thousand ducats; and all the villages about Naples, Nola, and other cities belonging to the king's domains, that could not buy themselves off, were sold to the barons. A donative of a million of ducats was likewise extorted from the baronage of the kingdom in parliament.

who is obliged to impose new taxes.

The nation was again afflicted with a most terrible earthquake, which, on the 27th of March, destroyed a great many cities in Calabria. Cosenza, Castiglione, Nicastro, and many other cities, and a great number of villages, were almost entirely reduced to ruins, and above ten thousand people were killed. The general consternation and distress were greatly augmented by an impostor, named Pietro Paolo Saffanio, who published every where that greater earthquakes were soon to happen, not only in Calabria, but throughout the whole world, as the day of judgment was near at hand; that the sea was to break its banks, and overflow the fields and cities; that the heavens were to rain down hail-stones of five pounds weight each; and that the mountains were to vomit out flames. Many of the Calabrians, terrified by these dismal predictions, deserted their native country; and others would have followed their example, if the viceroy had not apprehended Saffanio, and condemned him to the gallies.

A.D. 1638.

A terrible earthquake in Calabria.

The Turks renewed their usual depredations with a fleet of sixteen gallies; and after having done a great deal of damage to the coasts, sailed up the Adriatic with intention of attacking Loretto, but were prevented by the Venetians^w. The French, who now began to counterbalance the power of the Spaniards in Italy, had entered into a correspondence with some malecontents, and formed a

A.D. 1640.

The French threaten to invade Naples.

^w Nani. Hist. Venet. lib. ii.

design of surprising the city of Naples. The conspiracy, however, being discovered, one of the nobles who had concerted the scheme with the French was seized at Rome; and, being brought to Naples, was beheaded in the market-place. Though the conspiracy had failed, yet the French, in hopes of being joined by the disaffected, next year arrived with a fleet of thirty-four men of war off Gaeta. Being repulsed by the cannon of the castle, they proceeded to the gulf of Naples, and made several attempts to land; but, by the precautions of the viceroy, and the vigilance of the inhabitants, their endeavours were frustrated; especially as their motions were watched by eighteen galleys under the command of D. Melchior de Borgia.

*Catalonia
and Por-
tugal
throw off
the Spanish
yoke.*

The French were more successful in Catalonia, where, by their emissaries, they provoked the people to revolt from the Spanish government, to kill the viceroy, and to seize the places of strength throughout the province. While preparations were making to reduce Catalonia, news arrived at Madrid that the Portuguese had likewise revolted, and declared the duke of Braganza king. The revolution in Portugal was so general, and so quickly established on a regular plan, that Olivares despaired of re-uniting that kingdom to Spain, bent his chief efforts against the Catalans, who, having put themselves under the protection of the French, maintained a long war against the Castilians. On account of this war fresh troops were raised in Naples, new ships were fitted out, and a donative extorted by the viceroy, who was therefore obliged to oppress the subjects and corporations with new taxes and impositions.

*Medina is
recalled to
Spain.*

Troops likewise were still demanded for the Milanese. At the same time, the commerce of the kingdom being greatly interrupted by the banditti, and the regular troops not being sufficient for suppressing them, the duke sent the prince of Torello into Campania, with the title of lieutenant-general, to curb their insolence. Olivares being disgraced at the court of Spain, and the administration of the government committed to his enemy and nephew D. Lewis de Haro, the new minister, to gratify the admiral of Castile, who was then viceroy of Sicily, and might have pretensions to become his rival at home, appointed him successor to Medina. The admiral accordingly arriving at Naples on the 6th of May, Medina retired to his country-house at Portici, till the galleys were fitted out for carrying him to Spain. He held the government about six years and a half, during which time he adorned the city and kingdom with several public works, left about fifty excellent laws,

A.D. 1644

laws, and erected two new tribunals in the provinces of the Farther Abruzzo and Basilicata.

D. Juan Alphonso Enriquez, admiral of Castile, like his predecessors, was immediately perplexed by the demands of the court of Spain for supplies of men and money. He was not only obliged to send troops to Catalonia, but likewise to Malta, which island was threatened with an invasion from the Turks, who this year appeared in sight of Otranto with a fleet of forty-six galleys, pillaged Rocca Imperiale, and carried off two hundred captives. The admiral was also forced to demand a donative of a million, and, as the only means of raising the money, laid a tax upon all the rented houses of the city of Naples. The collection of this tax occasioning great disturbances, which threatened a general insurrection, the viceroy wisely ordered the collectors to desist; on which account he was severely reprimanded by the court of Spain, who, blaming his timidity, commanded him without delay to raise the tax. The admiral, however, knowing the disposition of the kingdom, with great prudence continued firm in his resolution of suspending the collection; declaring, that he intended to serve, and not to betray, his king; and wrote to Madrid, begging to be removed from the government, that he might not be obliged to carry matters to extremities. As he renewed his request with great earnestness, the Spanish ministry appointed the duke of Arcos, a bold and resolute man, as his successor; and ordered him to proceed to Rome to do homage, in the king's name, to the new pope, Innocent X. The admiral accordingly, about the middle of April, left Naples, before he had quite finished the two years of his government, during which he had made many prudent regulations; and, returning by Rome to Spain, died in the course of the following year.

The admiral of Castile appointed viceroy.

He is removed at his own request.

A.D. 1646.

Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, duke of Arcos, made his entry into Naples, and assumed the government of the kingdom, a few weeks before the departure of the admiral. He was of a rapacious disposition; and, though possessed of an immense estate in Spain, had accepted of the government of Naples chiefly with the view of enlarging his fortune. Being filled with a presumptuous opinion of the grandeur of the Spanish monarchy, he discovered a sovereign contempt for the Neapolitans; and fomented the division between the nobles and the people, in hopes of governing both with the greater ease*. At his first arri-

Succeeded by the duke of Arcos.

* Hist. de la Revolution de Naples de Luffan. 1757. Mem. du Duc de Guise.

val, he declined imposing any new taxes ; but being obliged to raise money, he appointed two boards to extract the arrears of the donatives that had been granted to the king. As the French, under pretence of assisting the nephews of the late pope against Innocent, threatened to invade Tuscany with a powerful fleet, and soon after actually appeared on the coast with ten galleys, thirty-five men of war, and seventy transports, on board of which were six thousand foot and six hundred horse, the viceroy was obliged to send several reinforcements to the Spanish garrisons in that part of Italy ; some of which, nevertheless, were forced to surrender to the French, who, though they were defeated by the Spaniards at sea, yet, in the end of the year, made themselves masters of the important harbour of Portolongone.

The kingdom distressed, to oppose the French in Italy.

A.D. 1647.

These new acquisitions of the French alarmed the viceroy, who immediately gave out commissions for raising twelve thousand men, ordered the most wealthy citizens of Gaeta to fortify their city at their own expences, and summoned the militia of the kingdom to Naples ; but they refused to comply with his command. The French, in the mean time, having fitted out five men of war and two small fireships at Portolongone and Piombino, on the 1st of April appeared in the gulf of Naples, and took several ships in sight of the city ; but the Neapolitans, embarking on board thirteen men of war and twelve galleys then in the harbour, quickly drove them from the coasts. A few weeks after the city was greatly alarmed by the accidental or malicious burning of the Spanish admiral's ship in the night-time, by which three hundred thousand ducats, which were going to Spain, were lost, and four hundred soldiers perished. The viceroy, suspecting that the loss of the ship was owing to the duke of Matalone, who was known to have an aversion to the Spaniards, ordered him to be imprisoned in Castel Nuovo. The duke was one of the most powerful nobles in the kingdom, being in possession of ten duchies, six principalities, and a great number of large fiefs. He was beloved by the people on account of his known aversion to the Spaniards, and was of a haughty disposition and enterprising spirit.

S E C T. X.

Insurrection at Naples under Massaniello. The Duke of Guise declared Chief of the Insurgents.

THE viceroy, in the beginning of his government, had obtained from the parliament a donative of a million ; but, in order to convert it into ready money, he imposed

posed a duty upon fruit, which he assigned to some merchants who advanced the sum. This duty the common people looked upon as the hardest oppression, the chief part of their subsistence, during the hot summer months, being fruit, which in the kingdom of Naples is very plentiful and delicious. The edict for collecting the new duty was no sooner published in the beginning of January, than they began to murmur in a tumultuous manner; and when the viceroy came abroad, surrounded his coach, clamouring to have their grievances redressed. The viceroy, apprehensive of greater disorders, desired the seggi to deliberate about taking off the duty, and imposing another less grievous; but such difficulties occurred, that they could come to no determination; and those who had farmed the tax, bribing some of the viceroy's favourites, he was fatally persuaded by them to defer the abolition of the tax. The indignation of the people, who suspected such an intention, greatly increased; especially as they were privately excited by several malecontents, among the chief of whom was Giulio Genuino, the elect, now in priest's orders, and in the 80th year of his age, who, in resentment for his long sufferings for his behaviour under the administration of Ossuna, had been wishing for an opportunity of being revenged upon the Spaniards. The farmers of the revenue, and all those concerned in raising the taxes, had incurred the hatred and detestation of the people, particularly of Tommaso Aniello, commonly called Massaniello, of Amalfi, a fisherman, whose wife, having been discovered in smuggling a small quantity of meal, was imprisoned, and condemned to pay a fine of one hundred ducats.

Massaniello, a few years before, had come to Naples from Amalfi, where his father had been a fisherman. At this time he was about twenty-four years of age, and the father of four children. He was of a middling stature, and an agreeable aspect; distinguished for his boldness, activity, and integrity; and had a great influence with his companions, by whom he was beloved and esteemed. As he was obliged even to sell his furniture to pay the heavy fine, he had conceived an implacable hatred against the farmers of the taxes, and was also moved with compassion for the miserable state of the city and kingdom. He therefore formed a design, with some of his companions, to raise a tumult in the market-place on the festival-day of the Carmelites, usually celebrated about the middle of July, when between five and six hundred youths entertain the people by a mock-fight; one half of them, in the character of Turks, defending a wooden castle, which is attacked and stormed

The Neapolitans threaten to mutiny on account of a new duty on fruit.

They are encouraged by Massaniello, a poor fisherman.

*Who heads
the rioters.*

stormed by the other half in the character of Christians. Massaniello being appointed captain of one of these parties, and one Pione, who was privy to his design, commanding the other, for several weeks before the festival they were very diligent in reviewing and training their followers, who were armed with sticks and reeds; but a small and unforeseen accident tempted them to begin their enterprize without waiting for the festival.

On the 7th of July, a disturbance happening in the market-place betwixt the tax-gatherers and some gardeners of Pozzuolo, who had brought some figs into the city, whether the buyer or seller should pay the duty, after the tumult had continued several hours, Massaniello, who was present with his company, excited the mob to pillage the office built in the market for receiving the duty, and to drive away the officers with stones. The elect of the people, who, by deciding against the gardeners, had increased the tumult, run to the palace, and informed the viceroy, who most imprudently neglected all means of putting a stop to the commotion. Massaniello, in the mean time, being joined by great numbers of people, ordered his young troop to set fire to all the offices for the taxes through the city; which command being executed with dispatch, he then conducted them directly to the palace, where the viceroy, instead of ordering his Spanish and German guards to disperse them, encouraged their insolence, by timidly granting their demands. As they rushed into the palace in a furious manner, he escaped by a private door, and endeavoured to save himself in Castel del Ovo; but being overtaken by the rioters in the streets, he was trampled upon by them, and pulled by the hair and whiskers. However, by throwing some handfuls of gold among them, he again escaped, and took sanctuary in a convent of Minims, where, being joined by the archbishop of Naples, cardinal Filomarini, and several nobles, he signed a billet, by which he abolished all taxes upon provisions. He likewise desired the cardinal to offer Massaniello a pension of two thousand four hundred crowns, who generously rejected the bribe; and declared, that if the viceroy would keep his word, he would find them obedient subjects.

*Massaniello
becomes
absolute
master of
the whole
city.*

It was now expected that the tumult would cease; but Massaniello, upon his return to the market-place, being joined by several malecontents, among whom were Genuino, and one Peronne, who had formerly been a captain of the sbirri, he was advised by them to order the houses of all those concerned in raising the tax to be burned, which were accordingly, in a few days reduced to ashes, with all
their

their rich furniture^r. Massaniello being now absolute master of the whole city, and joined by great numbers of people of desperate fortunes, required the viceroy, who had retired to the Castel Nuovo, to abolish all the taxes, and to deliver up the writ of exemption granted by Charles V. This new demand greatly embarrassed the viceroy; but, to appease the people, he drew up a false deed in letters of gold, and sent it to them by their favourite the duke of Matalone, whom he now set at liberty. The fraud, however, being discovered, the duke was pulled from his horse and maltreated by the mob, and at length committed as a prisoner to Peronne. This accident, to the great joy of the viceroy, enraged the people against the nobility, several of whom they killed, burnt the houses of others, and threatened to extirpate them all. Massaniello, in the mean time, tattered and half naked, commanded his followers, who were now well armed, and reckoned about a hundred thousand men, with a most absolute sway. He eat and slept little, gave his orders with great precision and judgment, appeared full of moderation, without ambition and interested views. But the duke of Matalone having procured his liberty by bribing Peronne, the viceroy imitated his example, and secretly corrupted Genuino to betray his chief. A conspiracy was accordingly formed against Massaniello by Matalone and Peronne, the duke, who was equally exasperated against the viceroy, proposing, that after his death his brother D. Joseph should head the rebels.

Massaniello, in the mean time, by means of the cardinal-archbishop, was negotiating a general peace and accommodation; but while both parties were assembling in the convent of the Carmelites, the banditti hired by Matalone made an unsuccessful attempt upon Massaniello's life. His followers immediately killed a hundred and fifty of them. Peronne and D. Joseph being discovered to be concerned in the conspiracy, were likewise put to death, and the duke with great difficulty escaped. Massaniello, by this conspiracy, was rendered more suspicious and severe. He began to abuse his power, by putting several persons to death upon slight pretences; and, to force the viceroy to an accommodation, he cut off all communication with the castles, which were unprovided with provision and ammunition. The viceroy, likewise, being afraid lest the French should take advantage of the commotion, earnestly desired to agree to a treaty, which was accordingly concluded, on the fifth

Compels the viceroy to agree to a dishonourable treaty.

^r Giannone. Mem. du Duc de Guise. Hist. des Revolutions de Nap. Labard. de Reb. Gal.

day of the insurrection, by the mediation of the archbishop. By the treaty it was stipulated, that all duties imposed since the time of Charles V. should be abolished; and that the writ of exemption granted by that emperor should be delivered to the people; that, for the future, no new taxes should be imposed; that the vote of the elect of the people should be equal to the votes of the nobility; that an act of oblivion should be granted for all that was past; and that the people should continue in arms under Massaniello, till the ratification of the treaty by the king ².

*Massaniello
still retains
his absolute
authority.*

By this treaty no less than ten thousand persons, who fattened upon the blood of the public, were ruined. The people, when it was solemnly published, manifested extreme joy, believing they had now recovered all their ancient rights and privileges. Massaniello, at the desire of the viceroy, went to the palace to visit him, accompanied by the archbishop, who was obliged to threaten him with excommunication, before he would consent to lay aside his rags, and assume a magnificent dress. He was received by the duke with the greatest demonstrations of respect and friendship, while the duchess entertained his wife, and presented her with a robe of cloth of silver, and some jewels. The viceroy, to preserve some shadow of authority, appointed him captain-general, and, at his departure, made him a present of a golden chain of great value, which with great difficulty he was prevailed upon to accept of; but yielded at length to the intreaties of the cardinal. Next day, in consequence of the commission granted him by the viceroy, he began to exercise all the functions of sovereign authority. Having caused a scaffold to be erected in one of the streets, and several gibbets, he judged all crimes, whether civil or military, in the last resort, and ordered the guilty to be immediately put to death, which was the punishment he assigned to all offences. Though he neglected all forms of law, and even frequently judged by physiognomy, yet he is said not to have overlooked any criminal, or punished any innocent person.

*His rigid
justice.*

*He is assassi-
nated.*

His grandeur and prosperity was of very short continuance; for his mind becoming distracted and delirious for two or three days, he committed a great many mad and extravagant actions, and, on the 18th of July, was assassinated with the consent of the viceroy. Some attribute his madness to the sudden change of his fortune, and his excessive joy for restoring the liberty of his country; others to

² Vide Auct. supra citat. Hist. de la Revolut. de Naples, par Luffan. le Comte de Modene, tom. i.

the want of rest, and too much wine; and some allege, that it was the effect of poison, secretly administered to him by the Spaniards. As the populace carried his head upon a pole, and treated his body with the greatest indignity, the viceroy expected that peace and tranquillity would be immediately restored; but the people being still in arms under several chiefs, who commanded in different quarters, and were jealous of each other, he had no authority in the city, where anarchy immediately prevailed. The weight of bread being imprudently lessened, the people, a few days after, began to regret the death of Massaniello. Having taken his body from the common sewer, and joined the head to it, they carried the corpse in procession through all the quarters of the city, and buried it with solemn and royal funeral ceremonies^a. The populace then continued for three or four weeks in quiet suspense, waiting for the orders from Spain; but one of those who had his house burned claiming to be indemnified for his losses, and the viceroy refusing to deliver up Genuino, who had encouraged him, and had fled to the castle, the people again ran to arms with greater fury than before, and immediately seized several posts, commanding the harbour, and straitening the castles. They continued their hostilities for two days with great vigour, and, on the 23d of August, chose for their chief the prince of Massa, one of the wealthiest nobles of the kingdom, who had acquired great reputation in the war of Catalonia. He accepted of the command with great regret, and immediately entered into a secret correspondence with the viceroy, whom, at the same time, he was besieging in Castel Nuovo.

The commotion still continues.

During these transactions in Naples, the Spaniards had been expelled from Salerno, Cava, Sanseverino, and several other cities, by the people, who, upon the news of the insurrection of Massaniello, had taken arms in all the provinces of the kingdom, and revenged themselves upon the Spaniards and the nobility, who had long governed them with a rod of iron. This general insurrection being the subject of discourse at Rome, the duke of Guise, who happened at this time to be at the pope's court, was encouraged by Innocent to offer his service to the Neapolitans against the Spaniards. The duke was prompted by his ambition to engage in the enterprize, especially as he had some distant pretensions to the crown. He accordingly sent two Italians to Naples, desiring the Neapolitans to form themselves

A general insurrection in the provinces.

^a Giannone. Hist. par Lussan. Degli Hist. des Rois des Deux Siciles, ann. 1647.

The viceroy condescends to a more disgraceful treaty.

into a republic, and offering himself as their chief. The viceroy, who dreaded his arrival, especially as he saw the whole kingdom in arms, and was informed that the French were fitting out a formidable fleet at Toulon, by the mediation of the archbishop, on the 7th of September, concluded another accommodation, more disgraceful than the former. The people, now weary of commotion, resumed their former occupations with great eagerness, treated the Spaniards with kindness, and even destroyed all the works and intrenchments they had formed against the castles, being credulous enough to believe that the king would ratify a treaty that entirely deprived him of the sovereignty of the kingdom.

Don John of Austria arrives with a fleet at Naples.

The Spanish fleet at length arrived in the bay of Naples, consisting of forty ships of war, twenty-two galleys, and some other vessels, under the command of the king's natural son, Don John of Austria, a youth of eighteen years of age, extremely handsome, of a courteous behaviour, and ripe judgment. The fleet was but ill provided with ammunition, and had not more than four or five thousand troops on board; yet it was looked upon by the Spaniards as the bulwark of their monarchy, being designed as a bridle upon the two wavering kingdoms, and to recover Portolongone and Piombino from the French. The prince accordingly had the character of vicar-general in Italy^b. He was inclined to use clemency; but the viceroy, thinking his revenge would be thereby frustrated, fatally persuaded him to demand, that the people should lay down their arms before his entry into Naples, hoping thus to give some foundation for renewing hostilities, when he would be able to reduce the revolvers by force. The duke likewise employed his emissaries in Naples, to persuade the people that Don John wanted to surprise them, and had a design to destroy their city. They accordingly insisting on capitulating upon even terms, by the advice of the viceroy, it was agreed that three thousand troops should be landed from the fleet, which, with those in the towns and castles, would make a body of eleven thousand men; and that a general assault should be given to the city in different quarters, which at the same time should be cannonaded from the castles and fleet. Next day, being the 5th of October, this resolution was executed in a cruel manner, the Spaniards attacking the posts of the revolvers with great fury, and putting to death, men, women, and children, without distinction, while the artillery thundered from their ships and castles, and set fire

He is persuaded by the viceroy to use force.

^b Vide auct. sup. citat.

to the city in several places. The people, recovering from their first consternation, were animated with rage, and in their turn attacked the Spaniards, whom they repulsed with great loss.

Don John and the viceroy were confounded at the bad success of their enterprize; but despairing now of any accommodation, next day they renewed the attack. Hostilities were continued several days with little interruption; but nothing succeeded with the viceroy; and the people, becoming more exasperated, openly revolted from the Spaniards. They rejected with disdain the offer of a truce made them by the prince and the viceroy; and published a manifesto, recapitulating all their grievances, and requesting the assistance of all Christian princes. A few weeks after they cruelly put the prince of Massa, their general, to death, pretending to discover that he maintained a private intelligence with the viceroy. The prince had, from the beginning, been secretly in the interest of the Spaniards, and hoped, by retarding and frustrating the military operations, to prevail with the people to return to their obedience; but his designs having been for some time suspected by the chiefs of the revolters, they ordered his head to be struck off, without, however, having any proofs of his defection^c.

The people renounce their allegiance to Spain.

The chief command was now conferred on Janaurius Annese, a gunsmith, who was very instrumental in procuring the death of his predecessor. He was a man of artifice and deceit, brutal, and covetous. Having distinguished himself by his activity in the beginning of this revolt, and his hatred to the Spaniards, he had obtained the command of one of the chief posts, which, rousing his ambition, made him still more vigilant in the common cause. He was at first very industrious in establishing himself in his new dignity; but being wholly illiterate, and exercising his power with great confusion, vanity, and avarice, his government was quickly detested. The people, who began to feel the want of provisions, openly murmured; and, having formed themselves into a republic, sent a deputation to the duke of Guise at Rome, offering him the same authority and rank among them that the prince of Orange enjoyed in Holland. The duke accordingly, after having surmounted many difficulties, arrived at Naples on the 15th of November, in a small felucca, which held only about six persons, having been obliged to separate from thirteen other feluccas, to avoid the Spaniards who pursued him. Upon his arrival, the Neapoliti-

Appoint Annese, a gunsmith, as their chief.

The duke of Guise arrives at Naples, and is declared chief.

^c Vide auct. sup. citat. Mem. de Guise. Mission Voyage d'Italie. Loredan. Repub. de Naples.

tans expressed the most extravagant joy ; and two days after the supreme command was conferred upon him, with great solemnity, in the cathedral church, where he took the oath of fidelity to the people, and received a consecrated sword from the archbishop.

The duke was not a week in Naples before he found himself greatly embarrassed. He observed, that the greatest part of the citizens of any credit continued neutral, or rather privately favoured the Spaniards ; and that there were not above five thousand troops regimented, though many thousands occasionally took arms ; he himself had no money ; his colleague, Anneſe, was in ſome meaſure his rival, and privately thwarted his deſigns, and he found it impracticable to effect a reconciliation betwixt the nobility and the people, without which, he foreſaw, it would be impoſſible to ſucceed in his ambitious views ^d. However, having prevailed on Anneſe to grant him one hundred thouſand crowns, he raiſed about one thouſand more troops, and commenced hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards, but with ſmall ſucceſs. As the city was greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, he was obliged, about the middle of December, to march out with four thouſand foot and fix hundred horſe, to open the communication with the country. He took the route of Averſa, where there was a body of fix thouſand nobles, who had aſſembled in their own defence, but had reſuſed to co-operate with the Spaniards. He was in hopes of perſuading them to declare for him ; but having a conference with the duke of Andria, he ſoon found that his expectations were ill-founded.

*The French
fleet ap-
pears be-
fore Na-
ples.*

A.D. 1648.

*Returns
without
giving af-
ſiſtance to
the duke.*

Mean while the French fleet, conſiſting of twenty-nine ill-provided men of war and five fire-ſhips, arriving in the bay of Naples, the duke was flattered with the proſpect of powerful ſuccours. He, however, ſuffered a moſt mortifying diſappointment ; for Mazarine, jealous of the ſucceſs of his enterprize, addreſſed his diſpatches to Anneſe, as chief of the republic ; and the fleet, inſtead of immediately attacking that of the Spaniards, while the half of their crew were on ſhore, lay inactive within cannon-ſhot of the enemy. After having landed a ſmall quantity of powder, and two pieces of artillery, they continued about three weeks on the coaſt, and then returned to Toulon. The principal advantage the duke gained by their arrival was, a confirmation of the chief command of the republic for ſeven years, Anneſe having been forced to reſign his ſhare in the ſupreme authority, in conſideration of a yearly revenue of fifty thouſand crowns, and a land eſtate, with the title of duchy or

^d Vide auct. ut ſupra.

principality, upon the conclusion of the war. The baron of Modena, who commanded the army against the nobles, by a stratagem, prevailed upon them to evacuate Aversa, which city he immediately took possession of, to the great joy of the Neapolitans, who received from thence a considerable supply of corn. Their hopes were likewise flattered with the news that the army of the nobles was dispersed, and that in almost all the provinces the party of the new republic was superior. Besides, several of the nobles began to acknowledge the authority of the duke, who recovered some important posts from the Spaniards, and had even secured some spies in the collateral council of the regency. Two of the Spanish galleys likewise declaring for the republic, and news daily arriving of the loss of the Spaniards in the provinces, the duke at length established a magnificent household, ordered the courts of justice to be opened, and appointed several boards for the different branches of the administration.

The duke extends his conquests to the provinces of the kingdom.

The Spaniards, in the mean time, suffering greatly for want of provisions, and many of their soldiers deserting, Don John, by one of his confidants, offered the duke the sovereignty of the marquisate of Final and principality of Salerno, if he would quit Naples, engaging likewise to procure for him from the emperor the investiture of the duchies of Modena and Reggio, and the principalities of Carpi and Correggio. The duke rejecting these offers, the Spaniards endeavoured to renew a treaty for an accommodation, by the mediation of the pope's nuncio; but the Neapolitans absolutely refusing to have any more concerns with the duke of Arcos, Don John prevailed on him to resign his government. He accordingly left Naples, on the 26th of January, when Don John assumed the government, and immediately published an edict, exhorting the people to return to their duty, promising them a general indemnity, and many favours. This edict produced little or no effect, which was likewise the fate of a manifesto, published about the same time by the nobility, who declared, that they were willing to forget all the injuries they had received from the people.

Don John prevails on the duke of Arcos to resign.

The duke, in the mean time, being convinced of the enmity of Anneſe, who laid several snares for his life, and thwarted all his measures, formed a design of assassinating that demagogue, which, however, proved ineffectual. His revenge against Anneſe being frustrated, he called in about six thousand men from the country, and, on the 11th of February, made a general attack upon the posts of the Spaniards; but this enterprize likewise proved unsuccessful.

The pope offers the investiture of Naples to the duke of Guise.

Notwithstanding the difficulties he had to struggle with, and the weakness and disunion of his party, all Italy imagined he was upon the point of being elevated to a throne. The Venetians, Genoese, and the Roman princes, seemed inclined to court his friendship. The pope, who had an affection for him, and wanted the kingdom of Naples to be independent both of France and Spain, pressed him to assume the title of king of both Sicilies, offering him the investiture of the kingdom, and a loan of three hundred thousand crowns, and assuring him that he would form a league with the other Italian states in his defence. The duke readily accepted the offer of the money; but alleged to his holiness, that the time was not yet proper for assuming the title of king^c. Anneſe, in the mean time, and some other chiefs of the people, continued their designs against the duke; but failing in one or two attempts, and believing their own lives in danger, as he began to act with great haughtiness and despotism, they seriously entered into a negotiation with Don John for a peace. During these transactions the count of Oniate, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, arrived at Naples, as successor to the duke of Arcos, the court of Spain having been offended that the collateral council should have arrogated to themselves the power of removing one viceroy and appointing another, and being jealous lest Don John should seize the opportunity of the present disorders to usurp the sovereignty of Naples.

The count d'Oniate arrives as viceroy.

Don Inigo Valez y Tassis, count of Oniate, entered Castel Nuovo on the 1st of March, having brought with him from Rome a great quantity of provisions, and two hundred thousand crowns. His character was very different from that of his predecessor, being reputed a man of great prudence and strict honour. He no sooner entered upon the government than he visited all the posts; and to influence the people to return to their obedience, ordered the monks in Holy Week to instil into the minds of their penitents the horrid guilt of rebellion against their lawful prince. He likewise carried on the correspondence with Anneſe and the other chiefs, enemies of the duke, who, having concluded a solemn treaty with him, promised to admit the Spaniards into the city. In consequence of this agreement, he disposed every thing for a general attack, which was accordingly made on Easter Monday, the 6th of April, about midnight, when the duke was absent at Paufili, endeavouring to reduce the small island of Nisita. The Spaniards, to the number of three thousand, being ad-

He reduces the city of Naples.

^c Auct. supra citat.

mitted into the city by the gate of Alba, and publishing that the duke of Guise had joined them, quickly made themselves masters of all the posts, with scarce any opposition. Very little blood was spilt, and in a few hours there was not the least appearance of sedition, the whole city being reduced. The people, recovering from their first consternation, expressed the greatest transports of joy, and embraced the Spaniards with the ardour of long absent friends. Anneſe having joined the viceroy and Don John, they went in procession to the cathedral church, where they returned thanks to God by a solemn Te Deum. The duke of Guise, confounded at the loss of Naples, which blasted all his ambitious schemes, could not refrain from tears. Having made several vain attempts to re-enter the city, he fled with a few followers towards Abruzzo, where the party of the republic was very powerful; but, being pursued by the Spanish troops, he was made prisoner, and carried to Gaeta. From thence he was conducted to Spain, where he continued a prisoner four years, but was at last set at liberty at the intreaty of the prince of Condé, who had joined the Spanish faction.

*The duke of
Guise taken
prisoner.*

Upon the news of the reduction of Naples, and the imprisonment of the duke of Guise, all the provinces of the kingdom immediately submitted, except Abruzzo, where the rebels were assisted by some French, who had come from Rome; but the barons assisting the viceroy, they were soon dispersed. Notwithstanding the imprisonment of the duke of Guise, Mazarine, sensible of his error in not having given him assistance, ordered a fleet, which had been for some time equipping at Toulon, to sail to Naples, in hopes of exciting the people to a second insurrection in favour of prince Thomas of Savoy, whom he intended as a husband for one of his nieces. The French fleet, under the command of prince Thomas, accordingly appeared on the Neapolitan coast; but the prince, being quickly convinced that his enterprize was impracticable, returned soon after to Provence. The viceroy having discovered, that Anneſe had received and concealed a letter, relating to this invasion of prince Thomas, condemned him to death, and caused him to be hanged in the middle of the marketplace^f. Tranquillity being again restored, Don John on the 22d of September left Naples, and with the fleet sailed for Messina, to confirm the Sicilians in their former obedience to the king. Upon his departure, the viceroy

*The provinces re-
turn to their
allegiance.*

^f Hist. du Card. Mazarin. Degli Hist. des Rois des deux Siciles. Hist. de la Revol. de Naples, par Lussan.

published a general pardon, and applied himself to re-establish the government, such as it was before the revolution. As all wise people agreed that a general exemption from taxes was impossible, the seggi assembled, and consented to a tax of forty-two carlini upon each house, and to restore the half of the duties that had been taken off, except those upon fruit, herbs, and roots, which were never to be again imposed.

*The viceroy
punishes the
disaffected.*

The count, to frustrate as much as possible the designs of the French in exciting a second revolt, established a junto, or board of counsellors, to keep a strict eye over all suspected persons, and began to punish with the utmost rigour all those who had any share in the late commotions. He charged the chief ringleaders frequently with pretended crimes, and on that account put them to death; which executions alarming many others, for their own security they fled the kingdom. As the banditti in the late revolution had all declared themselves zealous republicans, and had been principally concerned in the disturbances in the provinces, which they fomented more with the design of seizing the estates of the barons, than from obedience to the duke of Guise, the viceroy formed a resolution of ridding the kingdom of such an irregular militia. They principally infested the two provinces of Abruzzo, but by the measures taken by the viceroy in a short time they were almost entirely extirpated.

A.D. 1650.

*He recovers
the garri-
sons of Tus-
cany.*

Although the nation was greatly exhausted, the count likewise resolved to attempt the recovery of the garrisons of Tuscany. He sailed thither in person, with a formidable fleet, and in the end of May, after a desperate attack, made himself master of Piombino. Having also obliged the French garrison of Portolongone to surrender, he returned to Naples, where continuing his rigour against the disaffected, he began to render himself odious to the Neapolitans. On this account, it is alleged, that the court of Spain sent him a successor before he had finished the sixth year of his government.

A.D. 1653.

*He is re-
called
The count of
Castrillo
appoin'd
viceroy.*

Don Garcia d'Avellino y Haro, count of Castrillo, arrived at Naples, as successor to Oniate, on the 10th of November. He was of a mild and indulgent temper, and, to conciliate the affections of the people, immediately upon his assuming the government, ordered two ounces to be added to the pound of bread. As the war still raged more than ever betwixt the two crowns of Spain and France, the French were now fully persuaded of the importance of making a diversion in Naples; and the Neapolitan refugees, who had fled from the rigour of Oniate, urging the

great

great ease of renewing the disturbances, orders were given by Mazarine for fitting out a formidable fleet. He was greatly influenced by the solicitations of the duke of Guise, who magnified the affection of the Neapolitans for his person, and obtained the chief command of the intended expedition. The viceroy being informed of the designs of the French, used his utmost diligence to put the kingdom in a state of defence, by levying new troops, reinforcing the garrisons of Tuscany, and strengthening all the places on the coast. By these precautions, the rash ambition of the duke of Guise was again frustrated. He appeared on the coast on the 12th of November, with a numerous fleet, on board of which were seven thousand soldiers and a hundred and fifty horse, besides two hundred gentleman, whom he intended as officers for those he expected would join him. After a short resistance, he made himself master of Castello a Mare: but before he could extend his conquest, he was entirely surrounded by the Spanish and Neapolitan troops; so that he was obliged to reembark his forces, and abandon the place, which he held only a few days. The French before they went on board pillaged the houses of the inhabitants, and robbed the churches of all their furniture and sacred vessels, and loading their ships with the booty, set sail for Toulon. Though they were thus baffled in their enterprize against Naples, yet having prevailed on the duke of Modena to declare for them, they continued the war in Lombardy, and next year besieged Pavia. The viceroy having equipt a squadron of men of war and gallies, sent it with seven thousand five hundred foot and one thousand five hundred horse to the assistance of the governor of Milan, who by that reinforcement obliged the duke of Modena to raise the siege.

A.D. 1654.

A.D. 1655.

S E C T. XI.

Plague in Naples; the Kingdom invaded by the French; the Neapolitans submit to the Emperor Charles VI.

AS Sardinia at this time was afflicted with a pestilence, the count of Castrillo prohibited, under the severest penalties, all commerce with that island. However, next year a transport, with soldiers on board, from the island, being admitted into the harbour of Naples, and the troops being permitted to come on shore, the plague by this inadvertency was introduced into the city, where it raged

A.D. 1656.

A dreadful plague in Naples.

with the greatest violence, carrying off in less than six months four hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The distemper was at first called by the physicians a magignant fever; but one of them affirming it to be pestilential, the viceroy, who was apprehensive lest such a report would occasion all communication with Naples to be broke off, was offended with this declaration, and ordered him to be imprisoned. As a favour, however, he allowed him to return and die in his own house. By this proceeding of the viceroy, the distemper being neglected, made a most rapid and furious progress, and filled the whole city with consternation. The streets were crowded with confused processions, which served to spread the infection through all the quarters. The terror of the people increased their superstition, and it being reported that a certain nun had prophesied that the pestilence would cease upon building a hermitage for her sister nuns upon the hill of St. Martin's, the edifice was immediately begun with the most ardent zeal. Persons of the highest quality strove who should perform the meanest offices. Some loading themselves with beams, and others carrying baskets full of lime and nails, while persons of all ranks stripped themselves of their most valuable effects, which they threw into empty hogsheds, placed in the streets to receive the charitable contributions. Their violent agitation, however, and the increasing heats, diffused the malady through the whole city, and the streets and the stairs of the churches were filled with the dead, the number of whom, for some time of the month of July, amounted daily to fifteen thousand.

The viceroy now used all possible precautions to abate the fury of the distemper, and to prevent its spreading to the provinces. The infection, however, desolated the whole kingdom, excepting the provinces of Otranto and the Farther Calabria, and the cities of Gaeta, Sorrento, Paolo, and Belvedere. The general calamity was increased in Naples by malecontents, who insinuated that the distemper had been designedly introduced by the Spaniards, and that there were people in disguise who went through the city sowing poisoned dust. This idle rumour enraged the populace, who began to insult the Spanish soldiers, and threaten a sedition; so that the viceroy, to pacify the mob, caused a criminal to be broke upon the wheel, under pretence that he was a disperser of the dust. A violent and plentiful rain falling about the middle of August, the distemper began to abate, and on the eighth of December the physicians made a solemn declaration, that the city was entirely

entirely free from infection². Upon the ceasing of this dreadful calamity, the viceroy was involved in new troubles by the banditti, who began to multiply in Principata, where they were protected by some barons. While he was employed in punishing the protectors, and dislodging the protected, he was informed that the count of Peniaranda was appointed his successor; a few weeks after whose arrival in Naples he resigned the government.

A.D. 1659.

The count is recalled.

The count of Peniaranda arrived at Naples in the end of December, and entered upon the administration on the 11th of January. As the kingdom of Portugal was excluded from the treaty concluded betwixt France and Spain at the Pyrenees, the Spaniards bent their thoughts upon reuniting it to the crown, and assembled a powerful army for reducing the Portuguese. As their usual bad fortune still attended them, the viceroy was obliged during the four following years to send considerable succours from Naples to Spain. In the mean time he was engaged in quelling the insolence of the banditti. He published rigorous edicts against those who protected them, and sending troops into the Abruzzi and Principata, apprehended a great many of them, and forced others to lay down their arms. Some he ordered to be hanged, others he condemned to the gallies, and sent a great many of them to recruit the armies in Portugal. While he was thus employed in restoring tranquillity to the kingdom, the cardinal of Arragon, who had resided at Rome for some time, as ambassador from Spain, arrived at Naples, as his successor. The count, a few weeks after his arrival, on the 9th of September, embarked for Spain, leaving behind him an illustrious character for affability, piety, and disinterestedness, having during his whole administration manifested a great aversion to rapacity and avarice, which vices had dishonoured many of his predecessors. He left fourteen wise and prudent statutes, some of which severely condemned duels and murders, which by the lenity of his government had become very frequent.

Is succeeded by the count of Peniaranda.

A.D. 1664.

He sends succours to Spain against the Portuguese.

Don Paschal of Arragon, immediately upon assuming the government, published a rigorous edict against all those who carried concealed arms, ordered all vagabonds to depart the city within three days, and caused many criminals to be executed, and condemned a great number to the gallies. His severities, however, were not sufficient to restrain and reform the depraved city and nation; for the malecontents, encouraged by the great number of sanctuaries, and by the pretended privileges of the ecclesiastical court, still conti-

A.D. 1665.

The cardinal of Arragon succeeds him as viceroy.

² Giannone, ut supra.

nued to disturb the public in contempt of the laws. The banditti were no less insolent, being protected by the powerful barons, they infested the roads in great troops, and carried off great numbers of prisoners, some of whom they murdered, and obliged others to pay large sums for their ransom. The viceroy used his utmost endeavours to put a stop to these mischiefs, and sent a lawyer to Rome, to obtain some redress in the abuses of the pretended immunity. While the cardinal was thus employed in restraining the looseness of manners that prevailed in the kingdom, he was informed of the death of the king of Spain, who left his dominions to his son Charles. The new king, being an infant, his mother was appointed regent, and a junto was nominated, to assist her in the administration of the government. The archbishop of Toledo, who by his office was one of the junto, dying on the same day with the king, the queen-regent appointed the viceroy as his successor, who accordingly, next year, embarked for Spain, having governed the kingdom of Naples about nineteen months.

*He returns
to Spain.*

A.D. 1666.

*Is succeeded
in Naples
by his brother
Don
Pedro.*

Don Pedro Antonio of Arragon, who for some time had resided as Spanish ambassador at Rome, succeeded his brother, the cardinal, as viceroy. In the beginning of his government, Alexander VII. granted the bull of investiture to the infant king; but at the same time, as sovereign lord of the kingdom, claimed the administration of the government during the minority, and ordered his nuncios at Madrid and Naples to present memorials to demonstrate his pretended rights. These memorials being immediately refuted by several Spanish and Neapolitan lawyers, the court of Rome thought proper not to insist upon their pretensions.

The Spanish court at this time found a more formidable enemy in Lewis XIV. who, upon the death of Philip, published his pretensions to the duchy of Brabant, the lordship of Mechlin, the marquisate of Antwerp, and other places of the Spanish Netherlands, in right of his queen Maria Theresa; who, being a daughter of the first marriage, he alleged was lawful heiress of all these territories, in prejudice to the males of a second marriage. He suddenly invaded Flanders with a formidable army, and quickly conquered great part of it. As he likewise threatened to attack the Spanish territories in Italy by sea and land, the viceroy was obliged to reinforce the garrisons of Tuscany with eighteen hundred Spanish and Italian foot, and to hire a regiment of Germans. He was also forced to detain the squadron of gallies which he had intended to send to the relief of the Venetians in Candia, who were greatly pressed by the Turks.

A.D. 1668.

*Lewis XIV.
of France
threatens to
invade
Naples.*

His

His fears, however, of an invasion from the French were soon dispelled, news arriving about Midsummer, that Lewis XIV. apprehensive of exciting several other powers of Europe against him, had consented to a peace, by which the Spaniards were stripped of a considerable part of their territories in Flanders.

The Spaniards were continually receiving new disgraces and losses. The peace was no sooner concluded with France, than news arrived at Madrid, that the viceroy of Sardinia had been murdered by some of the nobles of that island, who had assembled a body of men for their defence. To quiet the disturbances of that kingdom, the viceroy was obliged to send some troops and gallies thither from Naples, who being joined with others from Italy, Spain, and Sicily, soon restored tranquillity to the island. The kingdom of Naples in the mean time was most miserably harrassed by the banditti, who infested the roads in such numbers, that a stop was entirely put to all inland traffic and commerce. They fortified themselves in several towns and strong holds in the Abruzzi, and even became so insolent as to order many districts to pay the taxes to them, and not to the king's collectors. They robbed the messengers and public posts of their dispatches and letters, and made frequent incursions into the neighbourhood of Naples, threatening to prevent all provisions from entering the city by land. The viceroy used his endeavours for extirpating them, which in a great measure proved ineffectual. At last he erected a junta, or board of ministers, for punishing them and their abettors. The junta caused some barons, their protectors, to be arrested; but, after a short imprisonment, they were set at liberty, upon paying to the viceroy large sums of money.

Don Pedro was severely censured for his mercenary disposition, and acquired the character of a sordid minister, for allowing all criminals, even the most enormous, to escape the punishment of their crimes, on condition of paying a composition in money; by which means it was computed, that he amassed the immense sum of three hundred and twenty thousand ducats, during his short government of six years. He was not only careful in amassing money for himself, but likewise augmented all the taxes and customs to such a degree, that the increase was computed at little less than nine millions of ducats. He adorned the city of Naples with many public works, and left about thirty prudent laws, whereby the tribunals were put in better order, and many abuses in the custom-houses reformed. The marquis of Astorga, who was ambassador for the court of Spain

A.D. 1670.

*Naples
harrassed
by the banditti.*

A D. 1672.

*Don Pedro
is removed
from the
government.*

Spain at Rome, arriving on the 11th of February at Naples, Don Pedro resigned the government to him, and on the 25th of the same month embarked for Spain.

*Is succeeded
by the mar-
quis of As-
torga;*

Don Antonio Alvares, marquis of Astorga, found the city afflicted with a great scarcity of corn, but much more harrassed by the multiplicity of crimes, especially robbery, which was committed in all corners. Though he soon restored abundance, by causing provisions to be brought from remote countries, yet he found the utmost severity ineffectual to prevent robberies, and put a stop to the continual depredations of the banditti. The kingdom at this time was likewise harrassed by the incursions of the Turks, and by many secret enemies, who almost entirely put a stop to commerce by adulterating and diminishing the coin. Clipping irons and instruments for coining were even found in the houses of the nobility; and women of quality, from sordid avarice, were also said to be concerned in this villanous practice. The viceroy was very assiduous in putting a stop to the mischief, and caused many clippers and coiners to be executed, while others protected themselves from the laws, by having recourse to the sanctuaries and the privilege of the clergy.

A.D. 1673.

Lewis XIV. in the mean time, in conjunction with Charles II. of England, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Munster, having declared war against the Dutch, and suddenly over-run great part of their country, the Spaniards joined the opposite alliance, and the following year declared war against the French. The viceroy on this account was obliged to send considerable succours for the defence of Catalonia, which the Spaniards were apprehensive

A D. 1675.

*who assists
the Spani-
ards in
quelling a
revolt in
Messina.*

the French intended to invade. But about the same time, the city of Messina having revolted from the Spaniards, and applied to the French for protection, the attention of the marquis was chiefly engaged in sending supplies to Sicily. For this purpose, he appointed the city of Reggio as a place of arms, sent several gallies to join the Spanish fleet, and hired a considerable body of Germans. The French, however, on the 3d of January, entered the harbour of Messina with several ships, and on the 10th of the following month, after a long and desperate engagement, obliged the Spanish fleet to retire in a shattered condition to Naples.

The expences of refitting the fleet, paying the seamen's wages, and furnishing other necessaries for the war, which amounted to near a million of ducats, were all supplied by the kingdom of Naples. The viceroy, to raise the money, sold the revenues of the customs and taxes at a low rate: disposed of the office of auditor of the exchequer for three
lives

lives for forty-six thousand ducats; demanded from the barons an equivalent in money for their usual supply of horsemen; and seized the third part of the yearly revenue of all foreigners. The Spaniards in the mean time were entirely driven from Messina; and it having been reported at Madrid, that the marquis of Astorga, and his favourite ministers, had embezzled great part of the money raised for the war, and thereby retarded the progress of the expeditions, on the 9th of September, when the fleet had got under sail, the marquis de los Velez entered the harbour from Sardinia, as successor to Astorga. The viceroy accordingly resigned the government to him, and set out for Spain, where he was appointed one of the counsellors of state, and general of the artillery.

He is recalled to Spain, and succeeded by the marquis de los Velez.

Don Fernando Faxardo, marquis de los Velez, being informed that the French were likewise endeavouring to raise an insurrection in the kingdom of Naples, by corresponding with the banditti of Calabria, and dispersing manifestoes, encouraging the people to imitate the Messinians, nominated a junto to search out and punish the disaffected. Accordingly, many being discovered, who had abetted the designs of the French, some of them were imprisoned, and others hanged. At the same time, being urged by the queen-regent, he dispatched powerful succours to Sicily, having prevailed on the nobility and commonalty of Naples to grant a donative of two hundred thousand ducats; which sum was expended partly in paying the army in Sicily. The Spanish fleet at length, in the end of November, being reinforced by eighteen Dutch men of war, and six fire-ships, under the command of admiral Ruyter, the Messinians were soon reduced to great difficulties; but receiving now and then some small supplies from France, they were enabled to hold out for two years longer, when the French basely abandoned them, without even waiting till they should make their peace with the Spanish government. The Messinians, upon the departure of the French, immediately submitted to the Spaniards, who granted them a general pardon, but afterwards stripped them of their privileges, and bridled their city by a strong and impregnable citadel.

The French abandon Messina.

On account of this cruel and obstinate war, it was computed that little less than seven millions of ducats had been carried out of the kingdom of Naples, so as to reduce the nation to great distress. The difficulties were also increased by the bad state of the coin, which was every day more and more diminished. The contagion had reached the cloisters, and the monks were become great proficients in

Great disorders in Naples on account of the badness of the coin.

the art of coining. Even those criminals who had escaped hanging, and been condemned to the oar for adulterating the coin, continued to coin in the very gallies. The viceroy, to put a stop to the disorders, cried down the old money, and paid to those who brought it to the mint new money equal in value. Not being able, however, to furnish the new coin in sufficient quantities, this remedy was not answerable to the greatness of the mischief, though it in some measure lessened the confusion. The kingdom at the same time still continued exposed to the ravages of the banditti, all the endeavours of the viceroy to extirpate them being ineffectual. The marquis was likewise careful to suppress the disorders of the city, where the most heinous crimes were committed both by the nobility and commonalty, whose manners had been corrupted by the sailors belonging to the fleet, and the soldiers that came to serve in the war of Sicily. He ordered many criminals to be hanged without distinction of rank, caused many to be privately strangled in prison, and condemned great numbers to the gallies.

The French in the mean time, notwithstanding the peace of Nimeguen, having surprised Strasburgh, put a garrison into the citadel of Casal, in Montferrat, and seized large territories in Germany, under pretence that they were included in the sovereignty of the cities yielded to them by the treaty, all Europe began to be alarmed at their immoderate and unjust ambition^b. The Spaniards were very jealous of their designs upon the Milanese and Catalonia, so that the viceroy was obliged to send two thousand men from Naples to Barcelona, and two ships loaded with ammunition. Considerable subsidies in money were likewise required from the Neapolitans; but while the viceroy was employed in contriving funds for raising the subsidy, the marquis del Carpio arrived at Naples on the 6th of January, as his successor. Los Velez three days after resigned the government to him, and embarked for Spain, where he was kindly received by the young king, who honoured him with a seat in the council of state, and afterwards appointed him president of the council of the Indies.

The marquis de Los Velez returns to Spain.

A.D. 1683.

The marquis del Carpio appointed viceroy.

Don Gasper de Haro, marquis del Carpio, had not enjoyed the government many months, when a new war broke out betwixt France and Spain, in consequence of which, in the month of December, he published a procla-

^a Struv. Period. tom. x. p. 3098. Acta mcmor. & Declarat. de Gal. Regis Dominio in decem Alsac. Civit. Recueil des Arrrets de la Chamb. Royale de Metz pour la Reunion. Hist. d'Alsace, lib. xxiii. Vit. Leopold. p. 536.

mation,

mation, ordering all the French to quit the kingdom of Naples. In the mean time, observing that the corrupt discipline and looseness of manners was not owing to the want of provident and wholesome laws, but to the too great indulgence of the magistrates, he determined to adhere strictly to a course of uncorrupt and inflexible justice. Finding that the frequency of crimes was chiefly owing to the carrying of fire-arms, and other sorts of offensive weapons, with which every person was provided, he published a severe statute, by which he took away the power from the magistrates of granting licence for carrying such arms. He likewise revived the old laws against all idle persons and vagabonds, and commanded the magistrates to see them strictly put in execution, so that in a short time the principal occasions of so many crimes and disorders were removed. He published divers regulations to prevent the frauds that were become too common among the manufacturers, especially those concerned in working in gold and silver; he prohibited, by a severe law, the excessive number of servants, the wearing of embroidered cloaths, or cloth of gold and silver, forbidding also the consumption of these metals upon sedans; coaches, calashes, and saddles. He applied himself no less to the reformation of the tribunals, and with the utmost care endeavoured to root out the abuses and corruptions that had crept into them.

But two things chiefly rendered his government illustrious, namely, the coining of new money, and the extirpating the banditti. For restoring the currency of the coin, he began with reviving the old statutes against those who imported false money, or melted down any coin; and, to raise a fund for paying the deficiency occasioned by the clipping, he imposed a duty of fifteen grana upon each bushel of salt; to be paid by all persons without distinction of rank; he exacted also a year's rent of all the incomes of Neapolitans and foreigners, and of natives living abroad with their families, to be raised within three years. For extirpating the banditti; he granted a full indemnity to all criminals and outlaws, provided they would assist in the pursuit of their chiefs and gangs; he offered great rewards for the heads of those who could not be taken alive, and caused all the towers and houses where they harboured to be demolished. To deprive them of all protection, he published a severe law against all those who should keep any correspondence with them, or give them any assistance, ordaining that those who should furnish them with arms and powder, or receive any share of their robberies or ransoms, should be looked upon as principals, and be punished with

*He restores
the cur-
rency of the
coin.*

*Extirpates
the ban-
ditti.*

with death. The vigour and impartiality of the viceroy alarming the barons, they quickly abandoned the outlaws, who, finding themselves deprived of shelter, were so terrified, that they thought of nothing but saving themselves by flight or submission. Those who were taken suffered the just punishment of their crimes; so that in a short time they were extirpated in so complete a manner, that they have never appeared since in the kingdom.

While the marquis thus rendered himself a terror to audacious criminals, he was the patron and protector of the virtuous and indigent. He relieved the poor and unfortunate with great charity, and acquired the affection of the Neapolitans by supplying the city with plenty of provisions, and furnishing public shows after a magnificent manner. At the same time he was frugal and moderate, and manifested a great detestation of avarice and corruption. After he had thus rendered himself universally respected and beloved, he was unfortunately snatched away by death, on the 15th of November, before he had completed the fifth year of his governmentⁱ.

A.D. 1687.

His death.

He is succeeded by the count of Santistevan.

Upon the news of the death of the marquis del Carpio, Don Lorenzo Colonna, high constable of the kingdom, immediately went from Rome, and assumed the administration, which he held till the beginning of the following year, when Don Francesco Benavides, count of Santistevan, who had been viceroy of Sicily, entered upon the government as successor to the late marquis. The count endeavoured to tread in the footsteps of his predecessor, and immediately renewed the statutes about manufactures and provisions. He was chiefly solicitous about completing the new coinage, which his predecessor had not lived to finish. He added some new species to the coin, and raised the value of that which had been struck by the late marquis ten per cent. being a little above the intrinsic value of the silver, to prevent its being melted down, or carried out of the kingdom. He published many regulations concerning the exchange of the old money for the new, and prescribed the method to be practised in the banks for circulating bills and letters of credit. Not content, however, with the alteration he at first made in the money, he, in the third year of his government, raised the value of the new coin again ten per cent. whereby, besides lessening his own reputation, he greatly hurt the trade of the kingdom. In the following years of his government he endeavoured to reform the tribunals, by limiting a time for the decision of all causes.

ⁱ Burnet's Travels, Let. iv. Giannone, ut supra.

He also published several regulations about the provisions of the city and kingdom, concerning the frauds committed in credit betwixt man and man, about the importation of foreign linen and woollen cloth, and about many other affairs. Mean while the duke of Medina Cœli, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, arriving as viceroy at Naples, the count of Santistevan, a few weeks after, resigned the government to him, and set out for Spain.

A.D. 1695.

He is recalled to Spain.

Don Ludovico de la Cerda, duke of Medina Cœli, began his government with endeavouring to suppress the contraband trade, and the frauds committed in the custom-houses. His edicts against these frauds were so rigorous, especially in convicting the accused upon slight proofs, that the seggi, apprehensive they would turn into an abuse, thought proper to oppose him. The duke was ambitious of imitating the late marquis del Carpeo in the magnificence of public shews. He enlarged the theatre, which he furnished with costly and noble scenes, and the best musicians in Europe; and he encouraged learning and learned men in a distinguished manner.

The duke of Medina Cœli appointed viceroy.

Mean while the nation began to be terribly alarmed with the declining state of Spain, and the increasing power and grandeur of France, which this year had sent into the field five strong armies, and maintained them in the enemy's country. What chiefly struck the kingdom of Naples, and other dominions of the vast Spanish monarchy, with consternation, was the infirmity of king Charles, who now despaired of having any issue. The disorders and revolutions likely to follow upon his death filled the Neapolitans with great apprehensions, which quickly appeared to be too well founded; for soon after the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, a treaty of partition of the Spanish monarchy was made by the kings of England and France, the republic of Holland, and the duke of Savoy, by which Naples and Sicily, with their dependencies, the city and marquisate of Final, with the province of Guipuscoa, were assigned to the French. The Spaniards were highly incensed at this treaty, and the Neapolitans and Sicilians, for several ages, had conceived a great aversion to the French; nevertheless Charles was prevailed upon to leave, by his last will, Philip, the second son of the dauphin, heir of all his dominions, to the prejudice of the Austrian family, who had the preferable right, on account of the solemn renunciation of Maria Theresa, upon her marriage to the French king. King Charles II. survived this deed only a few weeks, and died on the 1st of November. The news of his death, and of the succession of Philip of Anjou,

A.D. 1699.

A proposal for a partition of the Spanish monarchy.

A.D. 1700.

King Charles appoints Philip of Anjou heir of all his dominions.

quickly arrived at Naples, and filled the people at the same time with grief and astonishment; but the viceroy immediately publishing two clauses, extracted from the will of the deceased king, Philip was acknowledged as his successor, without the least commotion or disturbance.

The emperor, the English, and the Dutch declare war against the French and Spaniards.

The emperor, and the parties concerned in the designed partition, jealous of such an acquisition of power to the house of Bourbon, immediately resolved to oppose the settlement of Philip on the throne of Spain; but that they might not disgust the Spaniards by a new division of their monarchy, they agreed to place the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor, upon their throne. They accordingly declared war against Lewis XIV. and Philip, after they had imprudently allowed Philip to be quietly settled at Madrid, and the French troops to take possession of Naples and the duchy of Milan. Clement XI. though he privately favoured the interest of Philip, yet, apprehensive lest the party of the archduke Charles should prevail, refused to declare himself in favour of either of the pretenders, each of whom solicited him for the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. Being afraid to interfere in the disputes of such powerful competitors, he resolved not to grant the investiture of Naples till the conclusion of the war; but, to satisfy both parties, he published an authentic act, by which he declared, that the delay should in no ways prejudice the ancient rights of the king of Spain ^k.

A.D. 1702.

King Philip arrives at Naples.

Proceeds to Lombardy.

Prince Eugene, in the mean time, having entered Lombardy with an imperial army, and made considerable progress in the Milanese and the Mantuan, Philip resolved to visit Italy, thinking that his presence would have a great influence in fixing the allegiance of his Italian subjects. He embarked on board a French fleet at Barcelona; and in the month of April arrived at Naples, where he was received with great splendor, though he made but small progress in conciliating the affections of the Neapolitans. The pope, indeed, condescended to appoint a cardinal-legate to wait upon him, which partiality greatly offended the emperor, who immediately ordered his ambassador to leave Rome ^l. After a short stay at Naples, Philip sailed from thence to Final, and then joined the French army commanded by Vendosme, which, on the 15th of August, was defeated by prince Eugene at Luzara ^m.

As the French, during the four following campaigns, were put to great difficulties in opposing prince Eugene,

^k De Larrey, Hist. de Louis XIV.

^l Burnet Hist.

^m Brodrick Hist. of Europe.

and had no enemy in Naples, they drew the greatest part of their troops from thence to reinforce their armies in Lombardy, which, however, they were forced at length wholly to abandon. The imperialists eagerly seized this opportunity of making an attempt upon Naples. In the following spring the emperor ordered count Daun to march from Lombardy, through the ecclesiastical state, with eight thousand five hundred men. Cardinal Grimani, at Rome, had already concerted the plan of a revolution in favour of the house of Austria, with the duke of Monteleone and his brother the archbishop of Naples; so that, upon the approach of the count, the whole kingdom declared for the emperor, while the duke of Escalona, the Spanish viceroy, retired with his forces to Gaeta, whither they had conveyed their treasure and richest effects. The Neapolitans, whose ancient detestation of the French had been increased by their late government, expressed the greatest joy upon the arrival of the imperialists, and the magistrates of Naples went as far as Averfa to present count Daun with the keys of their city. The whole kingdom then acknowledged king Charles, excepting Gaeta, Pescara, and some places in Calabria, which however were all soon reduced. Pescara surrendered for want of provisions, and, on the last of September, Gaeta was taken by storm, and pillaged. The duke of Escalona, and the garrison, who had retired into the castle, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. Their estates were confiscated; and the duke, upon being conducted to Naples, was ungenerously exposed to the raileries of the people, who had smarted from the severity of his government.

A.D. 1707.

*Naples
submits to
the impe-
rialists.*

The Neapolitans, however, quickly found that their condition was not greatly bettered by their submission to the house of Austria; for count Daun, who was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom till the arrival of a viceroy, acted in such a manner as though he had resolved to ruin the nation by his exorbitant exactions. By laying a duty upon fruit and herbs, he raised a formidable tumult in Naples, which seemed to threaten an universal revolt, if the new tax had not been quickly laid aside. Representations having been made to the courts of Vienna and Barcelona, which last city was now in possession of king Charles, the excesses of the count were corrected, and cardinal Grimani soon after arriving at Naples as viceroy, the discontents of the Neapolitans abated, and a design was formed for seizing Sicily, as the disposition of the Sicilians was known to be averse to the French. This enterprize, however, was laid aside, and a small force was sent to reduce the garrisons on the

coast of Tuscany, some of which surrendered after very little opposition ⁿ.

A.D. 1711.

*The arch-
duke
Charles
elected em-
peror.*

King Charles, at length, succeeding his brother Joseph upon the imperial throne, queen Anne of England entered into a friendly correspondence with Lewis XIV. as a means to put an end to the war, it being now judged more impolitic to insist upon the succession of the Spanish monarchy for the new emperor than for Philip of Anjou. Seven preliminary articles were agreed to betwixt the courts of London and Versailles, and published for the foundation of a general peace. These preliminaries were rejected with disdain by the court of Vienna, and were very disgusting to the Dutch, who, after having in vain endeavoured to persuade the queen to alter her resolution, at length agreed to send their plenipotentiaries to Utrecht, the place appointed for the congress, and to grant passports for those of the French. The conferences were accordingly opened the following year, in the end of January, and continued about eighteen months, during which time France had concluded particular treaties with Britain, Holland, Savoy, Portugal, and others of the confederates. The emperor Charles, however, still persisted in continuing the war, but soon finding himself unable to oppose the French arms, he agreed at length to negotiate a peace with France, which was concluded a few months after at Rastadt, betwixt prince Eugene and marshal Villars. By this treaty, among other things, it was stipulated, that Charles should be left in quiet possession of the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, the island of Sardinia, and the forts on the coast of Tuscany.

A.D. 1713.

*A peace
concluded.*

ⁿ Barre Hist. de Allemagne, tom. x. Letter of the Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Sunderland.

C H A P. LXXIII.

The History of the Republic of Genoa.

S E C T. I.

The Establishment of the Republic; and her first War with the Pisans. Their subsequent Transactions, till the Reduction of Jerusalem by Saladin.

THE city of Genoa, or Janua, by Latin writers frequently, through corruptly, called Januta, is the capital of a small territory in the northern part of Italy, extending along the southern shore from the river Macra to the Var, and separated from Lombardy, on the north by the Apennine mountains, on the south washed by the Mediterranean sea. This country is part of the ancient Liguria, which, about the beginning of the Roman state, comprehended part of France, as well as of Italy, extending from the river Arno to the Rhone; and including to-towards the north the cities of Turin, Tortona, Pavia, with many others^a. In the division of Italy made by the emperor Augustus, the rivers Macra and Var were reckoned the eastern and western boundaries of Liguria, which was terminated on the north by the Apennines. About three hundred years after, Constantine fixed its northern boundary at the river Adda, Milan, then perhaps the greatest city in the Roman empire, next to Rome, being appointed the capital of the province, where the consul and the archbishop both kept their residence.

The modern extent of the Genoese territories.

The origin of the ancient Ligurians is very uncertain. The most probable opinion is, that they were a branch of the Celtæ, who had proceeded from the Loire to the Rhone, and from thence to Italy, as their language is said to have been originally the same with that of the Gauls^b. They were reckoned a very warlike nation; and from Livy it appears, that for more than eighty years they were at war with the Romans before they were subdued. In the second Punic war they declared for the Carthaginians; but the city of Genoa, which even then was a celebrated emporium^c, espousing the party of the Romans, Mago the Carthagi-

^a Pliny, lib. iii. Sigon. Regn. Ital. Justin. Livy, lib. xxviii.

^b Plutarch, in Mario. Tabul. Chorograph. Italiæ ap. Murator. lib.

x. Eutrop. lib. v.

^c Strabo. lib. iv.

nian sailed thither with a large fleet, on board of which were twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, who plundered and burnt the place. It was afterwards rebuilt by the Romans; and continued under their dominion, with the rest of Italy, till the conclusion of the fifth century, when Theodoric king of the Goths, having defeated the usurper Odoacer, was proclaimed by his army king of Italy, even with the consent of the emperor Zeno.

A. D. 498

Genoa conquered by the Goths;

Some think that the southern part of Liguria, betwixt the Apennines and the Mediterranean, was never conquered by the Goths; but the contrary of this opinion is evident from the mandates of Theodoric, and other Gothic kings, to the Genoese^d. However it be, the Goths, about sixty years after, were entirely subdued by Bellisarius; and all Italy was again united to the Eastern empire. The Lombards, who, about fifteen years after invaded Italy, and quickly reduced great part of it under their dominion, did not at first carry their arms over the Apennines; so that Genoa being unmolested by them, still continued subject to the emperors. This new revolution in Italy was of great advantage to the Genoese, their wealth and the number of their inhabitants being greatly increased, by the refugees who fled from the neighbourhood of the Po from the fury of the invaders. Many of the nobility of Milan resorted thither; and the archbishop Honoratus, with his successors, resided in Genoa seventy years^e. At the end of this period, Rotharis, king of the Lombards, invaded the Alpes Cottiae, and reduced the whole coast of Liguria, from the city of Luna, in Tuscany, to the Var, plundering and burning the cities, and among the rest Genoa^f. Rotharis erected this new conquest into a provincial dukedom, both the governors of districts and particular cities among the Lombards having the title of duke^g.

A. D. 638.

and by the Lombards

A. D. 774.

It is erected into a marquisate by Charlemagne.

Liguria, being thus united to the kingdom of the Lombards, continued subject to them till the end of the following century, when Italy was conquered by Charlemagne, who reduced Liguria to its ancient bounds settled by Augustus, erected it into a marquisate, and appointed his relation Audemar the first comes, or margrave. Genoa, at this time, being distinguished for its wealth and populousness, began to give its name to the whole coast, and continued under these counts for about one hundred years, till the race of the Pepins became extinct in Italy, and the empire

^d Foliet. Genuens. Hist. lib. i.

^f Idem, lib. iv. Sigon. ad an. 638.

^g 38.

^e Paulus Diaconus, lib. ii.

^g Tab. Chorog. col. 101.

was translated to the German princes^k. Audemarus, the first Genoese count, was commissioned by Charlemagne to protect the coasts of Italy, and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia from the incursions of the Moors.ⁱ For this purpose, having fitted out a formidable fleet at Genoa, he sailed over to Corsica, and obliged the infidels to abandon the island; but next year they again arrived with a fleet from Spain, and were defeated by one count Burchard, who destroyed thirteen of their ships. Whether this Burchard was the successor of Audemarus, who had been killed the year before, is uncertain, as very little notice is taken by any historians hitherto published of this country for more than three centuries after Charlemagne; its remote situation preventing it from being concerned in the disputes betwixt the kings of Germany and France, and the dukes of Spoleto and Friuli for the sovereignty of Italy, and the protection of Sardinia and Corsica being afterwards committed to the counts or marquisses of Tuscany, then very rich and powerful^k.

In the year 935, while the Genoese forces were absent upon some expedition, the Saracens surprised the city, which they plundered and burnt, putting to death a great many of the inhabitants, and carrying others into captivity. Having embarked their captives, and immense booty, they set sail for Africa; but the Genoese, returning and finding their city in ashes, immediately pursued the invaders, and overtaking them on the coast of Sardinia, entirely defeated them, recovered all the captives, and took a great many of the enemy's ships^l.

The Franks, having now lost all authority in Italy, the Genoese began to form themselves into a republic (A), and

A. D. 930.
to form
The Genoese
selves into
republic.

^h Follet. ut supra. ⁱ Annal. Fuldenf. an. 806. ^k Petr. ^l Petr. ^l Luitprand. Hist. lib. iv. book 2. Follet. Chron. Januens. nunc primum edit. per Murator, tom. 9.

(A) The form of government in Genoa, is aristocratical, under a chief called doge, or duke, who is elected every two years. He must be turned of fifty, and for fifteen years he must have quitted all business inconsistent with the rank of nobility. After the expiration of his magistracy, he cannot be rechosen for five years; but he has the office of procurator and a pen-

sion of five hundred scudi (equal to four shillings and six pence each) for life. The doge is usually elected on the third of January, when the great council meeting in the ducal palace, choose by ballot fifty individuals out of the lesser council, who write down the names of such as they think best qualified for the ducal office. Of these, and the fifty persons bal-

lotted,

to be governed by their own magistrates, who were freely elected, and took the name of consuls. In order to support their independence, they applied themselves, with great assiduity,

lotted, the great council, by a majority of votes, select fifteen; and these again by the lesser council are reduced to six, of whom the great council by a majority of suffrages elects the doge. As the kingdom of Corsica has been annexed to the republic, a crown is put on his head, and a sceptre in his hand, and for two days after his election, he wears royal robes; but afterwards appears always in the scarlet gown, which is common to all the members of the council. During his magistracy, he is intitled Serenity. He lives in the republic's palace, and is guarded by two hundred Germans.

Without his consent nothing can be proposed in council. In all affairs of consequence, he makes the first motion; he gives audiences to ambassadors; assembles the colleges; and all orders are issued in his name.

Next to the doge, the chief authority is lodged in the two colleges of the governatori, and procuratori, which act as the duke's council. The governatori are twelve, and the procuratori eight, besides those who, having been doges, continue procuratori for life. Three of the first, and two of the other colleges, live in the palace with the duke, and are changed every three months. The doge and the governatori constitute the grand council of state, or signory. As for the procuratori, without their privity and concurrence, nothing of moment can be determined; and

to them belongs the direction of the public revenues.

The great council consists of four hundred members; and the little council of one hundred, composing, as it were, a committee of the former: none but nobles, resident in Genoa, can be admitted into either. There is a new election every year, in the month of December, performed by thirty nobles selected for this purpose by the lesser council. Both councils deliberate concerning laws and regulations; but war, peace, and alliances, are discussed and determined in the lesser councils. The conduct of the doge, the governatori, the procuratori, and other officers, is examined into at the expiration of their respective employments, by five *sindicatori*, sometimes called supreme, who are generally chosen out of the lesser council. There are three commissaries of peace, and two of the laws, who are changed every two years. They enforce obedience to the laws, preserve the peace, and adjust petty disputes among the citizens; or, in case of doubt or obduracy, lay them before the signory. Processes, however, are decided by the *rota*, a tribunal consisting of five foreign doctors of laws, who live in the palace of the republic, and continue two years in office. Another college of seven doctors, natives of Genoa, changed every half year, appoint guardians, superintend the administration of justice, and regulate the police. There

assiduity, to commerce and navigation, by which means they quickly became rich and powerful. Being apprehensive lest some of the German emperors should renew their pretensions to their state, they consented to acknowledge Berengarius the Third, duke of Friuli, who had been elected emperor by a party of the Italian nobles. Berengarius, who with great difficulty maintained himself in his new dignity, endeavoured by his concessions to enlarge the number of his friends and adherents; and made no difficulty to confirm the new republic in all their rights, privileges, and possessions ^m.

Mean while the Genoese began to extend their commerce from Spain to Syria, and from Egypt to Constantinople, their vessels, according to the custom of those times, being fitted for war as well as for traffic. Having acquired great reputation by their extensive commerce, in the beginning of the following century they were invited by the Pisans, who had likewise formed themselves into a republic, to join with them in an expedition against the Moors, who had made themselves masters of Sardinia. The Genoese and Pisan annals give a very different account of this expedition: the Pisans allege, that a few years before, having obtained the investiture of the island from the pope, on condition of recovering it from the Moors, they expelled

A.D. 1017.

*The Genoese
and Pisans
conquer
Sardinia.*

^m Foliet. ut supra.

is a third penal court, called rota criminalis; and a fourth for managing the affairs of poor debtors, or others confined in prison.

The five cenfori take cognizance of trade, manufactures, weights, provisions, and are checks upon the consuls and wardens of companies.

One of the most remarkable circumstances in the government of Genoa, is the bank of St. George, composed of such branches of the revenues, as have been appointed to the payment of sums borrowed from individuals, during the exigencies of the commonwealth. The administration of this bank is

for life, and partly in the hands of the chief citizens; a circumstance which gives them authority in the state, and a powerful influence over the common people. Certain it is, the commons reap no small advantage from it, as it diffuses the power among a greater number of individuals, and is a great check upon the aristocracy. This bank, however, has greatly declined since the revolt of the Corsicans; as either by mortgage, or purchase, it was actually possessed of the greatest part of that island, from whence, at present, it has little or no returns (1).

(1) Follicet. Hist. Januens. Additio. Keyssler. Busching.

the infidels; but being then at war with the inhabitants of Lucca, they were so engaged on the continent, that the Moors again surprised the island: that, on this account, they had recourse to the Genoese, by whose assistance they entirely conquered the island, when, according to agreement, they gave all the booty of the Moors to their allies. The Genoese, however, make no mention of any gift of the pope; but say, that they made a partition of the island with the Pisans; that they took the Moorish king Musactus, and sent him a prisoner to the emperor; and that their allies refused to fulfil the conditions of their engagement. However it be, from this time arose that jealousy and enmity betwixt the two republics, which engaged them in a long course of wars, that in the end proved the ruin of the Pisans.

A.D. 1070.

War betwixt the Genoese and Pisans.

About thirty-three years after the joint expedition against Sardinia, the republics of Genoa and Pisa were engaged in a destructive warⁿ. This continued near eighteen years, when the two parties, probably by the mediation of the pope, concluded a treaty of peace and alliance, and sent their fleets in conjunction against the Moors in Africa, where, according to Leo Ostiensis, they killed a hundred thousand of the enemy, and carried off an immense booty; and, if we believe Bertholdus, they obliged the Moorish king to become tributary to the pope, who had granted all those concerned in the expedition an ample pardon of their sins, and sent with them a blessed standard of St. Peter^o. Folieta mentions two other expeditions to Africa, a few years after; but we have no account of their success.

A.D. 1097.

The strange and unaccountable zeal which at this time seized the western kingdoms of Europe for recovering the Holy Land from the Saracens, contributed to raise the Genoese republic to its highest pitch of opulence and grandeur. Though very few of the Genoese took the cross, yet they embarked with ardor in all the enterprizes of the crusards; and on many occasions performed very important services to those religious warriors. Their fleets were constantly employed for many years either in transporting them to the Levant, or attending their armies along the coasts of Syria, where they blocked up by sea the maritime places which were besieged by land. Sometimes they disembarked their troops, to act in conjunction with the crusards; at other times they transported their baggage; but they were constantly employed in furnishing them with provisions and

ⁿ Chron. Pisan. ap. Murator, tom. vi.
1070, 1078, 1083. Berthold. an. 1088.

^o Chron. Pisan. an.
Leo Ost. lib. iii. cap. 70.

warlike stores, an employment which gave them new opportunities of extending their commerce; especially as they made considerable acquisitions of territory, and established colonies in several places of Asia, which they had conquered from the infidels. When the first body of crusards marched into Syria, the Genoese sent a fleet thither of forty gallies; which seized a great extent of the coast of Asia Minor, and co-operated with the Christian army before Antioch, until that city, after a long siege, surrendered. The infidels having marched with an immense army to recover the city, two of the Christian officers, being struck with a panic, fled to the Genoese fleet, and reported that the place was again in possession of the Turks. This report terrifying the Genoese, they immediately set sail for Italy; and in their passage landing at Myrrea, in Lycia, brought from thence to Genoa the supposed body of John the Baptist, which was received by their countrymen with inexpressible joy^p.

A.D. 1093.

Next year, however, the Genoese sent another powerful fleet into the Levant, under the command of William Embriacus, who, being informed that the crusards had advanced from Antioch to Jerusalem, immediately sailed to Joppa, and made himself master of the city; but hearing that the Saracens had prepared a great number of ships at Ascalon, with intention to attack him, he thought proper to avoid an engagement with their superior force. Landing all his troops and stores, he sunk the hulks of his gallies, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy; and, marching over land, joined the besiegers. As the Genoese were expert engineers, and brought with them warlike stores, and several machines for throwing darts and arrows, their arrival was very agreeable to the crusards, who met with great opposition from the infidels. After they had joined the army, the attacks were carried on with great vigour, and the reduction of the city was chiefly owing to their ingenuity: for, by the advice of Embriacus, they built a large wooden tower in such a manner, that one of its sides could be let down in the form of a draw-bridge, so as to serve as a passage for the troops to the top of the ramparts. This machine being advanced close to the walls, a general assault was given to the city, which was first entered by Godfrey of Boulogne from the tower, who, being followed by many others, one of the gates was broke open, and the army admitted^q.

A.D. 1099.

The Genoese are principally concerned in taking Jerusalem.

^p Chron. Januens. Jacob de Varagine. Foliet. de Bell. Sac. Foliet. Paul Æmil. Annal. Franc.

^q Gul. Tyr.

A.D. 1101.

The news of the taking of Jerusalem no sooner arrived in Italy, than the Genoese began to fit out another fleet of twenty-seven gallies, and six other vessels, which sailed from Genoa with eight thousand men, among whom was the historian Caffarus, whose Annals have been lately published by Muratori. The fleet sailed directly for Laodicea, then subject to the Greek emperor, where they wintered, and as Godfrey of Boulogne was dead, persuaded his brother Baldwin to accept the crown of Jerusalem. Upon the approach of the spring they sailed with their whole fleet to Joppa; there landing their troops they marched to Jerusalem, where they celebrated their Easter, and afterwards made an agreement with the king to assist him in his enterprises against the infidels, on condition of receiving one third of the booty taken from the enemy; and that the Genoese republic should have settlements in the places to be conquered, with full jurisdiction over their own citizens. In consequence of this treaty, they, in conjunction with the crusaders, immediately attacked Azotus, which they reduced in three days. From thence they sailed to Caesarea, which, after a short siege, they took by storm, Embriacus being the first that mounted the wall, where he continued some time alone, by the breaking of the ladder of the galley on which he mounted. We are informed by Foliet and Jacob de Varagine, that when the booty was divided into three parts, and the Genoese, who had been principally concerned in the action, were desired to chuse their share, they pitched upon a large emerald made in the form of a dish, which was said to have been used by our Saviour in celebrating the last passover * (B).

A.D. 1102.

The Genoese begin to coin their own money.

After the conquest of Caesarea the Genoese set sail for Italy, and in three months arrived safe at Genoa. In the month of February, when the magistrates were to be elected, the republic resolved to chuse four consuls for four years; and as a reward for the services of Embriacus, nominated him the first consul. These new magistrates immediately sent a fleet of forty gallies to Palestine, and, prohibiting the current coin of Pavia, which they had hitherto used, for the first time ordered new money to be coined in Genoa^s. The fleet that sailed to Syria took Acaron and

* Caffar. Annal. Genuens. lib. i. Chron. Januens. Foliet. ut supra. * Foliet. ibid.

(B) This curiosity is still preserved in the cathedral; the archbishop, though never shewn to stran-

Gibelletto; and, the year after, reduced Dertusia. By means of considerable reinforcements from Genoa, the number of their vessels being increased to seventy sail, they entered into a new treaty with Baldwin, promising to defend all the coasts of Syria southwards from the city of Sidon, the king stipulating to grant them a third part of the customs of Azotus, Cesarea, and Ptolemais, and to allow them a street in Jerusalem, and another in Joppa. These great privileges were owing to the signal services performed by their numerous fleet at the siege of Ptolemais, or Acon, which, though looked upon as impregnable, was obliged to surrender to the Christians in the last year of the consulship of Embriacus. Baldwin was so sensible of the advantage of the alliance of the republic, that upon the reduction of the city he gave several private estates to many particular persons among the Genoese[†]. As the republic had received many favours from Boemond, prince of Antioch, particularly a full immunity over all his principality, and a street and a church in his capital, with a right of jurisdiction over their own citizens, they, next year, welcomed the prince into their city with the greatest honours, upon his return from France with his bride Constantia, the daughter of king Philip. The Genoese equipt another fleet of sixty or seventy gallies, which sailed to Syria, where it continued almost three years, during which time they forced Gibello to surrender; and, in conjunction with the crusards, reduced Tripoli. After the election of the four quadriennial consuls, they sent another fleet of twenty-two gallies to Palestine, which, in conjunction with the Christian army, took Baruta, after a siege of two months. About the same time they also reduced Malmistra, an exploit which concluded their military expeditions in Syria during the first holy war.

A.D. 1105.

Having now no foreign enemy to contend with, they began to renew their disputes with their neighbours the Pisans; and, as a check upon these rivals, fortified Porto Venere, situated on the western confines of their territory, near the mouth of the river Macra. The dominions of the republic in Italy were, for a considerable time, almost bounded by the walls of their city. The great success that attended their arms in Asia, now began to awaken their ambition; they, therefore, resolved to reduce all the old marquisate under their dominion; and at the same time that they rebuilt Porto Venere, they conquered Lavagna and its small territory. Many towns and districts voluntarily sub-

[†] Gul. Tyr. de Bell. Sacr. lib. xi. Foliet. ut supra.

mitted to the republic, which, now abounding in wealth, exacted no taxes, nor tribute from its new subjects, but afforded them protection from the petty insults of their neighbours^u.

During the next quadriennial consulship nothing memorable appears to have been transacted by the Genoese. At the following election they made a small alteration in the form of government, and chose eight supreme magistrates for four years, four of whom were to govern the first two years, and the other four during the remaining time. In the first year of this consulship, pope Gelasius the Second, had recourse to the protection of the republic against the emperor Henry the Fifth, and was conducted by their galleys from Gaeta to Provence, after having stopt at Genoa, where, in the month of October, he consecrated the church of St. Laurence^w.

A.D. 1118.

*A new
war be-
twixt them
and the Pi-
sans.*

A.D. 1119.

A new war broke out betwixt the Genoese and Pisans, on account of the island of Corsica, which had been lately invaded by a Pisan fleet. According to Caffarus, hostilities were commenced by the Genoese, who with a fleet of sixteen galleys, in the month of May, surprising the Pisans in a port of Sardinia, obtained a complete victory, and a very rich booty. The Pisans say, that the year following their archbishop embarked on board their fleet, and defeated the Genoese in Porto Venere, which seems scarce to agree with the account of Caffarus, who relates that his countrymen fitted out a most formidable fleet, consisting of no less than eighty galleys, with sixty-eight other vessels, on board of which were embarked twenty-two thousand horse and foot, five thousand of whom were clad in complete armour of polished steel. He adds, upon sight of this armament, the Pisans were so terrified, that they immediately submitted to the terms of peace prescribed by the Genoese, restored Corsica, and resigned all pretensions to the inauguration of the bishops of that island.

A.D. 1121.

This peace, however, was of very short duration: for two years after, the Pisans, not able to bear the hard conditions imposed upon them, imprudently renewed the war. The Genoese, who some months before had been employed in an expedition in the Apennines, where they made several conquests, immediately marched with their army into the territories of the Pisans, which they ravaged, and carried off one thousand captives, whom they imprisoned at Genoa. At sea likewise they made prizes of two rich

^u Caffar, Annal. Chron. Jacob. de Varagine. Foliet.
ibid.

^w Idem

vessels belonging to the Pisans, who in their annals make no mention of these losses; but give an account of six Genoese galleys taken by them in the river Arno ^x. The historians of each republic appear to have been solicitous only to record the advantages and victories of their countrymen, and to have carefully avoided staining their glory by mentioning their losses and defeats. The disputes between the two republics troubling the repose of Italy, pope Calixtus, who had assembled a general council at the Lateran church, summoned the two parties to Rome, to decide the controversy about the consecration of the Corsican bishops. The affair being left to the arbitration of twelve archbishops and as many bishops, it was at last decided, that the right of the consecration of the Corsican bishops should for the future be reserved to the popes.

A.D. 1123.

By this selfish determination the pope rather inflamed than quieted the spirit of discord; for though the Genoese declared themselves satisfied with the sentence, yet the Pisans were highly enraged. Their archbishop immediately pulled off his ring and mitre, and threw them at the feet of the pope, who kicked them from him in great disdain. Their deputies also left Rome without taking leave; and the war was renewed with greater animosity than before. The Genoese gained several advantages over the Pisans; recovered from them the castle of St. Angelo in Corsica; and took twenty-two of their vessels richly laden from Sardinia, which had been deserted by their convoy. They kept the Pisan coasts blocked up for a great part of the summer with ten galleys; and, in the month of September, receiving intelligence that eight Pisan galleys had sailed from the Arno, they went in pursuit of them with seven; but not meeting with them, they sailed to Piombino, which they took and plundered, and carried off a great number of the inhabitants prisoners to Genoa ^y.

They next year sailed with a numerous fleet up the Arno, landed their forces in the territory of the Pisans, and, after some slight skirmishes, proceeded to Corsica, where they took three hundred Pisans prisoners, and recovered the castle of St. Angelo. Thus far Caffarus; but according to Volateranus, the Genoese besieged the city of Pisa a whole year, and reduced the Pisans to the greatest distress; which account the Pisan historians allege is a mere fable, without any foundation ^z. Two years after the Genoese made themselves masters of Montalto. In the following summer

A.D. 1126.

The Genoese invaded the territories of Pisa.

^x Caffar. Annal. Chron. Var. Pisan. Foliet. Chron. Januensis. Jacob. de Varag.

^y Caffar. ut supra. ^z Foliet.

they attacked the Pisans with sixteen gallies in the harbour of Messina, and as the Messinians gave assistance to their enemies, they even took possession of their city, which, however, they quitted at the intreaty of king Roger^a. Pope Honorius dying, the succession to the papal chair was disputed by Innocent and Anaclet, who were both elected on the same day. The king of Sicily and the Romans having declared for Anaclet, Innocent was obliged to quit Rome, and take refuge in France: but before he left Italy, he prevailed upon the Genoese and Pisans to agree to a truce till his return. The Genoese in the mean time re-

A.D. 1130.

duced the inhabitants of St. Remo, where they built a strong castle, and obliged the communities of Ventimiglia, Bajardo, and Poipino to swear allegiance to the republic of Genoa. The pope having prevailed on the emperor Lotharius II. to march into Italy to his assistance against Anaclet, returned to Pisa, where he continued several months, and at length mediated a peace betwixt the Genoese and Pisans. To prevent any future disputes about consecrating the Corsican bishops, he erected the see of Genoa into an archbishoprick, and subjected to its jurisdiction three of the bishops of Corsica, leaving the other three bishopricks of that island under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Pisa. The Genoese that same year sent eight gallies to Rome to the assistance of the emperor and the pope against the party of Anaclet: and as the city of Lavagna had revolted, the consuls marched with an army, and obliged it again to submit to the republic.

A.D. 1133.

*A peace
concluded
betwixt the
two repub-
lics.*

A.D. 1134.

*The Geno-
ese turn
their arms
against the
Moors.*

In the course of the following year the Genoese, to the seven old corporations or companies added a new one, and for every company chose two consuls. Having now no enemy to contend with in Italy, they turned their arms against the Moors of Africa and Spain, who by their piracies disturbed the trade of the Mediterranean: they were very successful during the four following years in their expeditions against the infidels, from whom they took many rich prizes. Having cleared the Mediterranean sea of those pirates, they obtained a golden bull from the emperor Conrad the Third, confirming their privilege of coining money; in gratitude for which favour they decreed, that the name of Conrad should be stamp't upon their money; and published a new coin. The Ventimiglians revolting, the Genoese invested their city by sea and land, and quickly obliged it to surrender; having at the same time reduced the whole county, they obliged all those under its jurisdic-

A.D. 1139.

^a Caffar. Annal. Chron. Januens.

tion, to renew their allegiance to the republic. During the two following years the Genoese were not engaged in any enterprize of importance ; but in the third they took Montpelier, which they restored to its proprietor, who, in return for their assistance, granted them a settlement in that city, with a small territory in Tholouse, and an exemption from all duties in his dominions ^b. The Genoese, about the same time sent ambassadors to Rome, who, after long solicitation, at length obtained from pope Lucius the Second, a remission of the annual tribute of a pound of gold for the island of Corsica, with many other privileges, and a confirmation of all their rights in Syria ^c.

A.D. 1144.

As the Moors again infested the Mediterranean, the Genoese fitted out a fleet of twenty-two gallies, and six other vessels, and sent them, under the command of Caffarus and Oberto Torre, to Minorca. Caffarus, landing his troops at the port of Furnelles, ravaged a great part of the island. After having taken and plundered the chief city of the island, he embarked his troops with the booty, sailed over to the coast of Granada, and in the harbour of Almeria seized a great many Moorish ships. Having then landed his troops, he invested the city, and struck the Moors with so great a panic, that they immediately offered a large sum of money to the Genoese, on condition that they would quit their territories. The offer being accepted, part of the money was directly paid, and hostages were given till the remainder of the sum should be collected. The king in the mean time absconding with his treasure, the Moors elected another chief, who promised to fulfil the engagements of his predecessor ; but the time limited for the payment elapsing, the Genoese, who now despaired of taking the city, ravaged the country in its neighbourhood, and in the beginning of winter returned to Genoa.

A.D. 1146.

The Moors of Granada making frequent irruptions into Castile, the king of Spain earnestly solicited pope Eugenius the Third to interest himself in his behalf. The pope, accordingly sent a legate to Genoa, whose endeavours being seconded by the archbishop, the Genoese were persuaded to lay aside their domestic dissensions, which even then began to disturb the tranquillity of the republic, and with great ardour made immense preparations for an expedition against the infidels. A powerful fleet was equipped, consisting of sixty-four gallies and one hundred and sixty-three transport vessels, which sailed to Almeria, under the command of six of the consuls. The Genoese, after their ar-

^b Caffar Annal. Chron. Januens.^c Foliet.

A.D. 1147.

*They take
Almeria.*

rival upon the coast of Granada, being joined by a few galleys and troops belonging to the count of Barcelona, immediately invested Almeria, being reinforced by the arrival of the king of Spain, with one thousand foot and four hundred horse, they quickly made a breach in the wall, and, on the 18th of October, took the city by storm, when, it is said, twenty thousand Moors were slain, and ten thousand made captives, who were afterwards carried to Genoa. The booty of the city, with the money paid by the Moors who ransomed themselves, was computed at ninety thousand crowns of gold.

A.D. 1148.

*Make them-
selves mas-
ters of Tor-
tofa.*

Almeria being thus reduced, the Genoese left a garrison of one thousand men in the city, and sailed with the rest of their forces to Barcelona, where, at the intreaty of the count, they fixed their winter station, in order to assist him the following year in an expedition against Tortosa. Accordingly, in the beginning of July, having received considerable supplies from Genoa, they sailed up the Ebro, and being joined by the counts of Barcelona and Montpelier, and by several English knights Templars, they invested the city, which they quickly made themselves masters of by storm. The citadel, however, did not surrender till near six months after, as the Genoese, during the siege had been deserted by all their allies. Upon the reduction of the place, the count of Barcelona, who had remained after the desertion of his troops, granted a third part of the city and all the booty to the Genoese, who returned in ^d triumph to their own city.

During the remaining part of the year, and the four following annual consulships, the Genoese were engaged in no enterprize of importance; a recess which is attributed by Folieta to their apprehension of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, whose fierce and impetuous disposition had alarmed all Italy, as he had been threatening for two or three years utterly to destroy those Italian cities that should refuse obedience to his commands. About this period the whole state seemed to be seized with a lethargy; so that the consuls who were chosen, with difficulty were prevailed upon, by the most pressing intreaties of the archbishop, to accept of the office. Having at length entered upon the magistracy, they ordered a great many new galleys to be built, and caused others to be repaired: they likewise employed expedients to discharge the public debts, an aim which in a short time they partly accomplished. The emperor Frederic arriving with an army at Roncalia, in the

^d Idem ut supra. Caffar. Chron. Januens.

plains of Lombardy, they sent their archdeacon and the historian Caffarus to his camp, to take the oath of allegiance to him in the name of the republic. They were received with great honour by the emperor, with whom they had many secret conferences, in which he was very liberal of his promises to the republic. But we are informed by Folietta, that Frederic, who wanted to make use of the Genoese naval forces in his expeditions in Italy, concluded nothing absolutely with the ambassadors, hoping by keeping the republic in suspense to prevail with it to second his designs. His expectations, however, were disappointed; for the following consuls refused to agree to his demand, or to send hostages to his camp for their fidelity. The Genoese, apprehensive of his resentment, which they heard he openly expressed against them, immediately began to prepare for their defence, and to fortify the city. By their vigorous measures the emperor was deterred from advancing into their territories, and declared himself satisfied with their oath of allegiance.

A.D. 1155.

The consuls, in the mean time, redeemed all the mortgages upon the revenues of the republic, and concluded an alliance with the Greek emperor, who promised to pay a large subsidy yearly to the republic. He granted the Genoese a street and church in Constantinople, and lowered the duties on commerce to them forty per cent. through all his dominions. They probably obtained these advantageous terms by refusing to concur with the emperor Frederic; for we find a few years after the Greek emperor rejected the offered alliance of the Pisans, because they would not agree to abandon the interests of the emperor of Germany*. During the same consulship, the Genoese established their authority in their Italian territories upon a more certain foundation, and sent an ambassador to the pope to make a complaint against the king of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch, and the count of Tripoli, who had infringed the privileges of their subjects in their dominions. Adrian the Fourth, who was then at Benevento, having considered the remonstrances of the Genoese, immediately wrote to the three eastern princes, threatening them with excommunication, if they did not without delay restore the subjects of the republic to their privileges.

The following consuls sent an embassy to William the first king of Sicily, with whom they concluded a treaty of commerce, and prevailed with him to expel all the Provençal and French merchants from his dominions; a step

A.D. 1156.

* Chron. Var. Pisan. Caffar. Annal.

A.D. 1158.

which he was easily persuaded to take, as one Bernard, a French pirate, had seized and plundered many vessels belonging to his subjects ^f. The count of Ventimiglia at length voluntarily submitted to the republic; and, upon taking the oath of allegiance, received the investiture of all his estates from the consuls. While the Genoese were thus occupied in extending their commerce and aggrandizing their state, they were again alarmed with the news of the emperor's arrival in Italy in a hostile manner, attended by a formidable army, composed of different nations. Frederic, by besieging and reducing Milan, struck a terror into all the cities of Lombardy, who immediately submitted, acknowledged themselves tributary to him, and renounced the regalia, or rights of sovereignty, which they had assumed. The Genoese, however, still absolutely refused to renounce their regalia, or to give him hostages, insisting that they had been exempted from tribute by former emperors, in consideration of defending the coasts of the Mediterranean betwixt Rome and Barcelona from the ravages of the infidels. The citizens in the mean time, being firmly resolved to oppose the emperor's demands, both men and women, young and old, worked at the walls, the foundations of which had been extended, and begun about four years before; so that in eight days they completed what by any other city of Italy would have been reckoned the work of twelve months. The emperor, finding them inflexibly bent upon defending their liberty, and considering the great difficulty of attacking their city, which was strongly garrisoned and open to the sea, consented to a treaty, and upon promising them his protection, received their oath of fidelity, with a present of one thousand two hundred marks ^g.

A.D. 1161.

*They oblige
the Moors
of Spain
to agree to
a peace.*

The factions of the city were by this time become very violent, so that the two parties sometimes committed hostilities against each other; but by the prudence of the following consuls, Caffarus informs us, they were greatly suppressed. The suspension of their civil animosities was perhaps chiefly owing to their being engaged anew in foreign expeditions; for we find that next year one of the consuls, Oberto Spinola, sailed with five galleys to Spain, and obliged one of the Moorish kings, whose subjects had lately infested the trade of the republic, to agree to a peace for fifteen years; in which treaty it was stipulated, that he should pay a certain sum yearly to the Genoese, and allow them the freedom of trade in his dominions. A few

^f Foliet. lib. i. Caffar. Annal.^g Idem ibid.

months after the return of the consul, Alexander the Third arrived at Genoa, in his way to France, being obliged to leave Italy on account of the protection granted by the emperor to the anti-pope Victor. The pope, in return for the kind reception he met with from the Genoese, enlarged the privileges of their see, and, according to Folieta, created the archbishop perpetual legate of the provinces beyond sea.

While Alexander was preparing for his departure from Genoa, the emperor Frederic on the 1st of March obliged the city of Milan to surrender, after a long siege of several month; and being highly irritated against the inhabitants, on account of their breach of faith, he entirely destroyed the city, and obliged them to live in four towns, at two miles distance from each other. This example of severity struck a new panic into all the states of Lombardy and Tuscany, whom he again summoned to his court at Pavia. The Genoese deputies, being privately urged by his courtiers to submit quietly to his demands, declared their willingness to obey, but insisted that the emperor, in return, ought to distinguish them above the other cities of Italy. Frederic, being pleased with their ready compliance, accordingly entered into a treaty with them, by which he confirmed their privileges, and extended their jurisdiction over all the coast of Liguria, from the city of Monaco to the river Macra, great part of which had hitherto been subject to different marquisses, who had never acknowledged their authority. The Genoese, for these favours, promised to assist the emperor with their fleets and forces in all his expeditions^h.

A.D. 1162.

The republic had no sooner concluded this treaty than it was engaged in a new war with the Pisans, occasioned by a quarrel betwixt the subjects of the two republics at Constantinople. According to Caffarus, one thousand Pisans, being assisted by some Venetians and Greeks, attacked three hundred Genoese in their quarter, and after an obstinate dispute drove them from the city, and killed some of those they took prisoners in cold blood. The Genoese immediately declared war against the Pisans, and hostilities were prosecuted betwixt the two republics with various success; but the emperor interposing his authority, deputies from both states waited upon him at Turin, and in the end of the year agreed to a truce till his return from Germany. About two years after, the emperor return-

A new war between the Genoese and Pisans.

^h Idem ut supra, Sigon. in regn. Ital. lib. xiii. Justiniani. an. 1162.

A.D. 1164.

ing to Italy, deputies from Genoa and Pisa attended him to negotiate a peace, which, however, was interrupted upon the following account. One Barisso, a judge or governor of one of the four provinces of Sardinia, by the persuasion of the Genoese, who had a great party in that island, sent an ambassador to Frederic, asking the crown of Sardinia, offering to pay him an annual quit-rent, and to pay him directly four thousand marks of silver. The emperor, who grasped at every opportunity of extending his dominion over the Italians, readily hearkened to this proposal; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Pisans, who insisted with great warmth that the sovereignty of Sardinia belonged to them, he created Barisso king of the island, and solemnly put the crown upon his head in the church of St. Syrus in Pavia. The Genoese, in opposition to the Pisans, strenuously alleged, that Sardinia belonged to them; and, as Barisso wanted money, they paid the four thousand marks for him to the emperor, and upon his return to Genoa lent him other considerable sums, which he promised to pay before he landed on the island. The Genoese accordingly accompanied him thither; but perceiving he had some intrigues with the Sardinians and Pisans, they would not allow him to land till the money was paid. After various delays, finding the Sardinians intended only to deceive them, they carried back the king to Genoa, and committed him a prisoner to the custody of some nobles.

The civil dissensions at the same time were very violent in the city. Tumults and skirmishes were very frequent; and in the month of November, one of the consuls was murdered at his country seat by the plebeians. The following consuls, immediately after their election, applied themselves to put a stop to the civil discords, and obliged all the citizens to go unarmed, and agree to a truce during their consulship. As the Pisans, about the same time, were accused of violating the truce which had hitherto subsisted, by plundering a Genoese vessel, which had been shipwrecked on the coast of Sardinia, the consuls of the two republics appeared before one of the emperor's chaplains, at Porto Venere, whom Frederic had appointed arbitrator of their differences. After long debates, the conferences were broke off without any effect, and hostilities were renewed with great animosity, and mutual damage to each republic. The Genoese made a descent upon Sardinia, which was almost wholly under the dominion of the Pisans, who surprised and burnt Albenga and another town in the Genoese territories. The war continued with various success for ten years, during which time the Genoese consuls,

with

with great difficulty, restrained their domestic factions. Six of the chiefs of each party having agreed to fight single combats, the consuls granted them permission, and a day was appointed to decide their quarrel; but the combatants, with many other citizens, being then assembled in the archbishop's palace, where the sacred relics were produced, the serious exhortations of the prelate had such an effect, that both parties dropt their animosities, and embraced as friends. The archbishop of Mentz, in the mean time, who was chancellor of the empire in Italy, was persuaded by the Pisans to grant them the investiture of Sardinia. The Genoese, to occasion a diversion to their enemies, entered into an alliance with the Lucchese; and the Pisans, on the other hand, concluded a treaty with the Florentines: but all parties at length being weary of the war, they referred their disputes to the arbitration of the emperor, who had returned a fifth time to Italy, and was then at Pavia. Frederic, having considered the claims of both republics, principals in the war, divided the island of Sardinia betwixt them, without any regard to the investiture formerly given to Barisso, who was still a prisoner in Genoa, though we are informed by the continuator of Cassarus, that a few years before he had been carried to Sardinia, and had made a second unsuccessful attempt to raise the money he owed to the Genoese. By this peace, the Genoese engaged to demolish a castle which they had built against the Pisans; and these last, were prohibited from coining false Lucchese money ⁱ.

A.D. 1175.

The emperor mediates a peace betwixt them.

As the sultan of Egypt threatened the Christians in Palestine, the Genoese, two years after the peace with the Pisans, concluded an alliance with him, by which he promised not to molest their territories in Syria, provided the republic should give no assistance to his enemies ^k. During the nine following years the Genoese enjoyed great tranquillity, the violence of their factions being moderated by the prudence of the consuls. They were, in the mean time, obliged to send a body of troops, against some towns in their eastern and western territory, which had committed several outrages against their neighbours. The consequence of those disturbances was the submission of the city of Nice, which put itself under the protection of the republic. In the course of the following year the animosities which had formerly disturbed the state, were again revived, on account of the murder of one of the consuls, and

A.D. 1177.

A.D. 1178.

ⁱ Idem ut supra. Sigon in Regn. Ital. lib. xiii. Justiniani. an. 1162. Follet. lib. ii.

two other nobles. The assassins being discovered, were banished the city, and their houses, and all their effects, were destroyed. The Pisans, about the same time, in violation of the late treaty, having attacked the Genoese merchants in Sardinia, and expelled them from the district of Cagliari, the republic immediately raised an army, and fitted out a strong fleet, which they sent to Porto Venere, with intention to revenge the insult: however, at the intercession of the emperor's son, Henry, they recalled their land forces; but Fulco di Castello, with ten galleys, sailed to Corsica, and destroyed a castle which had been erected on the coast by the Pisans.

The Christians lose Jerusalem, and almost all their territories in Syria.

In the mean time, news arriving in Italy that the sultan of Egypt had taken Jerusalem, and entirely defeated the Christians, who had lost all their territories in Syria, except Tripoli, Tyre, and Antioch, pope Clement III. published indulgences over all Christendom for a new crusade against the infidels; and that the dispute betwixt the Genoese and Pisans might not interrupt the sacred expedition, he prevailed upon the two republics to agree to a peace. The city of Genoa being likewise in great confusion by the violence of the two opposite factions, who were continually skirmishing with each other, the pope interested himself in their disputes; and by means of a cardinal legate, persuaded the two parties to agree to an amicable accommodation, which, however, was of very short continuance; for next year hostilities were again renewed, and with great difficulty quelled by the consuls. The kings of France and England, in the mean time, making immense preparations for a new expedition to the Holy Land, and requesting the assistance of the Genoese, the republic sent an ambassador to England, and another to France, declaring their great readiness to second the enterprizes of the crusaders. At

A.D. 1189.

The Genoese send a fleet to Syria.

the same time, several of the consuls sailed from Genoa with a large body of horse and foot, who assisted at the siege of Acon, which, two years after, was taken, chiefly by means of the battering engines that they brought with them, and constructed after their arrival¹. In the following year, another fleet of crusaders and pilgrims sailed from Genoa.

¹ Idem ut supra. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. Angl.

S E C T. II.

Successive Wars with the Pisans and Venetians. First Doge elected.

THE factions in the mean time disturbing the city, and becoming every day more violent, the consuls at length, resolved to imitate some other states of Italy, and to commit the government of the republic to a foreigner. Accordingly, after mature deliberation, Manegold de Tetocio, a citizen of Brescia, of great reputation for prudence and justice, was chosen podesta. The daring insolence of the factions may be easily perceived from the behaviour of Fulco di Castello, who, with some of his family, soon after broke into the room where the podesta and consuls were assembled, and killed Lanfranc Piper, one of the consuls. Manegold next day called a general council, which he harangued on the subject of this atrocious outrage; then he put on his armour, and went with some forces to the palace of Fulco, which he ordered to be directly razed. The assassins escaped punishment by abandoning their native country, and taking refuge in Placenza.

A.D. 1193.

The succession to the kingdom of Naples being at this time disputed betwixt the emperor Henry, and Tancred, the Genoese entered into a treaty with Henry, who, on condition that they would assist him against his competitor, confirmed to them the privileges granted by former kings of Sicily, and besides gave them the city of Syracuse, with a large territory in that island. The podesta immediately fitted out a fleet of thirty-three gallies, which, in the end of summer, sailed to the coast of Naples; but the emperor being prevented by sickness from prosecuting the war, they in a few weeks, returned to Genoa, without having been engaged in any action ^m.

They conclude an alliance with the emperor Henry, against Tancred of Sicily.

The Genoese, finding no good effects from the alteration they had made in the form of government, next year restored the consuls, who enjoyed, however, a mere shadow of authority, the violence of the factions filling the whole city with confusion and anarchy. The chiefs of the opposite parties assaulted each others houses and towers with battering engines, while their partizans were continually engaged in skirmishing; so that the consuls, at length intimidated, renounced their office, and hid themselves in their houses. These tumults continued near three years,

A.D. 1195.

Violent factions at Genoa.

^m Caffar. Annal. lib. iii.

till the arrival of Marcoald, seneschal of the emperor, who, fearing that the civil dissensions would interfere with the Sicilian expedition, called a general assembly of the people, and prevailed with them to suspend their animosities, and to chuse Oberto d'Olivano, a nobleman of Pavia, of a distinguished character, as the podesta for the remaining part of the year, and the year following ⁿ.

A. D. 1194.

*Expedition
to Sicily.*

Henry soon after arrived at Genoa, and declaring, that if Sicily was conquered, it should wholly belong to the republic, as he intended to spend his life in Germany, he cajoled the Genoese to espouse his interests with ardour; so that in the month of August the podesta, having appointed a vicar to govern in his absence, sailed with a numerous fleet to Naples, and from thence to Sicily; where he performed many signal services to the emperor. A quarrel happening betwixt the Genoese and Pisans at Messina, in which the Genoese were worsted, the disgrace so affected him, that he sickened and died; but his successor in command still continuing to assist the Germans, they at last made themselves masters of the whole island of Sicily. Henry, however, instead of fulfilling his engagements to the Genoese, deprived them of all their former privileges in Sicily; prohibited, under pain of death, any of their subjects from taking the title of consul in his kingdom, and threatened, if they expressed any resentment, to destroy their city.

The Genoese immediately quitted Sicily and returned home, when James Munerius of Milan was chosen podesta for the ensuing year. During his government, they were employed in repressing the insults of the Pisans, who in a piratical manner took many of their ships, and rebuilt the castle which had been formerly destroyed in Corsica. The republic, during the two following years, was governed by Drudus Marcellino, a nobleman of Milan, of great activity and resolution, who, being assisted by eight colleagues, exerted himself both against the Pisans and the seditious nobles. He ordered all the towers of the city, which were the chief receptacles of the factious, to be lowered; and by punishing some criminals of note, struck terror into all offenders. He was succeeded in authority by another noble citizen of Milan, Albert de Mandello, who, being likewise assisted by eight colleagues, governed the republic with great prudence and success. His successor was Beltram Christiano of Pavia, who was assisted by six rectors: in the beginning of his government, he sent eight gallies to

ⁿ Caffar. Annal. lib. iii. Sigon. in Regn. Ital. Ritices de Regn. Neap. & Sicil. in fol.

meet and convoy the ships returning from the Levant. As the inhabitants of Ventimiglia that year revolted, the Genoese invested their city by land and sea for two months; but the siege proving unsuccessful, it was raised in the end of August, when the troops returned to Genoa. Two years after, however, the Ventimiglians came and voluntarily submitted to the consuls, to whom the government of the republic was again committed.

A.D. 1199.

*Ventimiglia
revolts,
and is be-
sieged
without
success.*

Upon the expiration of their consulship, the Genoese again chose a podesta, named Guisfredotto Grusselli, a nobleman of Milan, who governed the republic three years. As a proof of the great extent of the Genoese commerce at this period, Foliet informs us, that the republic obtained several privileges from the king of Armenia, who granted them a church, and a certain district, in three of his cities °. The new podesta, desirous of putting an end to the piratic war, which, from the quarrel at Messina, had now subsisted near eight years betwixt the Genoese and Pisans, had a conference with several Pisan deputies for a peace. An accommodation, however, could not be effected, and hostilities still continued, to the mutual damage of both republics. After the conferences, the podesta entered into treaty with the marquisses of Gavi, who, upon receiving a large sum of money, and being created citizens of Genoa, resigned to the republic their whole territories, situated in the Alpes Cottiae^p. Guisfredotto, in the last two years of his government, was engaged in quelling the factions among the nobles, and accommodating some particular differences betwixt several towns and districts of the territories of the republic. He was likewise attentive to prosecute the war against the Pisans, who had seized Syracuse, and expelled the bishop and a great many of the inhabitants. Great numbers of the Genoese ships having assembled at Crete, in their return from the Levant, a resolution was formed by their commanders to attack Syracuse, which they accordingly made themselves masters of by assault. They restored the bishop and inhabitants, but gave the command of the city to one of their own citizens.

A.D. 1202.

About this period, the Genoese attacked and seized a Venetian ship returning from Constantinople, loaded with wealth and many precious relics, among which was the real cross presented by the empress Helena to her son. The Genoese annalists assign no reason for this rupture with the Venetians; perhaps the republic of Genoa espoused the interests of Alexis Comnenus, who the year be-

A.D. 1204.

*Hostilities
betwixt
the Geno-
ese and
Venetians.*

° Foliet. lib. iii. ^p Cassar. Annal. Gen. lib. iv. Chron. Januens. fore

fore had been expelled by the Venetians and crusards from the throne of Constantinople, which he had usurped from his brother ^q. However it be, we find the Genoese in the following year, when Fulco di Castello, by the interest of his faction, had caused himself to be elected podesta, again attacked the Venetians in the Archipelago, and took from them two rich ships, on board of one of which were upwards of nine hundred men. At the same time they gave assistance to the count of Tripoli against the Turks in Syria, and relieved the city of Syracuse, which was besieged by the Pisans, who venturing a naval engagement, were entirely defeated, and lost about twenty vessels. This was one of the most considerable actions that had been performed for several years; for though there was great rivalry and enmity betwixt the two republics, yet the war was carried on without any general plan; both parties being chiefly intent upon extending their commerce. The military expeditions seem to have been most frequently undertaken by private adventurers, and the operations of a summer to have been confined to the taking of a few trading vessels and galleys. The war continued in this manner for three years longer, when a truce was agreed to, which afterwards was converted into a perpetual peace.

A.D. 1207.

The Venetians expelled from the island of Crete.

The consuls, in the mean time, were again restored, and the island of Crete was taken from the Venetians by a noble Genoese, Henry count of Malea, by some called Malta, who, having received considerable reinforcements from Genoa, defeated the Venetian fleet, and took Raynerius Dandolo, the admiral, prisoner, who died a few days after the action ⁱ. As the Venetians, however, made great preparations for recovering the island, the Genoese, though again at war with the Pisans, who in a few months had violated the peace, fitted out a formidable fleet in support of count Henry; and, to defray the expence of the armament, imposed a new tax for six years. Mean while the emperor Otho arriving in Italy, by his mediation a cessation of hostilities was again agreed to betwixt the Genoese and Pisans for two years. The republic next year elected Raynerius, or Renatus Cotta, a citizen of Milan, podesta, who began his government with appointing a board of eight nobles to prosecute a war against the Marsilians, who had countenanced some of their subjects in depredations upon the trade of the Genoese. The Marsilians, being quickly distressed by the Genoese armaments, in the end of

^q Vide Nicet. Hist. Isaac Ang. ⁱ Chron. Januensi, ap. Murator. tom. ix. col. 44. Caffar, Annal. an. 1206. Follet.

the year sent ten of their nobles to Genoa, who prevailed on the republic to grant them a peace for twenty-one years. The Genoese, at the same time, were obliged to punish the insolence of the inhabitants of Nice, who, though they had formerly put themselves under the protection of the republic, now piratically seized the Genoese ships. The same podesta enlarged the territories of the republic by purchasing Corvaria. He ordered the marquis of Gavi, who had revolted, to be imprisoned for ten years, and caused some public roads to be made for the conveniency of inland commerce. In the following year the Genoese again committed the government to consuls, who were so successful as to conclude a truce with the Pisans for five years, and with the Venetians for three (A)^r.

A.D. 1211.

Before the expiration of the truce with the Venetians, the Genoese enlarged their territories by the acquisition of the estates of the marquis of Caretto, who resigned them voluntarily to the republic: they likewise fortified the castle of Monaco, and made several alterations in the state of the revenue, which they farmed. Being informed that some Venerian, Pisan, and Provençal galleys, had sailed from Constantinople, and seized several Genoese ships in Sicily, they ordered preparations to be made for an expedition to the Levant; but the year after, hearing that the Venetians were making no warlike preparations in Romania, they likewise deferred their armament.

A.D. 1215.

According to Foliet, the Genoese about this time sent an embassy to the king of Armenia, who confirmed to them their privileges in his dominions, particularly the freedom of jurisdiction. Though they always insisted on a free jurisdiction in foreign countries, yet, this year they introduced a new establishment at home, and for the first time committed the decision of civil causes to five foreign judges^s. The government of the republic was again com-

A.D. 1216.

^r Annal. Caffar. Foliet. lib. iii.
lib. iii.

^s Annal. Caffar. Foliet.

(A) The continuator of Caffar relates, that one Nicolas, a German boy, arrived this year at Genoa in the habit of a pilgrim, followed by upwards of seven thousand men, women, and children, who had taken the cross, with intention to proceed to Syria, being actuated by a superstitious opinion that

the sea was to be dried up, to allow them to walk directly to Jerusalem. The consuls ordered them immediately to quit the city; but as they had no home, many of them, who laid aside the thoughts of their pilgrimage were allowed to continue (1).

(1) Caffar. Annal. Chron. Januens. Foliet.

mitted to a podesta; and by the intercession of pope Honorius the Third, who was very desirous of forming a third general crusade to the Holy Land, a peace was concluded betwixt the Genoese and Pisans; which, not many months after, was followed by an accommodation betwixt the republic and the Venetians. The Genoese, about the same time, conducted a great many French barons to the Holy Land; and sent ten gallies to the assistance of the Christians at the siege of Damietta in Egypt.

A.D. 1210.

*The Ventimigians
again re-
volt.*

The two following years were spent in expensive and ineffectual expeditions against the Ventimigians, who, being assisted by the Provençals, made many sallies against the besiegers, in which they were generally successful; but the entrance of their harbour being at length blocked up, they were obliged to surrender at discretion to the podesta. Soon after the submission of the Ventimigians, the Genoese having received some injury from the Pisans in Acon, which is not particularized by their historians, after a sharp engagement drove the Pisans from the city: but their enemies being countenanced by the king of Jerusalem, they themselves retired from Acon, with all their effects, to Berytus.

A.D. 1224.

As the Genoese about this period had enlarged their territories even beyond the skirts of the Apennines, either by purchases or the voluntary submission of the possessors, their opulence and grandeur began to give great jealousy to their neighbours in the plains of Lombardy, particularly the inhabitants of Alexandria and Tortona; who, under pretence that the proprietors of those territories were their feudatories, declared war against the republic, which continued for two years with various success. The immoderate expence of this war, and the arrival of the emperor Frederic the Second at Cremona, tempted the inhabitants of Savona and Albenga to revolt, and put themselves under the protection of the count of Savoy, the imperial vicar in Italy. But the republic not being so much exhausted as they expected, and the emperor neglecting to give them any assistance, they were obliged, the year after, to submit to the Genoese, who about the same time concluded a peace with Tortola and Alexandria, by the mediation of the inhabitants of Milan. The republic was no sooner freed from foreign wars than the domestic dissensions again revived, it being discovered that a society had been secretly formed by many of the nobility for dividing among themselves all the offices of the state, to the exclusion of the other citizens. The podesta, however, found means to pacify the opposite parties, as the republic was still threatened with a renewal

of

of the war with the Alexandrians, who appeared dissatisfied with the late accommodation, and the next year treacherously surprised Capriata. This war, however, was at length terminated by arbitration of three of the clergy, who adjudged Capriata to the republic.

A.D. 1230.

The Genoese being now freed from all apprehensions of disturbances in Italy, sent several embassies to the Levant, to renew their alliances with the eastern princes. They likewise sent a fleet to Spain against Muleassies, king of Murcia, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, had plundered the Genoese merchants in his dominions. The fleet acted in conjunction with the forces of another Moorish king, then at war with Muleassies, and by its formidable appearance procured for the republic the friendship of the king of Seville. Towards the end of the year, their deputies appeared at the general diet held by the emperor in Ravenna, and exceeded in splendor and magnificence the ambassadors of all the other Italian states. Though they professed great attachment to the emperor, yet they excused themselves from submitting to his mandate, prohibiting them from taking a podesta from the revolted cities of Lombardy, by alleging that they had already, in the month of September, chosen Pagan de Petra Sancta, a nobleman of Milan, podesta for the ensuing year. Frederic was no sooner informed that the Genoese had received their podesta from Milan, than he ordered all their merchants in Naples and Sicily to be imprisoned, and those in Syria and Tunis to be expelled, and their effects seized. The Genoese were greatly alarmed and irritated by these proceedings, and immediately sent ambassadors to the confederated cities of Lombardy, with whom they proposed to enter into an alliance. The podesta, however, privately sent an ambassador to the emperor; but Frederic rejecting all accommodation, the republic with great ardour fitted out several galleys, and dispatched them to Tunis and the Levant. The emperor's troops in the Holy Land about the same time being almost all cut off by the infidels, and the Genoese quickly becoming masters of the sea, Frederic, in the end of the year, willingly hearkened to proposals of an accommodation, and restored the Genoese to all their former privileges.

A.D. 1231.

The Genoese send a fleet against the Moors of Spain.

A.D. 1232.

A rupture betwixt them and the emperor.

Frederic consents to an accommodation.

The republic, during the two following years, was engaged in quelling an insurrection of the peasants, and assisting the king of Ceuta, on the coast of Africa, against the Spanish crusaders. Though the Spaniards were repulsed by the assistance of the Genoese admiral, yet the Moorish king, instead of fulfilling his engagements to the republic, assaulted

A.D. 1233.

assaulted their gallies, and burnt the houses and merchandise of the Genoese in the city. He afterwards excused himself to the ambassador of the republic, by alleging that the citizens, without his permission, had quarrelled with the sailors; but still deferring to fulfil his engagements, the ambassador declared war against him, and retired to Spain, where he died. His successor, assembling all the Genoese ships on the Spanish coasts, returned before Ceuta, and by his vigorous assaults quickly obliged the Moors to offer an honourable accommodation.

Nothing remarkable happened during the three following years, excepting the conclusion of a peace and alliance betwixt the Genoese and Venetians for nine years, by the mediation of the pope, and the revolt of Savona, Albenga, and Ventimiglia, which were soon obliged to return to their obedience. Next year, however, Savona and Albenga again revolted, with several marquisses in their neighbourhood, at the instigation of the emperor, who being offended that the Genoese refused to do him homage, made large promises of assistance to the rebels. On account of this new revolt the Genoese fitted out thirteen gallies, which quickly reduced all the western coast, excepting Albenga and Savona, while the podesta repulsed Oberto Pallavicini, the emperor's vicar, who had made an incursion into the territories of the republic.

*Savona
and Al-
benga re-
volt.*

A.D. 1240.

As the animosities which had long subsisted betwixt the emperor and the pope now broke out into an open rupture, the Genoese, who were soothed by Gregory, and irritated by Frederic, espoused the party of the former. They entered into the confederacy of the Lombard cities, and allowed the pope's legate to preach a crusade against the emperor in Genoa¹. This fatal dissension betwixt the emperor and the pope, divided all Italy in two opposite factions, which long persecuted each other with the most rancorous animosity. Though Genoa at first declared unanimously for the pope and the confederates, many of the noble citizens, and powerful families, however, soon privately embraced the party of the emperor, and afterwards openly espousing his interest, retired to Savona, which had received a German garrison. In the spring, the Genoese troops advanced against the place, which, however, they did not invest; but having plundered its territory, they returned to Genoa. Soon after their return the podesta, having discovered a letter of the emperor to several of the nobles inclosed in a cake of wax, he immediately ordered their houses, which were

¹ Caffar. Annal an. 1240, & seq.

too strong to be taken by assault, to be invested, and equipped twenty-seven gallies, which, about the end of April, sailed from Genoa, with a great number of prelates, for the council of Rome. By the imprudence of the admiral, who refused to sail round Corsica, a few weeks after they fell in with the imperial and Pisan fleet, and, after a sharp engagement, were almost all taken or sunk, five of the whole number only escaping^u.

This disgrace struck the Genoese with consternation; their vigour, however, was not thereby abated, for they immediately ordered fifty-two gallies to be put upon the stocks, and commanded all their subjects to be ready to take arms at a moment's warning. Many of these gallies, in three months, were completed, and sailed out to attack the emperor's fleet, which had appeared off the harbour. The imperial admiral, who was a Genoese, declined an engagement, but soon after entered the harbour during the night, and unsuccessfully attempted to destroy the shipping. Many of the imperial party, who were distinguished by the name of Mascarati, having by this time been expelled the city by the other faction, who were called Rampini, Pallavicini, at the request of the exiles, again invaded the Genoese territories, but was quickly obliged to retire^w. The following podesta, who was a citizen of Brescia, notwithstanding the distresses of the republic, entered upon his office with great spirit; and hearing that the emperor had been solicited by William Spinola to invade the Genoese territories, he surprised and destroyed many of the castles belonging to that nobleman. Being informed that the emperor was making immense preparations, with intention to destroy the Genoese naval force, which he found the greatest interruption to his designs, he with great dispatch fitted out eighty-three gallies, and sixteen other vessels, and gave orders through the whole Genoese territory that all should be ready with arms and provisions to man the fleet. The enemy carefully avoided encountering this formidable armament; and in the end of the year, after they had lost several vessels near Corsica, retired to Sicily.

In the spring the Genoese, being under no apprehension from the imperialists, resolved, if possible, to reduce Savona, and invested the city for several weeks; but the emperor, having ordered his bastard son Hentz, or Entius, whom he had created king of Sardinia, to sail to the relief

A.D. 1243.

^u Villan. lib. vi. cap. 20. Anton. lib. xix. cap. 4. ^w Foliet. Hist. Gen. lib. iv. Chron. Januens. ut supra. Caffar. Annal. An. 1242.

of the besieged, the podesta made a general assault, but without success, which repulse obliged him to raise the siege. A few months after, when the troops were allowed to go to the country on account of the vintage, the Pisan and imperial fleets, to the number of one hundred and thirty-five sail, appeared off the city; but when the Genoese galleys advanced they immediately retired.

Innocent the Fourth, a native of Genoa, about this time being promoted to the papal chair, the Genoese expressed the greatest demonstrations of joy. Next year, understanding that he was in danger of being taken prisoner by the emperor, they conducted him by sea to Genoa with twenty-two galleys, where he continued about three months, and then proceeded by land to France. In the following year

A.D. 1244.

they were not engaged in any remarkable expedition: they conducted their trading fleet in safety from the Levant, and destroyed several Pisan galleys, which had endeavoured to intercept them; but on the 16th of December, the greatest part of their galleys were sunk or dashed to pieces by a most violent storm, which also broke down part of the mole. Being informed that their enemies intended to take advantage of this calamity, they repaired their shattered vessels, with such ardour and dispatch, that, in a few months, they were again able to put to sea with a formidable fleet, and could even spare sixteen new galleys, which were hired by St. Lewis to conduct him to the Holy Land. In the following year they made another unsuccessful attempt to reduce the Mascarati, or rebels of Savona, Albenga, and some other places of the western coast, or Riviera

A.D. 1248.

The emperor intends to besiege Genoa, but is defeated before Parma.

As the naval preparations were renewed, for the passage of St. Lewis, Frederic was apprehensive that the Genoese intended to make a conquest of the island of Sicily: in this apprehension he ordered Pallavicini to march with a large body of forces into their territory, and sent for twenty-five galleys from Naples to assist the Pisan fleet in blocking up the harbour, proposing to command in person against the city: but soon after, being entirely defeated by the garrison of Parma, which city he had besieged near two years, all his schemes were baffled, and the Genoese were freed from their apprehensions of a siege. Their inveterate enemy, being entirely humbled by the loss of his army and treasure at Parma, the Genoese sent a fleet to France, which conducted St. Lewis to Egypt.

As the emperor died two years after, about the middle of December, the Genoese, in the following spring, marched with a powerful army against the rebels of Savona and Albenga, who were now in the utmost consternation. Upon the

the approach of the army, they sent deputies to the podesta begging a peace, which, with some difficulty, was at length granted them, by the intercession of the counts of Lavagna, the pope's nephews, who were connected by friendship and alliances with many of the Mascarati. They had the preceding year, by their unwearied entreaties, softened the other party, and prevailed upon them to refer all their differences to the arbitration of their uncle Innocent*. Soon after the submission of the rebels, two Venetian deputies arrived at Porto Venere, and renewed the alliance betwixt the two republics for ten years. Though the Mascarati, who, with all the other imperialists, began to be distinguished by the name of Ghibellines, were now restored to their native country, yet it happened otherwise to almost all of that faction in Italy; for the pope, now returning from France, the Guelfs, who had been the greatest sufferers during the war, began to retaliate the injuries they had formerly received from the other party.

A.D. 1251
The city of Savona submits to the republic.

The Genoese, according to the terms of accommodation made with the rebels, filled up the ditch of Savona with the ruins of the walls, which were entirely levelled with the ground; and during the three following years, in conjunction with the Florentines and Lucchese, with whom they had concluded an alliance, they so distressed the Pisans, that they offered to acquiesce in very disadvantageous terms of peace. That republic, however, afterwards, prevailed on the Florentines and Lucchese to agree to a separate peace, absolutely refusing any accommodation with the Genoese, unless they would renounce the alliance, concluded a few months before with the marquis of Cagliari, in Sardinia, who had put one of his towns into their possession, on condition of receiving a Genoese lady for his wife, and being protected from the judge of Arborea, who was supported by the Pisans.

A.D. 1254

The following year is remarkable for a new alteration in the form of government, which the Genoese annalists only slightly mention, without assigning any reasons of so memorable a transaction. When the podesta, according to custom, should have entered upon his office, part of the nobility raised a furious sedition; and calling out that they would have a captain of the people, they were immediately seconded by the commons, who, in a tumultuous manner, directly chose William Boccanera captain for ten years. Next day thirty-two of the people were chosen by the title of Ancients, to assist him as a council. The captain and his

* Idem ibid.

council soon after nominated a podesta, who now became an inferior officer.

A. D. 1258.

*A rupture
betwixt
the Geno-
ese and
Venetians.*

In the second year of his government, a rupture happening betwixt the Genoese and Venetians, Alexander the Fourth, who had succeeded Innocent, ordered the two republics and the Pisans to send their deputies to Rome, to treat of an accommodation. This dispute, which engaged the Genoese in many ruinous wars, that in the end quite enervated and exhausted the republic, was first occasioned in Acon, by a quarrel betwixt a Venetian and Genoese, which last being struck by his antagonist, excited his countrymen to revenge the affront. The Genoese accordingly attacked the Venetians, and seized almost all their ships in the harbour, which the Venetian doge being informed of, he made loud complaints to the republic. A congress was appointed this year at Bologna, for accommodating the difference; but the Genoese delaying to send their deputies, the Venetians privately fitted out several gallies, and sent them with their trading fleet to Syria. The Genoese, having intelligence of this armament, sent likewise armed vessels with their Levant fleet; and upon hearing that more gallies had gone from Venice, they immediately ordered a second squadron to sail to Syria. The pope, in the mean time, interesting himself in the dispute, prevailed with the Genoese, Venetian, and Pisan deputies at Rome, to agree to an accommodation: but in the same month, the Venetian fleet in Syria, being joined by the Pisan, Provençal, and Marsilian gallies, amounting in all to eighty sail, entirely defeated the Genoese, who lost twenty-five gallies, and were obliged to abandon Acon. Though the treaty of peace was nevertheless put in execution, yet this unfortunate engagement heightened the rivalry and animosity betwixt both republics, which broke out with greater violence in the sequel.

*An accom-
modation
concluded
betwixt
them at
Rome.*

A. D. 1261.

Boccanera, in the mean time, governing in an insolent and arbitrary manner, a conspiracy was formed against him by the nobility, which, however, served only to establish his dominion, and to increase his arrogance; for their design being discovered, many of them were obliged to fly from Genoa, and a larger revenue and guard was assigned to the captain. Two years after Michael Palæologus, recovering Constantinople from the Latins, who had possessed it about sixty years, the Genoese immediately sent an embassy, offering him their assistance to expel the Venetians from the islands of the Archipelago. An alliance was accordingly concluded betwixt him and the republic, which being put in possession of the city of Smyrna, and, according to some,
of

of the island of Chios, and Pera, one of the suburbs of Constantinople, sent a fleet of ten gallies and six ships to the Archipelago, that enabled the emperor to frustrate the efforts of the Venetians. The pope, who favoured the Latins, immediately denounced a sentence of excommunication against the Genoese, as violaters of the treaty lately concluded at Rome.

The following year is remarkable for the deposition of Boccanera, whose despotic and oppressive government had rendered him odious to the whole republic. In the end of May, a numerous party of the nobility and commons seized all the gates of the city, whilst another body marched against the captain, who, being deserted by his guard, and seeing his brother killed, was forced to resign his authority, which was conferred on a podesta for the remaining part of the year. The republic, during the following year, was likewise governed by a podesta, who, having received many accusations against the Genoese commanders in the Archipelago, where, by their infamous proceedings, they had dishonoured the republic, before he resigned his government, obliged all the masters of ships to give security for their behaviour, and appointed a board of three nobles to punish those who had committed any injuries in Romania. His successor was intent upon prosecuting the war against the Venetians; and, in the month of June, sent a fleet of twenty-two gallies and two large ships, towards the Archipelago, which engaged and defeated the enemy off Durazzo.

The city, in the mean time, was thrown into the utmost confusion, by the ambition of the Spinola, the Doria, the Grimaldi, and the Fieschi, which four families, exceeding the other nobles greatly in wealth and number of dependents, had been endeavouring for several years to seize the supreme authority. The Spinola and Doria, were the chiefs of the Ghibelline faction, and the other two families were at the head of the Guelfs. Oberto Spinola having persuaded his faction, that the only means to suppress the Guelfs, was to confer the supreme authority upon a Ghibelline, on the 1st of October, at midnight, surprised and imprisoned the podesta, and caused himself to be proclaimed captain of the republic by his followers. Next day he endeavoured to have his authority confirmed in a legal assembly; but finding the other party more powerful than he expected, he willingly hearkened to an accommodation; by which it

A.D. 1264.

† Idem ut supra. Foliet. Hist. lib. iv. Nebicus, lib. iii. Spond. Annal.

A.D. 1266.

was stipulated, that he should not be punished for what he had done ; and that Guido Spinola, and Nicolas Doria, should govern the city for the ensuing year. They behaved, during their government, with so much moderation and mildness, that, upon the expiration of their office, they received universal applause. The year following, the government was again committed to a podesta, who was a native of Parma. As the war still continued with the Venetians, the republic, in the month of April, sent twenty-seven gallies to Sicily, under the command of Lanfranc Barbarini, who allowed his whole fleet to be seized by the enemy, by basely declining an engagement, and chaining his vessels together near the shore, so that they could make no resistance. Upon his return to Genoa, he was fined and banished, and the command of another fleet of twenty-five gallies was given to Oberto Doria, a young man of great reputation, who, in his cruise, took several vessels from the enemy, and plundered and burnt a town on the coast of Crete. Some inconsiderable advantages were gained during the summer, by the private adventurers,

In the following year the Genoese were absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and solicited by the pope, and the kings of France and Naples, to agree to an accommodation with the Venetians. The proposal of peace was not, however, acceptable to the republic, which at the same time carried on the war in a languid manner, and only sent one fleet to Syria of twenty-five gallies, five of which were taken by the Venetians before Acon. Next year the young Conradin, grandson of the late emperor Frederic, being defeated and taken prisoner by Charles of Anjou, who a few years before, by the assistance of the pope, had made a conquest of Naples, the Genoese entered into an alliance with Charles.

A.D. 1269.

The Genoese enter into an alliance with Charles king of Naples.

About the same time, they concluded another treaty with St. Lewis, and promised to furnish him with a great number of gallies and transports for another expedition against the infidels. The fleet, accordingly sailed from Genoa the following year, having on board ten thousand Genoese, some of whom were designed for navigating the royal gallies. This expedition was very fatal to the Genoese ; for the French king, and great part of the army, died of an epidemical distemper before the city ; and upon their return, in the end of November, many more perished in a storm in the port of Trapani, which destroyed several of their gallies.

A.D. 1270.

This dreadful calamity was heightened by the rapacity of king Charles, who, instead of relieving the distressed, seized

seized all that was saved of the wreck, as belonging to his exchequer.

Mean while not only the city, but even the whole territory of the republic, was filled with dissension and strife, which tempted Oberto Spinola to renew his ambitious design of seizing the sovereign authority. At the election of a podesta in Ventimiglia, one of the family of the Grimaldi had, by fraudulent means, procured the dignity, and forcibly expelled his competitor, who having recourse to the Ghibelline faction in Genoa, returned with an armed force to Ventimiglia, where he was a second time repulsed, and many of his followers made prisoners. Grimaldi refusing absolutely to set his prisoners at liberty, Oberto Spinola, and Oberto Doria, on the 28th of October, assembled the people, and persuaded them to declare them captains of the republic, with an unlimited authority, having on the same day seized the podesta, and defeated the Guelf faction, which had attempted to oppose their designs. They afterwards compelled the whole city to take the oath of fidelity to them, and arbitrarily banished some of the chief citizens, who they suspected would never cordially submit to the new government. To soothe the commons, they created a new magistrate, who was called abbot of the people; and also allowed a podesta to be elected for the following year: however, they dropped the office of podesta a year after, when they were alarmed with the news that the exiles, by the persuasion of cardinal Fieschi, had entered into a treaty with the king of Naples, then at Rome, and promised to deliver up the city to him, on condition of recovering it by his assistance from the Ghibellines.

That tyrannical and ambitious prince, without regard to his treaty with the republic, immediately caused all the Genoese merchants and their effects in his dominions to be seized, while the exiles returned from Rome, and in vain endeavoured to raise insurrections in the eastern and western Riviera. Charles, who was a favourite of the pope, by whom he had been appointed vicar of Tuscany, ordered the Alexandrians, and the marquises of Caretto and Saluces, to invade the Genoese territories. The Genoese, having concluded a truce with the Venetians, exerted themselves so vigorously in opposing their new enemies, that they prevented them from gaining any advantages of consequence during the whole summer. The Lucchese, and some other Tuscan states, who at first had basely complied with Charles, even sent ambassadors to Genoa, excusing their conduct, and renewing their alliances. Next year, the republic concluded an alliance with the marquis of

A.D. 1272.

Montferrat, and the cities of Asti and Pavia, against king Charles; and hearing that a Provençal fleet had made a descent upon Corsica, they immediately armed twenty-two gallies, and sent them thither under the command of Pignata. The Genoese admiral, finding that the enemy had retired, sailed to Sicily, attacked the city of Trapani, and burnt all the vessels in the harbour. After continuing some time in the Sicilian seas, and taking several of their ships, he sailed to Naples, where he caused all his gallies to row after each other close by the shore, and in the king's presence to tear the ensigns of France, and to throw them into the sea. After his return to Genoa, forty Provençal gallies made their appearance before the harbour, but retired in the evening, and in their course to Naples, pillaged the island before Porto Venere. The exiles in the mean time, by the interest of cardinal Fieschi, prevailed on the pope to excommunicate the republic, which it was alledged had seized some of the cardinal's revenues. Two years after, however, Innocent the Fifth, who succeeded Gregory, having received an embassy from the republic, prevailed on the king of Naples to agree to a peace. He died immediately after, and was succeeded by cardinal Fieschi, who survived his election about a month, but before his death absolved the republic from the sentence of excommunication. In consequence of the peace, the exiles were restored, when the count of Lavagna, one of them, sold his extensive territories to the republic.

A.D. 1276.

The two captains, having discovered that the exiles, who had returned, were endeavouring to raise new disturbances, condemned a great many nobles of the Guelf faction to perpetual banishment. These exiles entered into a new confederacy with their friends in the city, against the ruling faction; and next year, having assembled one thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, surprised Chiavari, where they committed all manner of hostilities. Upon the approach, however, of Oberto Doria, with a large body of horse and foot, they abandoned the place, and retired to the valley of Trebia, where they dispersed. The captain, having destroyed several castles belonging to them, returned to Genoa; and, to protect the republic from their future insults, hired a body of auxiliaries at Pavia.

A.D. 1281.

The Genoese being solicited by the restless and ambitious king of Sicily to join him and the Venetians in an expedition against the Greek emperor, whom pope Martin, in complaisance to king Charles, had excommunicated, with
all

all his subjects, as schismatics, they excused themselves, and immediately sent a galley to Constantinople, to inform the emperor of the intended invasion, which Charles was prevented from executing by the famous revolt of Sicily. While that prince was ruining his army in a vain attempt to reduce Messina, a new war broke out betwixt the Genoese and Pisans, which continued about five years with great animosity, till the Pisans, whose power and wealth were then quite exhausted, submitted to the terms prescribed by the Genoese. The rupture was first occasioned by the revolt of one of the four judges of Corsica, who, with great insolence, plundered the Genoese in the island, and made incursions into the other judicatures. Finding himself, at length, unable to resist the Genoese, he fled to Pisa, and prevailed on the Pisans to espouse his cause. The Genoese in vain endeavoured to persuade the Pisans to desist; they therefore sent a considerable force towards the island, in the month of August, which, however, did not then proceed, but stopped at Porto Venere, where the troops were set at liberty on account of the vintage: their troops in Corsica returned to Italy a few weeks after for the same reason, being still in hopes that the Pisans would not protect the judge. The Genoese, having thus imprudently laid aside their armament, the judge returned to Corsica, and recovered all his castles, and the Pisans made a descent upon the island of Porto Venere, which they plundered. The war being now unavoidable, the Genoese resolved to prosecute it with the utmost vigour: for that purpose they elected a council of fifteen persons, called the *Credentia*, to assist the captains, who immediately ordered one hundred and twenty gallies to be fitted out, and laid an embargo upon all shipping for ten months. The Pisans likewise made great preparations; so that the following year both parties put to sea with numerous and formidable fleets. The Genoese gained several advantages, and took some rich prizes; but they, as well as the Pisans, seem to have avoided coming to any decisive action.

A.D. 1282.

*A new
war be-
twixt
them and
the Pisans.*

The Pisans, being dissatisfied with the conduct of their commanders, to whose misbehaviour they imputed their losses, committed the supreme administration of their republic to Albert Morosini, a noble Venetian, in hopes thereby of engaging the Venetians to assist them in the war, as Albert was related to the doge, whose power and authority at that time was much more extensive than at present. The Genoese, in the beginning of May, having defeated twenty-four of their gallies, eight of which they had taken, the Pisans fitted out seventy-two gallies, and

A.D. 1284.

*Morosini
a Venetian
chosen chief
of the Pi-
san repub-
lic.*

two

two other large vessels, to recover the honour of their arms, boasting that they intended to shoot silver arrows, and balls covered with scarlet, into Genoa. This formidable fleet, accordingly, soon after appeared before the city, when a considerable number of the Genoese galleys were absent. The Genoese, however, who before had ordered the militia of the eastern and western Riviera to be ready to embark, with great ardor equipped and armed in one afternoon fifty-eight galleys, and eight larger vessels, which a few days after, being joined by thirty more that had returned from a cruise, sailed in quest of the enemy, whom they soon discovered near the island Meloria. A general engagement ensued, which ended in the total rout of the Pisans, sixteen thousand of whom were killed, drowned, or taken prisoners. Among the prisoners was the podesta Morosini, with a great part of the Pisan nobility. The Genoese, after this decisive action, which was fought on the 6th of August, returned home in triumph, with twenty-nine galleys taken from the enemy, and many thousand prisoners, so that it became a proverb in Tuscany, "Those that want to see Pisa must go to Genoa^a."

*The Pisans
routed.*

The Guelfs in Tuscany resolved to seize this opportunity of re-establishing their faction in Pisa. Accordingly the Florentines, the Lucchese, the Siennese, Pistoians, and other Tuscan states, concluded an alliance against the Pisans with the Genoese, for thirty years. The Pisans, confounded at the news of this confederacy, immediately begged a peace: but their request being rejected by the Genoese, they conferred the sovereign power of their state upon count Ugolino, a Guelf, for ten years; which revolution satisfying the Tuscan states, they forthwith renounced their new alliance with the Genoese.

No military expeditions of consequence happened during the three following years. Besides taking a few Pisan ships, the Genoese made prizes of several Venetian and Neapolitan vessels, laden with Pisan merchandize; and being informed that the sultan of Egypt had seized one of their ships in Alexandria, they sent six galleys to the Levant, which obliged him to make restitution. The government of the captains having expired, the people, in the month of March, chose Oberto Spinola and Conrad Doria, the son of Oberto, captains of the republic, for five years; but so great was the moderation of these nobles, that they would only accept of the government for three years. A

A.D. 1288.

^a Caffar. Anna. lib. x, Villani, Hist. lib. vii. cap. 91. Foliet. Hist. lib. v.

few weeks after this election, a peace was concluded betwixt the republic and the Pisans, by means of the Pisan prisoners, who had been negotiating for thirteen months. This peace was very much against the inclination of Ugolino, the Pisan podesta, who, not daring openly to oppose the treaty, privately ordered the Sardinian corsairs to continue hostilities against the Genoese; a circumstance which so exasperated the Pisans, that they rose against him, and imprisoned him, with his children, in a tower, where they died of hunger.

*A peace
concluded
with the
Pisans*

Next year, the Genoese sent a fleet to the relief of Tripoli, against the sultan of Egypt; but the Christians, with all their auxiliaries, not being able to defend the city, the Genoese conducted a great number of the inhabitants to the island of Cyprus. About the same time they sent another fleet to Corsica, which recovered all the places in that island, that had revolted during the Pisan war. Mean while, the Grimaldi, and several other noble Guelf families, formed a conspiracy against the captains of the republic, which, they endeavoured to put in execution on the 1st of January, by assaulting the house of the abbot of the people. After a sharp dispute they were obliged to submit, and four of them only being banished, the others were generously pardoned. Before this conspiracy broke out, the republic had renewed the war with the Pisans, who, contrary to the articles of the late peace, had delayed to deliver up the castle of Cagliari in Sardinia. They had, however, offered full satisfaction and security to the Genoese, if they would indulge them with the delay of twelve months; but the republic, unreasonably rejecting their request, again chose a credentia of fourteen persons, and concluding an alliance with the Lucchese, in conjunction with them attacked the harbour of Pisa, situated at the mouth of the Arno. After having ravaged the Pisan territory in that neighbourhood, they destroyed all the towers that secured the harbour, and returned in the end of the year to Genoa, carrying with them several pieces of the chain of the harbour, which near three hundred years after were to be seen as trophies of their victory, hanging in different parts of the city.

A.D. 1289.

*A new
rupture
with the
Pisans.*

The Genoese, in the mean time, according to their usual fickleness, being dissatisfied with the government of the captains, and longing for a new form of administration, Oberto Doria, the father of Conrad, consulting with several others, drew up a new plan of government, by which it was ordained, that the captain of the republic, for the future, should always be a foreigner, elected annually;

A.D. 1290.

ally ; and that one half of the counsellors and antiani, and all others in office, should be chosen from the nobles, and the other half from the people. The captains accordingly, at the feast of Simon and Jude, peaceably resigned their office ; and Lanfranc de Suardis, a nobleman of Bergamo, was chosen captain of the republic. This new magistrate, exerted himself vigorously in prosecuting the Pisan war ; but the Pisans, being assisted by the Catalans, recovered the island of Ilba, which was the chief scene of the transactions during the summer. As the Christians this year had been totally expelled from Syria, the following captain allowed Manuel Jacharia and Theodosius Doria to enter into the service of the church, with twenty gallies, to defend the island of Cyprus from the infidels, though at first he had resolved to fine them for having made an agreement with the see of Rome without his permission. The Genoese, at the same time, having taken a Catalan ship of three decks, carrying corn to Pisa, the captain, being afraid of the resentment of the famous Roger di Loria, immediately excused the proceeding to the viceroy of Sicily, and made good the damage to the Catalans.

A.D. 1292

The injuries which the Genoese daily received from the Catalans, did not yet provoke them to declare war against them, though they were at this time earnestly solicited by the count of Artois, the apostolic legate, and the French ambassador, to declare for the king of Naples, against the Sicilians and Catalans. The disputes in the city on this subject were so violent, that the nearest relations fought with each other in the streets, dissensions which afforded the captain a good pretence for still adhering to a neutrality. The French ambassadors immediately left the city in discontent, and upon their arrival in France caused several Genoese merchants to be arrested, who, nevertheless, were quickly after set at liberty. The Genoese, in the mean time, fitted out twenty-one gallies and five galleons, for the Pisan war ; but the Pisans during the whole summer not appearing at sea, the fleet took only a few corsairs, and returned to Genoa.

The great prosperity of the republic, which had now humbled its once formidable rival, and flourished above all the states of Italy, began to awaken the jealousy of the Venetians, who considered the increasing grandeur of the Genoese as a diminution of their own (B) : they therefore resolved,

(B) At this period the Genoese state seems to have been at its greatest height of power, opulence, and grandeur. All the

resolved, without regarding the truce, to seize the first opportunity of renewing hostilities. Four of their gallies sailing to Cyprus, attacked seven Genoese trading vessels, returning from the Archipelago. The Genoese, being hailed by the Venetians, went on board their gallies, and satisfied them who they were, and where they were bound; but perceiving them preparing for an engagement, they returned immediately to their own vessels, and received the attack of the enemy with resolution. After a short dispute, they took the Venetian gallies, and killed three hundred of their men: however, they directly set them at liberty, and returned to Genoa. To prevent a rupture, the republic sent two Dominican friars to Venice; and a conference being agreed to, four ambassadors of each state assembled at Cremona, to terminate all differences; but the Venetians shewing no desire of an accommodation, the Genoese deputies, at the end of three months, protested that they were ready to observe the truce, and returned to Genoa. The republic, still desirous of avoiding a war, in the beginning of January sent another ambassador, with a public notary, to Venice, who made the same protestation before the doge.

A.D. 1293.

*A rupture
betwixt
the Genoese
and the
Venetians.*

The Venetians still declined giving any satisfaction; and, a few months after, some of their gallies took three Genoese vessels, and committed hostilities against the subjects of the republic in different parts. The Genoese, roused at length by these injuries, determined to have recourse to force; the captains of twenty of their trading vessels, having unladed their merchandize at Pera, chose Nicholas Spinola, the resident at Constantinople, for their admiral, and went in quest of the Venetian gallies: however, they first sent two Franciscans to demand restitution of the late captures. Their request being denied, they soon after attacked the Venetian fleet, consisting of thirty-two gallies, and gained a complete victory, taking twenty-five of the enemy's ships. This transaction thoroughly animated each republic to prosecute the war. The Venetians immediately laid an embar-

A.D. 1294.

*The Geno-
ese take
twenty-
five Ve-
netian gal-
lies.*

the cities and towns both in the eastern and western Riviera, with several other territories over the Appennine ridge, submitted to the republic, which, since the commencement of the last Pisan war, had armed six hundred and twenty-seven gallies. Seventy sail of trading vessels belonging to Genoa, and a greater number to the maritime cities of their territory. Their woollen and silken manufactures were very considerable, and the revenues of the republic very large (1).

(1) Foliet. Caffar. lib. x.

go on all their shipping, and proposed an alliance against the Genoese with the Catalans, Sicilians, the cities of Treviso, Padua, Ferrara, and Cremona. The Genoese in the mean time, without soliciting any foreign alliance, made great preparations against the enemy: they ordered all their subjects to return home; laid an embargo on their shipping, and committed the management of the war to a council or credentia, who caused several new galleys to be built, so that the fleet amounted to two hundred sail.

A.D. 1295.

That the war might not be interrupted by their domestic factions, a reconciliation was effected in the month of January, betwixt the Mascarati and Rampini, by the mediation of the archbishop James de Varagine, who mentions the rejoicings on that account in the end of his chronicle. Boniface VIII. in the mean time, being informed of the warlike preparations of each republic, ordered both states to observe a truce, under the pain of excommunication, till Midsummer, and for three or four months endeavoured to effect an accommodation at Rome. The endeavours of the pope proving fruitless, the Genoese, upon the conclusion of the truce, prepared for the expedition with the greatest ardor, the council being then obliged to hinder many volunteers from embarking. As the Venetians had threatened to appear before Genoa, the captain and the credentia wrote to them, that they would save them one half of the voyage, and would meet them off Sicily. Oberto Doria, the admiral, accordingly in the end of summer, sailed from Genoa with one hundred and sixty-five galleys, on board of which were said to be forty-five thousand men. He continued eighteen days on the coasts of Sicily, waiting for the enemy, who never appeared, and then returned to Genoa.

A.D. 1296.

*A violent
sedition in
the city.*

This successful commencement of the war was soon followed by a most violent sedition in the city. A few days after Christmas, the two factions attacked each other in the streets, with such fury and animosity, that many were killed and wounded. Many houses were burned, and the cathedral church was not even spared, its roof being totally burned down, in order to expell one of the parties who had seized the steeple. These disturbances continued without intermission till the 7th of February, when the Grimaldi and Fieschi being at length expelled, Conrad Spinola and Conrad Doria, the sons of the two Obertos, were chosen captains of the republic.

Tranquillity being thus again established, the Genoese renewed their preparations for the war. The Venetians, however, seem to have taken the advantage of the dissensions of their enemy, and this summer surprised Pera at Constantinople,

Constantinople, and another city not far from Smyrna. After the Genoese fleet had returned from an unsuccessful cruise, they put to sea with their gallies, and took a great many Genoese vessels on the coasts of Sicily. Next year, their fleet sailed into the Euxine sea, and took the city of Theodosia or Caffa, in Crim Tartary, which had long been subject to the Genoese ^b. The republic, being exasperated by these and many other losses, fitted out a formidable fleet of seventy-eight gallies, which, in the end of summer, sailed into the Adriatic, under the command of Lamba Doria, one of the captains, who was resolved, if he did not meet with the enemy's fleet, to proceed to Venice. On the 3d of September, having discovered the Venetian fleet, consisting of ninety-five sail, near the island of Curzola, on the coast of Dalmatia, he boldly attacked the enemy; and, after a desperate and bloody action, gained a complete victory, taking sixty-five, or, according to Stella, eighty-five of their gallies. The Genoese give no account of their own loss; but Dandolo informs us, that in the beginning of the engagement they lost ten gallies; and adds, what appears improbable, that though they gained the victory, they suffered as much as the Venetians (D). The admiral having pillaged Curzola, and burnt all the enemy's gallies he had taken, excepting eighteen, returned with seven thousand prisoners to Genoa, where he was received by the whole city with the greatest transports of joy ^c. A.D. 1298.

This decisive action was followed by a peace betwixt the two republics, which was concluded on the 25th of May, by the mediation of Matthew Visconti of Milan. A.D. 1299.

Peace concluded.

The Pisans, being apprehensive that the Genoese would now turn their whole force against them, purchased a truce for twenty-seven years from the republic, by paying one hundred and thirty-five thousand Genoese pounds for the expences of the war, resigning all they possessed in Corfica, and delivering up the city Jurritana in Sardinia. A few weeks after the conclusion of the peace, the captains re-

^b Foliet. lib. vi. Chron. Jac. de Varagine. Andr. Dandoli. Chron. Venet. ap Murator. tom. xii. p. 405.

^c Chron. Venet. ut supra. Annal. Genuenf. Georg. Stellæ, ap Murat. tom. xvii. col. 935. Fol. et.

(D) According to Villani, the Venetians of one hundred and the Genoese fleet in this action twenty sail, seventy of which consisted of one hundred and were taken during the engagement gallies, and that of the Venetians (1).

(1) Villan, lib. viii. cap. 24. ap Murat. tom. xiii.

signed

signed their office, when the government of the republic was again committed to a foreign podesta. During his administration, the Grimaldi entered the harbour in the night with five galleys, and immediately dispersed their followers through the streets, in hopes of surprising the other faction; but the citizens assembling at the sound of the alarm bell, they were repulsed, and many of them taken prisoners. As the republic at this time favoured the king of Sicily against the Neapolitans, Boniface, on the 11th of November, denounced a sentence of excommunication against the Genoese; but the following year the sentence was removed, upon the conclusion of a peace betwixt them and the king of Naples.

*A fresh
commotion
in the city.*

The republic for the four following years enjoyed great tranquillity; but the year after, the civil dissensions were again renewed. The great power of the family of Spinola had now raised the jealousy of the family of Doria, which being perceived by the Guelfs, who had been restored upon the conclusion of a peace with the king of Naples^d, they excited this last to take arms against their rivals to their own confusion; for, after a bloody dispute, Opicio Spinola remained conqueror. Next day all the chiefs of the opposite faction were banished, and Opicio Spinola and Bernabo Doria, who alone of all his family adhered to Spinola, were declared captains of the people. The exiles in the course of the following year having made an incursion into the Genoese territories, and seized Tabia and Oneglia, Bernabo marched against them; but, instead of proceeding to hostilities, he concluded an accommodation; and the Doria and Grimaldi being restored, in the end of December, took the oath of fidelity to the captains.

A.D. 1306.

This reconciliation, however, was of very short continuance; for Spinola having given his daughter in marriage to the marquis of Montferrat, raised a new jealousy against himself. The nobles of the opposite faction persuaded Bernabo Doria to give his daughter in marriage to the marquis of Saluzzo; and soon after the families of Doria and Grimaldi distinguished themselves by wearing cloaths of the same fashion and colour, a circumstance which was interpreted by Opicio as the mark of a secret conspiracy against his government. To anticipate their designs, he attacked them on the 25th of August, and again expelled them from the city. His resentment was next turned against his colleague Bernabo, who had rivalled him in his alliance

A.D. 1309.

^d Villani, lib. viii. cap. 46.

with the marquis of Saluzzo. Next year, in the month of November, his uncle Edward seized Bernabo while he was attending at a council, and conducted him with a body of armed men to prison. About a month after Bernabo was deposed, and Opicio was declared sole and perpetual governor of the republic. Bernabo soon after escaped, and joined the exiles, who had seized Albenga, Andoria, and several other places, and daily became more powerful by the continual concourse of the partisans of the Guelf faction.

Opicio in the following year, being informed that they were approaching the city with a large body of forces, marched out against them with five hundred horse and ten thousand foot. A battle was fought within four miles of the city, when Opicio was entirely defeated, and obliged to fly to Gavi. The victors entered the city in triumph; and having destroyed the houses of Opicio and two of his relations, chose twelve governors of the republic, six nobles and six commoners, who, with the abbot of the people, assumed the supreme administration. Spinola in the mean time, with his son-in-law, arrived in the suburbs with six hundred horse, and about eight thousand foot, in hopes of raising an insurrection in his favour; but being disappointed, he took and destroyed Montaldo and Vultabìa, while one of his relations, who was in possession of Monaco, fitted out a galley to cruise against the Genoese. This vessel, however, was quickly taken, and the crew hanged; and Francis Fieschi, the general of the republic, ravaged the territories belonging to Opicio. After both parties had glutted their resentment, a reconciliation was effected in the month of July, when Spinola, who was condemned to two years exile, received a very large sum for the damage done to his estates.

A.D. 1316.

As the emperor Henry the Seventh about this time entered Italy, Opicio waited upon him in Asti, begging his assistance to be restored to his native country. Henry at the same time receiving an embassy from the republic, resolved to visit the city, in order to put an end to the disturbances: he accordingly arrived at Genoa on the 21st of October, accompanied by Opicio and six hundred German horse, being received five miles without the gates by the nobles, clergy, and people, who were clothed with the greatest magnificence in silk and embroidery. The Genoese were so charmed with the amiable character of Henry, that they submitted all their differences to his decision, gave him a donative of sixty thousand florins, and even

A.D. 1311.

The emperor Henry VII. chosen governor of the republic for twenty years.

chose him governor of the republic for twenty years^d. How the Genoese, who were so jealous of their liberty, could so inconsiderately subject themselves to a foreign dominion, is not easily to be accounted for. It was probably owing to the inveterate animosity of the two factions, who would rather see the state dishonoured or ruined, than suffer each other to enjoy the supreme administration.

A.D. 1312.

The emperor dying in the following year, and the vicar whom he had appointed to govern Genoa, a few months after going to Pisa, the dissensions in the city revived with greater violence than ever. The Ghibellines, immediately after the departure of the vicar, expelled the chiefs of the Guelfs from the city, and committed the government to twenty-four of their own faction, twelve of whom were nobles, and twelve commoners. A dissension, however, quickly arose betwixt the families of Spinola and Doria, which, notwithstanding the endeavours of the podesta, who was a foreigner, broke out into an open rupture. Both parties fought in the streets for twenty-four days without intermission; they raised battering engines against each other's houses, and filled the city with blood. The Spinolæ at length, finding their rivals supported by the Guelfs as well as Ghibellines, in the end of the year thought proper to quit the city, and retired to their territories in the Apennines, where the war continued during the two fol-

A.D. 1317.

lowing years with various success. At length the Spinolæ made offers of accommodation, which were rejected with disdain by the Dorix; but the Fieschi and Grimaldi, whose chief aim was to weaken the Ghibellines, privately entered into an agreement with the exiles, and on the 15th of September admitted them in the night into the city unarmed. The Dorix still declined a reconciliation, and a few days after left the city, with many followers; a retreat which encouraging the Guelfs to take arms, on the 10th of December they declared Charles Fieschi and Gaspar Grimaldi captains of the republic, who nevertheless allowed the podesta the shadow of supreme authority.

The family of Spinolæ, alarmed at this revolution, in a few hours after quitted the city, and their departure was very acceptable to the Guelfs, who were solicitous to establish their authority through all the territories of the republic. The cities of Albenga and Savona, however, de-

^d Albert Mussat. Hist. Aug. Foliet. lib. vi. Stella Annal.

clared for the Ghibelline exiles, who, having made an alliance with Visconti of Milan, Canis Scaliger of Verona, and with the marquisses of Clavexana, Ceva, and Caretto, and the counts of Ventimiglia, fortified Savona, which they made their head-quarters. Having formed a large army at Gavi, composed chiefly of the Lombard auxiliaries, under the command of Marco Visconti, they passed the straits of the Apennines, and on the 25th of March invested Genoa. After the siege had continued three months, the Guelfs, finding themselves greatly distressed, solicited the assistance of Robert, king of Naples, who immediately sent them by sea twelve hundred horse, and a few days after arrived in person with twenty-five gallies, and a strong reinforcement. The Genoese received him as their deliverer, and on the 27th of July conferred upon him, and pope John the Twenty-second, the sovereignty of their state for ten years. The Guelfs of Florence, Bologna, and Sienna, encouraged by this new revolution, likewise entered into an alliance with the besieged, and sent them about eleven hundred horse. The garrison, being now very numerous, on the 8th of August sallied out on the besiegers; but were repulsed with the loss of three hundred men. The besieged being routed afterwards in several other skirmishes, the king at length resolved to attack the posts of the besiegers by sea, and on the 4th of February embarked fourteen thousand foot, and eight hundred and thirty horse, who, after a desperate engagement, repulsed the enemy from the shore, while the king in person attacked their entrenchments towards the mountains, and drove them from thence. The Ghibellines, finding their attempts thus frustrated, were struck with a panic, and at night retreated with precipitation, leaving their arms and baggage, and in their flight even abandoning their wives and children, many of whom perished in the snow.

A.D. 1318.

The king of Naples arrives at Genoa, and is made governor of the republic for ten years.

A.D. 1319.

The siege being raised, the Guelfs ravaged all the country abandoned by the Ghibellines; and the king of Naples, a few weeks after, sailed with several gallies to Avignon to visit the pope. After his departure, the Ghibellines, who were in possession of almost all the western Riviera, and all the territories of the republic beyond the Apennines, and were privately assisted by the emperor of Constantinople, the Venetians, Pisans, and Lucchese, fitted out a fleet at Savona, and in the month of August again invested Genoa by sea and land. The siege continued during the whole fol-

A.D. 1320.

* Foliet. Stellæ, Annal. ut supra, Villani, lib. ix. cap. 85, 88, 90, 92, 93, 95, 96.

lowing year with various success. The Guefts made an excursion as far as Albenga, which was ravaged by their Provençal and Neapolitan auxiliaries: they likewise destroyed the palaces of the Dorizæ and Spinolæ, and other Ghibellines in the city, while the besiegers, being joined by forty galleys of the king of Sicily, commanded the sea, and took and destroyed several of the enemy's ships. In the month of August, the famous Castruccio Castracani of Lucca, entered the eastern Riviera, with five hundred horse and upwards of twelve thousand foot, to reinforce the besiegers; but the Florentine Guefts, in his absence, invading the Lucchese, he was obliged to return in a few weeks to defend his own territories, having only taken a few places in the Riviera.

The Ghibellines at length, wearied with the slow progress of the siege, in the beginning of January withdrew part of their army and invested Noli, which, after a most vigorous defence, surrendered. The Genoese, in the mean time, had made an unsuccessful attempt to relieve the place by sea, and had several times attacked the posts, which were still held by the Ghibellines on the rocky mountains commanding Genoa. This city was not only harrassed by the enemies from without, but exposed also to the rapine of many of its own inhabitants, who became quite licentious, and, under pretence of defending their country, plundered without controul, the king's vicar not having authority to put the laws in execution. To put a stop to these disorders, a committee was appointed of ten of the chiefs of the people, who executed summary justice upon all offenders. The besieged soon after were greatly comforted by the pope's bull, granting indulgencies to all who should take the cross against the Visconti of Milan and their adherents. The bull being published on the first day of Lent, was ostentatiously hung up in view of the Ghibellines, who in a very short time tore it to pieces with arrows and stones. To exasperate the pope against them, it was in this manner sent to Avignon.

The Ghibellines were now in possession of some of the suburbs; but their confederates in Lombardy, being hard pressed by the crusaders, and the besieged receiving reinforcements by sea, the whole year was spent in skirmishes, their country being ruined by both parties, while neither gained any superiority. About the middle of February, in the following year, the besieged sallied out into the valley of Bisagno, and, after a desperate engagement, seized a post on a hill in that neighbourhood, an exploit which struck

A.D. 1322.

A.D. 1323.

struck the Ghibellines with such consternation, that they immediately abandoned the suburbs. A few months after, the pope offered his mediation to reconcile the two parties; but the conferences, held for that purpose, served only to inflame the dissensions; and the deputies, after attending two months at his court, returned in the beginning of November. Hostilities still continuing in the neighbourhood of the city, the king of Naples, with his queen and many nobles, in the end of April, entered the harbour with forty-five gallies. Having abolished several congregations, or tribunals, that were looked upon as unconstitutional, and procured a prolongation of his government for six years after the expiration of the first term, he proceeded on his voyage to Naples.

Nothing remarkable happened during the two following years. Hostilities were carried on in a languid manner. The ruin and desolation occasioned by the war cooling the animosities of the two parties, who began to treat each other with marks of generosity, they mutually restored the captives without ransom; and when their fleets met at sea, instead of engaging, they saluted each other as friends^f. The commerce of both parties being now less interrupted, Frederic, king of Sicily, gave leave to the Guelfs to trade freely in his dominions. Castruccio, in the mean time, having repulsed the Florentines, and secured his own territories, entered the eastern Riviera, and took possession of some places belonging to the Guelfs, who were struck with consternation upon hearing that the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, had arrived in Italy. They expected that he would enter their territories with an army in behalf of the other faction. Lewis, however, having held an assembly of the Ghibellines, proceeded to Pisa, where he was received by Castruccio, whom he created a duke; and, in the end of December, carried him to Rome. Next year both parties were engaged in sending succours to their respective allies. The Guelfs, in the month of July, sent forty gallies to the assistance of Robert, king of Naples, who was apprehensive of being attacked by the emperor, in conjunction with Frederic, of Sicily, and the Ghibelline party. The Genoese exiles, at the same time, sent thirty-three gallies to the assistance of the emperor; but he being obliged to abandon Rome, and Castruccio dying, the intended expedition against Naples never took place.

A.D. 1327.

^f Steller Annal. an. 1325, 1326.

A.D. 1330.

The king of France, about this time, offered his mediation for a peace; but though each faction sent their deputies to the French court, the conferences broke off without any accommodation. A violent dissension, in the mean time, arising in the city betwixt the people and the nobles, on account of an exile who had been concealed in a nobleman's house, the nobles, finding the people supported by the Fieschi and Grimaldi, declared that they would rather deliver the city to the Ghibellines than to the mob. This dissension weakening the Guelf faction, at length made them think of a reconciliation. Accordingly, on the 1st of March,

A.D. 1331.

in the following year, a truce was agreed to betwixt both parties for four months; and, on the 2d of September, a perpetual peace was concluded by the mediation of the king of Naples. By this accommodation, it was stipulated, that the exiles should be allowed to return to the city; that the republic should be governed by the king's vicar; and all offices of the state equally divided betwixt the Guelfs and Ghibellines.

Such was the conclusion of this ruinous war, by which the Genoese coast, formerly adorned with palaces and vineyards, was now reduced to the appearance of a barren waste. So great was the general desolation, that, according to Petrarch, the spectators that sailed along were struck with astonishment and horror^g. Villani, a contemporary author, relates, that it was supposed by the learned, that greater exploits had not been performed at the siege of Troy; and that the damage and losses sustained by each party were sufficient to have purchased a kingdom, the Genoese republic, he assures us, being in his time the richest and most powerful state in Christendom^h. The annalist, Stella, informs us, that before the war, the most extravagant profusion and luxury prevailed among the Genoese; but that, towards the end of it, many noble families were reduced to poverty and indigence; so that about a hundred years afterwards it became a fashion for the nobles to live in a plain manner, without any show or magnificence.

The accommodation betwixt the two parties was in a great measure owing to their apprehension of a foreign enemy. The Catalans, who had long disturbed the Genoese trade, made preparations for invading their territories, in hopes of making advantage of the divisions of the republic,

^g Petrarch. ap Blond. dec. ii. lib. ix. p. 351.
cap. 115. ap Murator. tom. xiii.

^h Villani, lib. ix.

They actually arrived in the end of July with forty gallies at Monaco, from whence, being repulled with loss, they sailed to Savona, and from thence to Genoa, being more formidable in appearance than in reality. After having burnt a monastery, and some houses in Chiavari, and destroyed the vines at Porto Venere, they retired in September towards Pisa. The Genoese, next year, returned the visit with forty-five gallies to Catalonia, where they took and destroyed a great many of the enemy's ships, and made several descents upon the coasts. Hostilities likewise continued during the two following years, to the great detriment of the Catalans, who, in the end, were so reduced that they durst not appear at sea.

The Catalans invaded the coasts.

A.D. 1335.

Though the Genoese were now under no apprehension from any foreign enemy, yet the jealousies and animosities of the two factions prevented them from enjoying tranquillity. The Ghibellines imagined they perceived great partiality in the king's vicar towards the Guelfs, and on that account held several conferences to consult about their own security. Upon the arrival of a new vicar, of a rigid and severe disposition, the conferences of the Ghibellines became more frequent; and these served the vicar and the Guelfs with a pretext for attacking them on the 24th of February. The assailants, however, met with a vigorous resistance; and the Ghibellines, having fortified several places of the city, immediately sent to Savona, and the two Rivieras, for assistance. The moderate of both parties, with the sixteen abbots of the people, in vain endeavoured to compose the differences. The Ghibellines, who had taken arms, being soon joined by their friends from the country, obliged their enemies to abandon the city, when they behaved with great moderation, allowing the king's vicar, with his guard of one hundred and thirty horse, to depart unmolested, and prohibiting by proclamation, any of the Guelf faction from being injured, who had a mind to continue in the city. On the 9th of March, Raphael Doria, who had lately been admiral of the king of Sicily, and Galeotto Spinola, were chosen captains of the republic for two years, and the government was settled on them, and a foreign podesta, with an abbot of the people, and ancientsⁱ.

A.D. 1335.

The new governors immediately fitted out seven gallies against the Catalans, which returned a few months after with a great many ships, taken from the enemy on the

ⁱ Stellæ Annal. Foliet. lib. vii. Villani, lib. xi. cap. 24.

A.D. 1336.

*A peace be-
twixt the
Genoese
and Cata-
lans.*

coasts of Sicily, Barbary, and Catalonia. The Catalans, affected by these losses in the beginning of the following year, agreed to a truce, which soon after was converted into a treaty of peace. The Guelf exiles, in the mean time, having seized Monaco, equipped a considerable fleet, which, cruising along the coast of Italy, attacked both friends and enemies without distinction. The captains of the republic, having armed several gallies for the defence of the coasts, next year, on the 25th of March, obtained a prolongation of their government for three years, with the supreme authority, the office of podesta being dropt, and the abbot of the people left to their nomination. At this period, both parties suspending their private animosities, sent two fleets, of twenty gallies each, into the German ocean, to the assistance of the king of France, who was engaged in a war with Edward the Third, king of England.

A.D. 1339.

*The Ge-
noese in a
tumultuous
manner
create a
duke.*

This naval expedition proved very memorable to the Genoese, and was the occasion of a most remarkable revolution in their form of government. The sailors of the fleet, in the following year, thinking themselves injured by their officers, whom they accused of defrauding them of their pay, proceeded to open mutiny, and having expelled the admiral and the other commanders, seized the gallies. The king of France, who was chosen arbitrator, deciding in favour of the officers, and imprisoning sixteen of the chiefs of the mutineers, several of the sailors immediately left the fleet, and returned to Genoa, from whence they dispersed all along the coasts, repeating their mutinous complaints, which were greedily hearkened to, upon a false report that the mutineers, who had been imprisoned, were broke upon the wheel. The sailors belonging to Savona, and the three vallies of Genoa, having at length excited the resentment of the people against the nobles, about the middle of September surpris'd Savona, and committed the government of the city to two rectors of their own chusing, who were assisted with a council of twenty artificers, and as many sailors. The factious spirit spreading to Genoa, the Genoese insisted in a tumultuous manner on having an abbot of their own chusing; and twenty of the people, with the consent of the captains, assembled for that purpose. While the mob were impatiently expecting their decision, a half witted mechanic leaped up upon a bench, and called out, "Let Simon Boccanera be abbot!" He was instantly seconded by his audience, who surrounded Boccanera, and compelled him to accept of a sword, as the badge of his office. The twenty electors, terrified by their clamour, immedi-
ately

ately broke up their assembly, and joined in the common voice. Boccanera having at length quieted their clamours, thanked them for the honour they intended him; but as none of his family had condescended to be abbots, he desired them to chuse another, and returned the sword. They were now silent for a moment: then exclaimed, "Let him be our supreme ruler!" The captains, then alarmed, under pretence of preventing disturbances, begged him to acquiesce with the people. Boccanera accordingly declared, that he was ready to be abbot, or lord, or whatever they pleased, when the multitude cried out with one voice, "You shall be our lord, not abbot!" He again addressed them, and said, he perceived their intention, that he should be joint-ruler with the two captains: but they loudly answered, "No!" which being repeated several times, they at length cried out, "Let him be duke! let him be duke!" The commons, having thus transferred the government from the nobles to one of their own body, vainly imagined that they might now, without restraint, commit the greatest enormities, and immediately began to plunder the houses of the nobility; when Boccanera with great steadiness opposed their fury, and at length quieted them, by causing some of the chief rioters to be executed on the spot. A few days after, however, he connived at a second riot, when the mob burnt all the books belonging to the custom-house, and the public register of debts. He was at this time solemnly confirmed in his office for life; and fifteen counsellors, or officials, were elected from the commons, to assist him in the administration; when a decree likewise passed, disqualifying any of the Guelf faction from being elected duke^k.

Almost all the subjects of the republic quietly submitted to the new governor; but the nobility with great reluctance acknowledged his authority; and, in the following year, some of them being discovered to have entered into a conspiracy against him, were publicly executed as traitors. The Genoese, in the mean time, having been insulted by the Turks in the Black Sea, assembled all their force in those parts, and attacked the infidels, whom they entirely defeated, taking eleven of their vessels, and, according to Villani, killing six thousand of their men. This advantage was counterbalanced by the loss of six galleys, worth two hundred thousand florins, which were taken by the English on the coast of Brittany^l. As the king of Castile was at

A.D. 1340.

Some nobles who had conspired against him are put to death.

^k Idem ut supra.
pal, an. 1340.

^l Villani, lib. xi. cap. 116. Stellæ An-

this time at war with the Moors of Granada, who were assisted by the infidels in Barbary, the duke sent twenty gallies into the service of the king of Spain, under the command of his brother, whom he created an admiral. At the same time he armed another fleet for the assistance of the inhabitants of Albenga, who were attacked by the marquis of Final. He not only obliged the marquis to raise the siege; but, being a strenuous assertor of his own dignity and that of the republic, compelled him likewise to come and ask pardon at Genoa, and to deliver Final and all his castles to the republic.

A.D. 1342.

The duke was now in possession of all the territories of the republic, excepting Ventimiglia and Monaco, which were held by the four chief families of the nobles and the other exiles. Some of the family of Doria, however, next year prevailed on the inhabitants of the valley of Oneglia to revolt; but the podesta marching against them with a body of troops, they were quickly obliged to submit. The exiles, still continuing to promote disaffection, the year after several persons were discovered who had undertaken to betray Genoa, Cervi, Noli, and Taxaroli, to the lords of Milan. The traitors were put to a cruel death; and, as the exiles at Monaco had fitted out some vessels to disturb the Genoese trade, the duke, in the following spring, armed six gallies for the defence of the coasts, three of which proceeded to Monaco, where they seized one of the piratical gallies. The Genoese, in the mean time, in conjunction with the gallies of the pope and the Venetians, took Smyrna from the infidels; but in the Black Sea they suffered a great loss by the treachery of the Tartars, who, being baffled in the siege of Caffa, in Crim Tartary, pretended a desire of peace, which gave them an opportunity of surprising the Genoese, who had again ventured to trade in their dominions.

A.D. 1344.

During these transactions the exiles had assembled a considerable army, and advanced into the valley of Polseveri, with intention to besiege the city. As it was reported that many of the nobles and people favoured their design, and several towns in the valley, upon their approach expelling the podestas, the city was struck with consternation, and the duke sent to the nobility, desiring their advice and assistance. A council was accordingly formed of six nobles and six commoners, for the government of the city; but the exiles, in the mean time, advancing into the suburbs, frequent conferences were held betwixt both parties, when it was agreed that the duke should dismiss his guard of

seven

seven hundred men, and the exiles be admitted without arms into the city. Boccanera, alarmed at this treaty, after having accused the Genoese of violating their engagements to him, resigned his office; and retired to Pisa with his family and relations, taking with him, according to Villani, upwards of one hundred thousand florins of gold. On Christmas-day the hired guards departed, and the treaty was concluded; but it being perceived that the exiles, contrary to the stipulation, designed to enter the city in arms, the gates were immediately shut, and in the evening a new duke was elected, with the concurrence of the nobility. The duke, whose name was John de Murta, immediately declared that he would accept of no other revenue than what was sufficient to defray the expence of his table, and desired to be bound by articles like the duke of Venice. About a fortnight after the council for the war ordered the arms of the nobility to be delivered up, which step freeing the people from their apprehensions of a surprize, they sallied out upon the exiles, and drove them from the suburbs. The pope, and the lord of Milan, soon after offering their mediation, in the month of July a peace was concluded, by which all the exiles, excepting eleven of the chiefs, were allowed to return to Genoa, and restored to their possessions.

*Boccanera
resigns the
govern-
ment, and
retires to
Pisa.*

A.D. 1345.

Several of the exiles disdained to accept of these terms and still keeping possession of Monaco and Roccabruna, in the following year armed thirty gallies, and assembled a body of ten thousand foot. The Genoese, being informed of these preparations, fitted out twenty-nine gallies by private subscription; but the exiles, instead of hazarding an engagement, ordered their fleet to retire to Marseilles, and afterwards allowed their forces to sail to the assistance of the king of France against the English in Flanders, from whence they never returned, the greatest part of them being slain in the battle of Cressy. The fleet of the republic, returning from Monaco, proceeded on a voyage to the Black Sea, to protect the Genoese merchants in those parts. On their way thither they obliged the count of Fondi to raise the siege of Terracina, which city voluntarily submitted to the republic. From thence they sailed to the island Negropont, where they were solicited, by the dauphin of Vienne, to join him in an expedition against the isle of Chios, which the Greek emperor, according to Stella, had lately taken from the Genoese, though at that time it was held independent either of Genoa or Constantinople. The Genoese

A.D. 1346.

*The Geno-
ese reduce
the island of
Chios,*

immediately

diately to Chios, which he quickly reduced: he afterwards made himself master of both the Fozizæ, on the Asiatic coast, though there was a large army of Turks in the neighbourhood; and on the 9th of November returned with great reputation to Genoa, where a decree passed, appropriating all the revenues of the conquered places, for twenty years, to those who had fitted out the galleys, ordaining likewise, that if the debt was not paid before that term, they should enjoy the revenues for ever; but that the sovereignty should be vested in the republic. The Genoese were not disturbed either with foreign or domestic wars, during the remaining part of the government of this duke, who died about four years after, in the beginning of January, greatly regretted on account of his disinterestedness and public spirit.

A.D. 1350.

*A new war
with the
Venetians.*

A few days after the death of John de Murta, the merchants assembled in the church of St. George, and chose in his place, John de Valente, who was assisted by a council composed of an equal number of nobles and commoners. One Luke Facio had assembled two thousand men in another part of the city, with the design of usurping the government by force; but being informed of the election of Valente, he dismissed his followers, and came and submitted to the duke. A few months after his election, a new war broke out betwixt the republic and the Venetians, the causes of which are not mentioned by the Genoese annalists; but the Venetians relate, that they were obliged to fit out a fleet to vindicate their liberty of commerce in the Black Sea, where the Genoese had seized a great many of their ships. This fleet, which consisted of thirty-five galleys, upon their arrival at Negropont, found fourteen Genoese trading vessels in the harbour of Castro, ten of which they immediately seized, and instead of entering the Black Sea returned to Venice. About two months after, four of the Genoese ships that had escaped, being joined by five others at Chios, returned to Castro, which they took by storm and plundered, carrying off with them next day twenty-three Venetian ships.

The war, having thus commenced without any formal declaration, the Venetians immediately entered into an alliance with the king of Arragon, and the emperor of Constantinople, against the Genoese; and the year following, in the end of October, each of the allies sent a fleet to sea, which when united consisted of eighty-nine sail, forty-five of which belonged to the Venetians, and thirty to the Catalans. The Genoese fleet, of sixty-six galleys, in the mean

time

time had failed to the Archipelago, and after an unsuccessful attempt upon Negropont, proceeded to Pera, where, on the 9th of March, they came to a general engagement with the enemy, which continued during the whole night with great animosity, notwithstanding a furious wind and heavy rain. The Venetian writers say, that neither party could claim the victory; but the Genoese relate that it was decisive in their favour, they having lost only about seven hundred men, whereas the Venetians and Catalans lost four thousand. In the beginning of the engagement they lost thirteen gallies; but recovered ten of them afterwards, and took thirty Venetian and eighteen Catalan vessels, the Greeks remaining only distant spectators of the action^m.

A.D. 1352.

The Genoese defeat the united fleets of the Venetians, Greeks, and Catalans.

The following year was likewise memorable for another general naval engagement off Sardinia; in which the Genoese, on the 28th of August, were entirely defeated by the superior fleet of the allies, and lost forty-one of their gallies. Upon the return of the nineteen that remained to Genoa, the city was filled with terror and confusion. The two opposite factions with great animosity threw the blame of the miscarriage on each other; so that the council, being apprehensive of a civil war, thought proper to confer the government of the republic on John Visconti, archbishop and lord of Milan (E). John de Valente accordingly resigned his office; and the tumults being quieted by the arrival of the marquis Palavicini, the archbishop's vicar, the Genoese again applied themselves to repair their fleet. In the following spring, they gave the command of thirty-five gallies to Paganus Doria, who had distinguished himself by the victory off Pera. The admiral, having cruised along the coast of Catalonia, entered the Venetian Gulf, and sailed as far as Istria, plundering Parenzo, and taking

A.D. 1353.

They are defeated by the Venetians.

^m Stellæ Annal. an. 1352. Chron. Venet. Andr. Dand. Foliet, lib. 7.

(E) The annalist Stella relates, that the archbishop made the Genoese a present of a curious machine, which, by striking a bell, distinguished every hour of the day and night. About the same time, Francis

Gataluxi, a noble Genoese, having assisted the Greek emperor, Palæologus, to expel the usurper Cantacuzenus, received the emperor's sister in marriage, and the island of Lesbos, or Mytelene, for himself and his posterity (1).

(1) Stellæ, an. 1355.

many

A.D. 1355. many of the enemy's ships. In his return, on the 4th of November, he surprised the Venetian fleet in a harbour on the coast of the Morea, and, with little resistance, made himself master of thirty-five gallies, and thirty-four smaller vessels, carrying with him to Genoa five thousand four hundred prisoners, among whom was the Venetian admiralⁿ. This loss so affected the Venetians, that they made proposals of peace, which, by the mediation of Mapheo, Bernabo, and Galeas Visconti, the nephews of the late archbishop, was concluded on the 1st of June; when, according to the Venetian chronicle, the navigation of the Black Sea was declared free to each republic. A few weeks before, the Genoese had sent fifteen gallies against the African corsairs, which fleet took and plundered Tripoli, and returned to Genoa with an immense booty, and a great number of captives.

Peace concluded.

ⁿ Chron. Venet. Stellæ Annal.

SECT.

S E C T. III.

Successive Wars with the Venetians, the Moors, and the Saracens; and great Disturbances and Revolutions of the Government in Genoa.

THE peace with the Venetians was soon followed by another revolution in Genoa, owing to the ambition of the Visconti, who attempted to exceed the terms of the convention with the republic. One of the nobles, who had been most active in opposing their demands, being summoned to appear at Milan, instead of obeying the command, spirited up the nobles to take arms against the governor, who, however, was vigorously defended by the people. During their skirmish, Simon Boccanera, who had returned from Pisa, attacked the governor's palace with two hundred men, whom he had persuaded to support his private interest. According to Folietta, the people who opposed the nobles acted in concert with Boccanera, who, being admitted into the palace, immediately ordered the alarm-bell to be rung, an expedient which strengthened his party, and obliged the nobles to retire. Next day, which was the 15th of November, Simon was again in a tumultuous manner chosen duke; when he banished the most wealthy and powerful of the nobles, ordered those that remained to deliver up their arms, and ordained, that, for the future, no nobleman should enjoy any office in the commonwealth, or command any galley, or trading vessel. He likewise concluded an alliance with the marquis of Montferrat against the Visconti; and appointing his brother general of the troops, carried hostilities into the Milanese, even almost to the gates of Milan. During the five following years, he governed the republic in great tranquillity, assisted by Nicholas de Caneto, a wealthy Guelf commoner, and Leonard de Montaldo, a Ghibelline, of a very active disposition, who had raised his fortune in his service. However, in the year following, a conspiracy against him was discovered, in which many of the commons, as well as nobles, were concerned. The conspirators were banished into Lombardy; but a few weeks after, a second conspiracy taking air, one of the conspirators, who was to have been elected duke, was publicly beheaded before the palace. Notwithstanding this vigilance and severity, the duke, a few months after, was cut off by poison, which was administered to him at

A.D. 1356.

*Boccanera
again cho-
sen duke.*

A.D. 1363.

*He is poi-
soned.*

the country-seat of one of the nobles, where he dined with the king of Cyprus, who had come to Europe to ask the assistance of the Christian princes against the Turks.

*Gabriel
Adorno cho-
sen duke.*

Upon the death of Boccanera, his three brothers were immediately imprisoned, and the people proceeded to the election of a successor. They at first chose twenty citizens, who elected sixty more: these sixty nominated forty, by whom twenty-one were elected, who chose ten electors. These last ten, on the same day, made choice of Gabriel Adorno, a commoner of the Ghibelline faction, as duke, who had acquired great reputation for prudence and disinterestedness; but this last part of his character he soon forfeited. Next day six counsellors were elected to assist in the administration; and the late duke, who by his arbitrary behaviour had lost his popularity, was buried without any funeral pomp. The nobility being still excluded from all offices, many of them enrolled themselves as commoners; but the four chief noble families, with many others who were in exile, formed new designs for recovering their ancient grandeur, in concert with the nobles in the city, and having entered into an alliance with the Visconti of Milan, two years after, invaded the territories of the republic.

A.D. 1366.

The marquis of Final at the same time revolted, but was quickly obliged to submit; and the rebels were repulsed from Sassello by the troops of the republic, commanded by the duke's son-in-law. Ambrose Visconti, however, in the beginning of December, advanced as far as Chiavari; and the Guelphs in the city prompted one Leonardo de Montalto, to raise an insurrection. Leonardo's attempt upon the palace proving fruitless, he was obliged to fly to Pisa; and his retreat in some measure disconcerted the schemes of the rebels under Visconti, who, nevertheless, in the following spring, advanced into the valley of Bisagno, and even to the walls of the city. Leonardo, at the same time, joining them with reinforcements from Pisa, they surrounded the city on all sides; so that the duke was fain to enter into a treaty with the Visconti, to whom he promised to pay yearly four thousand crowns of gold, to furnish them with four hundred cross-bowmen, and to allow the exiles to return to Genoa.

Though by this treaty tranquillity was again restored, yet Adorno, by his avarice and extortion, soon alienated the affections of the people, and gave occasion for new disturbances. About four years after they assembled in the church of St. Mary, with the two vicars of the city, and from thence, in a tumultuous manner, rushed to the palace, the gates

gates of which they immediately set fire to, a circumstance which obliged the duke to retire with precipitation by a private passage. The people, being masters of the palace, chose Dominic Fulgosio for duke, who was assisted by a council of commoners. The new duke, in order to secure his dignity, in the following year, imprisoned Gabriel Adorno in the castle of Vultabio, and ordered two citizens, who were accused of conspiring against the government, to be beheaded before the palace. About the same time, he sent ten gallies against the pirates of the island of Malta, and the city of Mazaria in Sicily, who were quickly extirpated by the Genoese, and all their stores and wealth carried to Genoa.

A.D. 1370.

He is expelled from the palace. Dominic Fulgosio chosen duke.

Next year, a rupture happened betwixt the republic and the Cypriots, owing to a dispute about precedency betwixt the Venetian bajulus and the Genoese consul, at the coronation of the young king of Cyprus. Each nation supported their claim in a tumultuous manner; but the dispute being decided, by the king's uncles, in favour of the Venetians, the Genoese resolved to assert their right by open force, and for that purpose came to the palace next day, with arms under their cloaths. The Venetians, having secret notice of their intention, accused them of a design against the king's life; and the arms being found upon them, they were immediately put to death without any trial, which was likewise the fate of all the other Genoese in the island, except one who escaped grievously wounded. The republic, inflamed with resentment against the Cypriots and Venetians, decreed a large fleet to revenge the indignity, and in the mean time sent seven gallies to Cyprus, under the command of Domianus Cantancus, who sailed from Genoa in March, and upon his arrival at the island alarmed the Cypriots, by his frequent descents upon their coasts. He cunningly created factions and divisions among the nobles, by plundering and burning the estates of some, and sparing those of others. He took Nicosia, and a few days after made himself master of Paphos.

A.D. 1372.

A rupture betwixt the Genoese and the Cypriots.

The duke, in the mean time, made great preparations at Genoa for the conquest of the island: he raised, by a general tax, about one hundred and four thousand florins, and equipped thirty gallies, and a great number of transport-ships, on board of which was embarked a large body of horse and foot, with many large battering engines. This fleet, in which were many noble volunteers, arrived at Cy-

A D. 1373.

prus in the beginning of October, under the command of Peter Fulgosio, the duke's brother, who, in a few days, made himself master of Famagosta, the capital of the island, when he ordered some of the grandees, concerned in the massacre of the Genoese, to be put to death. He soon after reduced the whole island, and took one of the king's uncles, with two sons of another uncle, and sixty nobles and knights, prisoners. He afterwards restored all his conquests, except Famagosta, to the king, who promised to pay annually, for a certain term of years, forty thousand florins to the Genoese. As a security for the performance of the treaty, the king's uncle and his two cousins above mentioned, with several nobles, were sent on board sixteen galleys to Genoa. The admiral continued a year longer at Cyprus, when appointing a garrison in Famagosta, and leaving five galleys for the defence of the island, he set sail for Genoa, where he was received with the greatest honours. A present was made him of ten thousand florins; he and his eldest sons were exempted from all taxes during their lives; and an anniversary solemnity was appointed to be held on the 10th of October, the day on which Famagosta surrendered.

A.D. 1376.

The Genoese seem now to have claimed the exclusive privilege of trading to Cyprus^o; and, the following year, appear to have intended also to appropriate to themselves the trade with the Greeks. It was probably with this view that they espoused the interest of Andronicus, who had been imprisoned for a conspiracy against his father Palæologus, or Calojoannes, emperor of Constantinople. The old emperor favouring the Venetians, the Genoese entered into a correspondence with Andronicus, and by force placed him upon the throne, persuading him likewise to give his beautiful sister as a concubine to the Turkish bey, to procure his friendship. Calojoannes with his empress and children were thrust into prison, and all the Venetian merchants at Constantinople were plundered and imprisoned. The Genoese, as a reward for their services, obtained the island of Tenedos from the usurper; but the Greek governor, being faithful to the dethroned emperor, at his desire surrendered the island to the Venetians, by whose assist-

^o Andrea Dand. Chron. Venet, apud Murator. tom. xii. col. 443.

ance, the following year, he was again restored to his throne ^p.

Hostilities, in the mean time, had commenced betwixt both republics. The Genoese had concluded an alliance with the king of Hungary, the duke of Austria, the lord of Padua, and the patriarch of Aquileia; while the Venetians entered into a treaty with Bernabo Visconti, of Milan, and the young king of Cyprus, who married Bernabo's daughter Valentina. The bride, the year after, was conducted by twelve gallies to Cyprus, which fleet likewise gave assistance to the king, who for several months had been besieging Famagosta, in conjunction with the Venetians. The Genoese, being wholly intent upon prosecuting the war, granted a pardon to all the exiles, and sent ten gallies to the relief of Famagosta, which, however, in their passage, venturing to attack fourteen Venetian gallies, were entirely defeated, with the loss of five of their number. The marquis of Final, in the mean time, by the persuasion of the Visconti, revolted from the republic, and seized Albenga, Noli, and the castle of Final.

A.D. 1377.

*A war
betwixt
them and
the Venetians.*

A.D. 1378.

These losses filled the city of Genoa with murmuring and confusion, which inspired several of the wealthy and ambitious citizens with the design of causing a revolution. They therefore increased the panic, by publishing false intelligence. Having written to the duke, that the Visconti were passing the Apennines with a powerful army, and that the Venetians had arrived with a numerous fleet at Porto Venere, they procured an order for the people to arm, and next morning, being the 17th of June, attacked the palace and seized the duke. Nicolas Guarco was immediately chosen his successor, who having selected one half of his council from the nobles, subscribed, according to custom, the articles of capitulation, by which Fulgoso, and his brother Peter, though accused of no misconduct, were condemned to perpetual banishment. The new duke concluded a peace with the Catalans, and recovered Albenga, and the other places seized by the marquis of Final; while Luca Doria, who was appointed admiral in chief, sailed with seventeen gallies into the Venetian gulf, and being joined by three others

^p Blond. dec. ii. lib. x. Nebiens. Hist. Gen. Folliet. Stel-
læ Annal, ut supra. Sabel. dec. ii. lib. 5. Justin. Hist. Venet.
lib. v.

at Zara, or Jadra, took several ships of the enemy. The Venetian authors mention only the transactions of their own fleet, which, about the same time, made several descents upon the coasts of Dalmatia, then under the dominion of the Hungarians.

A.D. 1379.

The Genoese gain a signal victory over the Venetians.

Next year, on the 5th of May, the two fleets came to a general engagement off Pola in Istria, when the Genoese obtained a complete victory, and took fifteen of the enemy's galleys, with two thousand four hundred prisoners, whom they conducted to Zara. The particulars of the action are narrated differently by the historians of each republic; but they all agree that the victory was decisive in favour of the Genoese, who, however, lost their admiral Doria, whose death was greatly regretted. Victor Pisani, the Venetian admiral, escaping to Venice with six galleys, was immediately imprisoned. The Genoese, after their rejoicings for the victory, sent Peter Doria as admiral, with a reinforcement of fifteen galleys to Zara, who was soon after joined by nine others, which, in their passage, had forced a small Venetian squadron to retire from their coasts. The new admiral, in the beginning of August, sailed from Zara with forty-seven galleys, and many other smaller vessels, and, coasting along Dalmatia, plundered several towns belonging to the enemy. On the 16th of the month, being joined by the Paduan troops and vessels, he stormed and took Chioggia, situated on a small island commanding one of the entrances of the Venetian harbour, though strongly fortified, and garrisoned with upwards of three thousand men.

They besiege the city of Venice.

The loss of this place struck the Venetians with consternation. They buried their most valuable effects, and amused the Genoese admiral with an offer of peace, while they sunk a large vessel in the chief channel, and armed a great many boats with a small cannon in each, which was the first appearance of that destructive engine in Italy. The Aquileians and Paduans, in the mean time, cut off all supplies from the city by land, and the Hungarians, under Charles of Durazzo, attacked Trieste. The Genoese admiral, by insisting on extravagant terms, is said to have rendered the Venetians desperate, and by his too great confidence to have lost the opportunity of taking the city. He continued the siege, however, some months, while the Genoese surprised and cut off four thousand freebooters sent into their territory by the Visconti; and by their vigorous efforts in the Archipelago, obliged the Greeks to conclude

a separate peace. In the following year, about the middle of January, they sent a reinforcement of thirteen galleys to Doria, under the command of Matteo Maruffi. Before his arrival, however, Doria was killed by a cannon-ball, and the Venetians, being assisted by the English, drove the Genoese from one of the islands which they had seized, destroyed upwards of twenty of their galleys, and cut off the retreat of the others, by stopping up the channel. By this expedient, the Genoese, who were in Chioggia, were in their turn besieged, and on the 22d of June obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The enterprize against Venice proving thus unsuccessful, the Genoese, with the galleys that remained, sailed from thence, and took Capo d'Istria, Pola, and some other places on that coast. They were soon, however, obliged to retire, the Venetians becoming masters of the gulf.

A.D. 1380.

But are obliged to retire with loss.

During these transactions the Genoese had repulsed a body of horse, which had advanced as far as the valley of Polseveri, and likewise defeated several exiles who had attempted to approach the city with some forces, in hopes of causing a revolution. While the duke's brother was employed in expelling the rebels from the eastern Riviera, the remains of the fleet from Venice, in the beginning of January, entered the harbour of Genoa, bringing home with them only a few relics, as the fruits of all their dangers and fatigues. All parties being now weary of the war, they submitted to the mediation of the count of Savoy, by whose endeavours, on the 8th of August, a treaty was concluded betwixt the two republics and their respective allies, excepting Bernabo Visconti, lord of Milan. It was agreed, that the castle of Tenedos should be demolished, and that no settlement should ever be established in the island by either republic. The Venetian governor, however, absolutely refusing to evacuate the island, the Genoese, next year, sequestered all the merchandize in their territories belonging to the Florentines, who had guaranteed the performance of the treaty, under a penalty of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats. The Venetians, having at length compelled the governor to submit, the fortresses of the island were demolished in the presence of a Genoese syndic, and the goods of the Florentines were restored.

A.D. 1381.

A peace betwixt the two republics.

In a few months after the peace, the factions in the city revived, and tumults succeeding, the duke, on the 6th of April, was forced to abandon the palace, which was im-

A.D. 1383.

*Dreadful
diffusions
at Genoa.*

mediately possessed by two different parties, who chose no less than three dukes. Next day, however, two of them resigned in favour of Leonardo de Montalto, a lawyer, who had promoted the disturbances; and, in order to prevail with the people to acquiesce in his favour, promised to resign the dignity in six months. This new duke acted with great prudence and moderation. He granted a pardon to his predecessor, with full liberty to return to Genoa: he lessened the taxes; and, as the young king of Cyprus had died some time before, he entered into a treaty with his uncle, who remained a hostage in Genoa, and was declared his successor. The new king, having granted Famagosta to the Genoise in perpetuity, and stipulated to pay a large annual tribute to the republic, embarked with his queen and retinue on board of ten galleys, and on the 2d of June sailed for Cyprus. Montalto, at the end of the six months, seemed to have forgot his promise of resigning the government; but his administration proved so equitable, that he was even respected by all parties, and honoured also by foreign princes.

A.D. 1384.

While he seemed thus firmly established in the government, he was seized with an epidemical fever; and, after three days illness, died on the 14th of June. As many people had fled from Genoa, on account of this contagious distemper, which carried off about nine hundred people weekly, Antoniotto Adorno, next day, was chosen duke without any disturbance. He at first followed the footsteps of his predecessor, retained his retinue and guards, and confirmed the same counsellors and rectors; but, in the beginning of the following year, he imprisoned the late duke,

A.D. 1385.

Nicholas Guarco, who had been betrayed into his hands by the marquisses of Final. Being of an aspiring disposition, he formed a design of making himself mediator in the grand schism of the church; and, in hopes of establishing the pope's court at Genoa, offered his assistance to Urban the Sixth, who was then closely besieged by the king of Naples, at Nocera. Urban, accordingly, being conducted to Genoa, about the middle of September, by ten galleys, Adorno immediately wrote to the emperor, and to other Christian princes, desiring to be appointed their vicar, or proxy in terminating the schism; but his request was rejected by all those potentates. Urban mortgaged some revenues of the bishoprick of Albenga for the payment of sixty thousand crowns expended in fitting out the fleet that brought him from Naples, and granted indulgences to those who visited

*Pope Urban VI. at
Genoa.*

visited the church of St. Laurence in Genoa, as extensive as those pertaining to the church of St. Mark in Venice: The duke, however, not humouring his morose disposition as he expected, he, next year, left Genoa, and went to Lucca.

Soon after the departure of Urban, a conspiracy was discovered against the duke. Francis Raphael and Leonard Justiniani, the sons of Garibald, who were the chief conspirators, immediately fled; but several others being apprehended, were put to the torture, fined in about eight thousand florins, and then transported to the distant provinces. Mean while, intelligence being received that the king of Tunis was making preparations for attacking Genoa, the duke fitted out twelve gallies for an expedition against the Moors; and three others being equipped for Manfred Chiaramonte, admiral of Sicily, the fleet, about Midsummer, sailed under the command of the duke's brother to Africa, being joined also by five Pisan gallies in Manfred's pay. Having reduced the island of Gerbæ, or Zerbi, on the African coast, the Genoese resigned their share of the conquest to Manfred, for which they received thirty-six thousand florins. Antoniotò, encouraged by this success, exerted himself with greater activity; and the following year, having prevailed with Charles the Sixth of France to engage in an expedition against the Moors of Africa, he fitted out forty gallies, with twenty large transports, and about the middle of December, gave the command of the fleet to John Centurio, his relation. Many of the English nobility likewise engaged with great ardour in this expedition against the infidels. A truce then subsisting betwixt that kingdom and France, they joined the French noblesse and other forces under the command of the duke of Bourbon, the king's uncle, and marched with them to Genoa, where they embarked, and on the 22d of July landed in Africa, the English archers obliging the Moorish army to abandon the shore. They directly invested Tunis; but the city being strongly garrisoned, and their army greatly distressed by the sudden incursions of the Moorish light horse, they gladly hearkened to the offers of accommodation made by the infidels, and concluded a treaty with them; by which the Moors engaged not to make any descents on the coasts of Italy or France, or on the islands of the Mediterranean; not to molest the Christian traders; to pay forth-

A.D. 1387.

*Expedition
against
Tunis.*

A.D. 1388.

A.D. 1390.

with ten thousand crowns of gold, and to restore all the Christian captives⁹.

*Antoniotto
abdicates
the govern-
ment*

A.D. 1391.

Before the fleet sailed from Genoa, Antoniotto had discovered a new conspiracy against himself. Not thinking it safe to irritate his rivals too much, he only obliged the conspirators and their friends to give security for their future fidelity, and banished them the city; but a few months after, finding that he had in a great measure lost his popularity, and that his rivals were acquiring more influence, in the beginning of August he embarked privately at his villa in the suburbs, and abandoned the government. Upon the news of his abdication, the people immediately ran to arms; but recovering from their surprize, on the same day they elected James Fulgosio, whose father had lately been duke. Antoniotto soon repenting of his precipitate flight, in the beginning of the following year, came by sea to Sesto, according to Folietta, desiring to be admitted into the city as a private citizen; which request was denied. Stella, however, relates, that he was driven back from Sesto by bad weather: and that he then formed a design, with the marquisses of Final, of recovering the government of the republic by force. The news of his preparations greatly alarmed the friends of the duke; but he himself appeared insensible of the danger, and made no preparations of defence. Antoniotto, on the 5th of April, entered the city without opposition, and next day, being again declared duke, took possession of the palace, and entertained his predecessor at dinner. A few months after, however, he was again in hazard of being expelled, having provoked the inhabitants of Savona to revolt, by giving assistance to those of Signo, with whom they were then at war. To silence the murmurs of the Genoese, he proceeded to violent measures, and caused two of the seditious demagogues to be put to death. Some other examples of the same nature being made next year, the disturbances increased. Antoniotto having by open force in vain endeavoured to suppress the revolters, on the 16th of June was, at length, obliged to abandon the palace to Antony de Montalto, who was created duke with loud acclamations, though then only twenty three years of age.

A.D. 1392.

⁹ Stellæ Annal. an. 1389, 1390. Paul. Æmil. lib. ix. in fin. Nebiens. lib. iv. Foliet. lib. ix. Froissart. tom. iv. cap. 13. Juvenal, in Carol. VI.

The confusion and tumults were augmented by this revolution, and, the year after, began to spread into the neighbouring vallies, where the Guelfs and Ghibellines with great animosity destroyed each other's possessions. Antoniotto, being in hopes of recovering his dignity, appeared with an armed force before the city in the beginning of June, but was repulsed with considerable loss. The territories of the republic were now filled with anarchy and disorder, and the citizens were all in arms, and divided into several factions; one of which, on the 15th of July, expelled Montalto from the palace, and chose Peter Fulgosio, as duke, who, in the evening, thought proper to resign his dignity to his more powerful competitor Clement de Premontorio. Next day, however, the people declared, that they would accept of neither, and began to propose that the administration should be committed to the lord of Milan, or some other foreign prince. At length, ten electors chose Francis Justiniani duke for one year. Hostilities, nevertheless, still continuing in the city, suburbs, and neighbouring fortresses on the mountains, Justiniani, on the last of August, resigned the government, when Antoniotto, in the afternoon, broke into the city with five thousand men, and was immediately joined by two thousand friends in arms. After a long and bloody dispute he was repulsed that same evening, by the followers of Antony de Montalto, who was next day chosen duke for life. The malcontents of the valley of Bisagno, with the other two vallies, on the 1st of January, however, openly took arms against him; but about two months after they were forced to submit. Many of the Guelfs still continued in open rebellion; but, instead of attacking the city, assaulted the Ghibellines, who were followers of Antoniotto, and exiles as well as themselves. His friends in the vallies and suburbs renewing their hostilities, Montalto, seeing himself surrounded with difficulties, on the 24th of May, at night, left the city, and abandoned the government. Next day the ten electors chose Nicholas Zoalio for duke, who being opposed by Adorno, Guarco Fulgosio, Montalto, and their friends, about three months after resigned his dignity. Upon his resignation the other competitors again filled the city with tumults and violence. On the 3d of September, Antoniotto Adorno was again chosen duke, by dint of artful intrigues, which disgusted all the nobility.

A.D. 1393.

Great tumults in Genoa and its territory.

A.D. 1394.

By

*The French
invade the
territories
of the re-
public.*

By these continual dissensions the power of the republic began at length sensibly to decline, a circumstance which excited the watchful ambition of the French, who attempted to make a conquest of its territory : they were, indeed, invited by some of the family of Doria, who, in conjunction with the marquisses of Final, conducted the French forces into the western Riviera. The invaders immediately seized Diano ; but finding more difficulty in the enterprize than they expected, they soon after abandoned the place, and in the end of the year evacuated the Genoese territories^r. This invasion, however, did not suspend the civil dissensions ; for hostilities continued during the whole following year betwixt the duke and the adherents of Montalto and Guarco. Some of the Grimaldi, at the same time, seized the castle of Monaco, which, with Porto Fino and Porto Venere, became the head quarters of the Guelfs, who, without joining the faction of Montalto, declared themselves equal enemies to the duke. Antoniotto, had privately favoured the French invasion ; and the following year, finding the power of his rivals increasing in consequence of the succours they received from Galeas Visconti of Milan, while cardinal Fieschi, who had been general of the papal forces, arrived on the coast with twelve gallies to the assistance of the Guelfs, to put an end, if possible, to all their divisions, he resolved to give the dominion of the city and republic to the French king. Having consulted with the nobles and commoners of both factions in the city, and with cardinal Fieschi, who declared himself the protector of the Guelfs, with their consent he sent an embassy to France, with an offer of the sovereignty of the republic. Accordingly, on the 25th of October, articles were agreed to betwixt the duke and council and the French deputies ; by which the king of France and his successors were declared lords of Genoa, and all its territories, saving the rights of the empire. It was besides stipulated, that the king's vicar, not an Italian, should govern according to the laws of the republic, with the advice of the council ; and in all deliberations should have two votes, and be allowed a yearly revenue of about seven thousand florins ; that the council should consist of an equal number of nobles and commoners of both factions, not less than six persons of each,

A.D. 1396.

*The sovereignty of
the republic conferred on the
king of
France.*

^r Stellæ Annal. an. 1394. Foliet. lib. ix.

who might give a decisive sentence even in the absence of the governor, in which case a Ghibelline should be president; that the king should have no authority to impose taxes on the Genoese; and when he should require any ships or troops from them, he should pay them out of his royal revenues; that the Genoese should reckon the friends and enemies of the king likewise their friends and enemies, excepting only the Greek emperor and the king of Cyprus; that the king should defend the republic against all its enemies, and recover all the territories and rights it had lost within four years and four months; for which purpose ten of the chief castles of the republic should be garrisoned with French soldiers, to be paid by the Genoese¹.

About four weeks after this transaction, Antoniotto made a solemn resignation of the government to the French deputies; but was, however, allowed to act as a vicar till the following March, when the French governor arrived with two hundred horse, and a considerable body of foot. Before the conclusion of this treaty with the French, the inhabitants of Savona had put themselves under the protection of the duke of Orleans, who now resigned his right to the king; but for some weeks the Savonese refused to acknowledge the new governor: they, however, submitted in the end of April. Guarco and Montalto, with their followers, likewise acknowledging the governor, tranquillity was quickly restored through all the Genoese territories; and, in order to prevent future disturbances, a captain of justice was appointed, whose authority in punishing delinquents was not restricted by the laws. As the plague was brought this summer to Genoa in a Turkish ship, and raged dreadfully in the city, the governor in the end of the year appointed a lieutenant, and returned to Paris. A.D. 1397.

Next summer the inhabitants of the three vallies took arms, under pretence that the king's vicar acted with partiality in favour of the Guelphs. Having surprised the city, they were immediately joined by the Ghibellines, who barricaded all the streets in their possession, and for several weeks daily assaulted the other party, obliging the French governor at length to retire to Savona. Each party sent for auxiliaries from the country; but Gaspar Costa arriving A.D. 1398.

An insurrection against the French governor.

¹ Stellæ Annal.

with

with three Neapolitan gallees, in his way to France with the pope's legate, prevailed on both to agree to an accommodation. About a fortnight after, hostilities were renewed with greater fury, each party setting fire to the houses of their adversaries. Peace was again embraced by both for a few days, when they ardently renewed their hostilities, which were followed by a third accommodation. This was again interrupted; but at length, on the 5th of September, a total cessation of arms was agreed to, which was confirmed by the king's governor. Though very few were killed during these tumults, yet the damage done to the city was computed at a million of florins.

A.D. 1399.

A few weeks after these commotions, Colard de Callaville, one of the French king's counsellors, arrived as governor; but, in the beginning of May, he was likewise obliged to abandon the palace, to shun the fury of some of the populace, who had taken arms because the nobles were admitted into the council of state. The chiefs of the Ghibellines protected the governor; and, to appease the tumult, the council of ancients was new modelled, and composed wholly of commoners. However, at the following election, the nobles were again admitted into that council; but, to prevent the people from murmuring, on the 1st of December a new council was appointed, consisting of four tradesmen, called priors of the arts, with twelve artificers as assistants, upon whose deliberation the governor and council of the ancients had a negative. This new council was empowered to propose all matters for the public good to the governor, and was invested with the supreme direction of the city militia, who took the oath of fidelity to the priors, exclusive of all others. A few weeks

A.D. 1400.

after, some of the people attempted to expel the French governor; and about the middle of January raised such a tumult in the city, that he was obliged to abandon the palace. After the city had remained about ten days without a governor, the people chose Baptist Boccanera who took the title of captain of the king's guard. His authority, however, was disregarded by the factions, who continued skirmishing with each other, and about two months after, he also abandoned the palace, when the city was again deprived of all government. In a few days, Baptist de Franchis succeeded to the magistracy; but being unable to quell the tumults, quickly resigned. Many assemblies of
the

the moderate citizens, mean time, were held for restoring tranquillity, and in the end of October, de Franchis was again chosen governor; but acting with too great zeal in repressing the disorders, the people again took arms against him, and were with difficulty quieted. A few months after, a council of eight citizens being appointed, he was deposed by them, and the government committed to Antony Justiniani and George Adorno, till the arrival of a new governor from France.

A.D. 1401.

On the last day of October, John le Meingle, surnamed Boucicard, a marshal of France, of great reputation, entered Genoa as governor, attended by one thousand horse and foot. Two days after he ordered Baptift Boccanera and Baptift de Franchis to be seized, and sentenced them both to be beheaded in the evening before the palace, for having usurped the government without the king's permission. Boccanera was accordingly beheaded; but the guards who attended the execution, fearing to be assaulted by the populace, were thrown into disorder, so that de Franchis, though his hands were tied, made his escape. Boucicard, by this example of severity, having struck a terror into all offenders, published a general pardon, from which seven persons only were excepted: he declared, however, that the rebels who should be found guilty of the slightest crime, should be punished for their former rebellion; and, on this pretence, the following year executed several malcontents in the city and the valley of Bisagno. At the same time he ordered all the arms in the city and three vallies, excepting the swords and the common bows, to be brought to the palace: he likewise abolished the priors of the arts, established several taxes, prohibited the people from holding assemblies, and sent three gallies to the relief of Famagosta, which was then besieged by the king of Cyprus, assisted by a Catalan fleet. Having restored order and tranquillity, he became at length so acceptable to the Genoese, that they sent an embassy to the king, and by their intreaties obtained that he should continue governor during life^t.

A.D. 1402.

Tranquillity re-established.

The Genoese settled at Pera, mean while, at the desire of Tamerlane, erected his standard. After his victory over Bajazet, however, he reduced Smyrna, and Old and New

^t Idem ibid. Nebiens. lib. v. Foliet. lib. ix.

A.D. 1403.

*The Greek
emperor
asks the
assistance of
the Geno-
ese.*

Fozia for which the Genoese annalist assigns no reason; but, according to Niem, the governor of Smyrna had refused to raise the standard of the Tartars^u. The Greek emperor Emanuel, who was then in France, soliciting assistance against the Turks, hearing of the victory of Tamerlane, arrived at Genoa, in his way to Constantinople; and having obtained a present of three thousand florins from the Genoese, prevailed on them to fit out three galleys to act against the Turks in the Archipelago.

After his departure, Boucicard resolved to sail in person, with a powerful fleet against the king of Cyprus. Having sent a new governor to Corsica, which now quietly submitted to the Genoese, he set sail on the 4th of April, with nine galleys, a large galleon and transport, and seven ships; and, upon his arrival at Cyprus, obliged the king to agree to a peace, and to pay all the expences of the expedition. He steered from thence to Cilicia, obliging the lord of Candelorum to agree to a perpetual alliance with the French and Genoese. He afterwards plundered Berytus; but an epidemical sickness seizing his fleet, he set sail for Genoa, being joined by a galley from Chios, and another belonging to the knights of Rhodes. Upon his arrival at the Morea, he fell in with a Venetian fleet of thirteen galleys; which, after accompanying him for some time, at length attacked him, and, after a sharp dispute, took three of his galleys, losing, however, one of their own. The Venetian writers accuse the Genoese of committing the first hostilities; but Boucicard, in the following year, wrote to the doge and Venetian admiral, throwing the blame of the violation of the peace upon them, and offering to justify himself by single combat^w. During his absence some malcontents in the vallies had openly revolted against his lieutenant; and Casanus Doria and Baptist de Franchis had the temerity to publish a manifesto, declaring war against the republic. Upon his return the commotions were quieted, and a few months after the peace was renewed with the Venetians.

A.D. 1404.

About the same time Boucicard was put in possession of the castle of Leghorn, by Gabriel Visconti, lord of Pisa;

^u Theod. a Niem, de Schism.

^w Stellæ Annal. an. 1403. Foliet. lib. ix. Chron. Venet. ap Murator. tom. xii. col. 517. Nebiens. lib. iv. Sabel. dec. ii. lib. viii. Justin. lib. vi.

who,

who, imitating the Genoese, declared the French sovereigns of his territories, and erected their standard. The governor soon after sent subsidies to Francis Carraria, lord of Padua, Verona, and Vincenza, who, to defend himself against the Visconti of Milan, and the Venetians, likewise took the oath of homage to the French king. The Genoese, in the mean time, began secretly to murmur against the severity and rapacity of the French, who punished with the utmost rigour those who expressed the least dissatisfaction at the present government; and besides imposed the most grievous and oppressive taxes. The disaffection becoming general, and many people in the vallies the year after taking arms, and killing some of the tax-gatherers, and even the podestas of the towns, Boucicard, by abolishing some of the most heavy taxes, again restored tranquillity.

A.D. 1405.

About two years after, his conduct being again censured for assisting the Florentines against the Pisans, who had revolted from their lord, to quiet the murmurs of the Genoese he made a present of Leghorn to the republic, who gave him twenty-six thousand florins, as an equivalent for the expences which that city had cost him. The Florentines, making themselves masters of Pisa, the podesta of Sarzana, rather than submit to the conquerors, sold that city to the Genoese, who by that acquisition extended their frontier to the eastern side of the Magra. Next year, finding that the two contending popes wanted to prolong the schism, by rejecting all means of an accommodation, they imitated the example of the French, and renounced the authority of each. News soon after arriving, that the merchants settled at Chios had declared against the government of Boucicard, and, under pretence of a loan, had seized all the merchandize in the island, their relations at Genoa were imprisoned in the citadel which Boucicard had caused to be built; and Conrad Doria was sent with three gallies and three large transports to reduce the rebels. He arrived at Chios on the 18th of June, and in three days, having taken the suburbs of the city, obliged the citizens again to acknowledge the French king, pardoning their revolt, and only banishing some of those who had promoted the insurrection.

A.D. 1408.

A.D. 1409.

Boucicard had now ruined the republic of Pisa, and enriched himself by the spoils of that state; for he had not only obtained Leghorn from Gabriel Visconti, but had

had persuaded him to betray Pisa to the Florentine army, and had afterwards executed him at Genoa, under pretence of plotting against his government, and seized his wealth as a lawful forfeiture. The Genoese, who at first had been struck dumb by his severity, no longer concealed their discontent, and complained that all his schemes tended only to the establishing of his private power, or the grandeur of the French, at the expence of the republic. He disregarded their murmurs; and, thinking he had secured their submission, formed a design of seizing the Milanese, the possession of which duchy was then contested by the two brothers, John Maria and Philip Maria Visconti. With this view he borrowed large sums of money at Genoa; and assembling five thousand horse, and as many foot at Gavi, marched to the assistance of John, who was in possession of Milan. Philip, who resided at Pavia, was assisted by the marquis of Montferrat, and Canis, lord of Alexandria, who being at enmity with Boucicard, were persuaded by the exile de Franchis to march directly to Genoa. Upon the approach of their forces, the Genoese instantly took arms against the French, massacring all those who were not so fortunate as to save themselves in the castles. The marquis of Montferrat was then invited into the city, and declared captain of the republic. Boucicard, who, in the mean time, had obtained the government of Milan, hastened back with his army; but, upon hearing the strength of his opponents, he thought it was in vain to pass the Apennines.

The Genoese revolt, and declare the marquis of Montferrat governor.

Genoa still continued in arms under four Ghibelline leaders; and the council of ancients, and all the other officers of the republic being chosen from that faction, they disarmed the Guelfs, who, though they equally hated Boucicard, yet wanted to have a new governor from France. The Genoese, having expelled the French from the citadel, and obliged the Guelfs in Porto Fino to submit to the new government, published a decree in a numerous council of three hundred Ghibellines, appointing the marquis governor of the republic for five years. They now declared for Ladislaus, king of Naples, against the duke of Anjou; and Ladislaus's fleet acting in concert with the Genoese galleys, under the command of Ottoboni Justiniani, in the beginning of June they took Ventimiglia by storm, which had hitherto held out for the French,

A.D. 1410.

French. The admiral afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt upon Porto Venere, whilst the troops by land attacked several places occupied by the Fieschi in the eastern Riviera. Though the attempts of the land forces were likewise fruitless, yet in the end of the year the Fieschi at length submitted to the marquis, who granted them a pardon, and restored to them their share in the bank of St. George, the proprietors of which had been established into a regulated society three years before (F).

A few months after this transaction, Orlando Fulgiosi raised a fresh tumult in the city; but was obliged to retire to Savona, where he was murdered. About the same time, the French despairing of recovering Genoa, sold Gavi, Montalto, and Pallodio, towns belonging to the republic, to Facinus Canis; and Porto Venere, l'Erice, Sergianello, and Falcinello, to the Florentines, who bribed several of the discontented Guelfs, to cause other towns belonging to the republic to revolt, and to sub-

A.D. 1411.

(F) The republic, for a long time, had contracted a great debt, the interest of which was paid to the creditors from the public revenues by certain citizens appointed by the duke to oversee every different tax. The debt and taxes increasing, began to occasion great confusion, to avoid which, all the public creditors were at length formed into one body, by the title of the Society of St. George, governed by eight directors chosen annually, not by the duke, but by the creditors. The directors and their assistants were also declared independent of the duke and council, with a right of determining absolutely all affairs relating to the society, the members of which were bound to

submit to their decisions; and the governors of the republic, upon assuming the administration, took an oath never to violate their privileges. This society increasing their stock by future loans to the government, became, about a hundred years after, so rich and powerful as to purchase the whole island of Corsica, and many other territories of the state; so that, according to Foliet, who then flourished, two different republics seemed included within the same walls. It may, however, be questioned, whether the grandeur of this company may not be reckoned one of the causes of the decline of the Genoese state (1):

(1) Foliet. Hist. Gen. lib. ix. an. 1407.

mit to their dominion. Many of those who had entered into an unlawful correspondence with the Florentines, being discovered, were put to death as traitors; and a fleet, which was ordered to repress the insults of the Catalans, sailed to Porto Pisano; but, after some slight hostilities, was obliged to retire. The Genoese, however, taking four Florentine ships laden with corn, and three English vessels bound for Florence with cloth, to the amount of forty-eight thousand florins, they soon obliged their enemy to think of peace, which was concluded next year at Lucca, on the 27th of April; when the Florentines agreed to restore all the places belonging to the Genoese republic. A few weeks before the conclusion of this treaty, the Genoese, with their usual fickleness, had renounced the authority of the marquis of Montferrat, and conferred the government of the republic on George Adorno, with the title of duke. The marquis having failed in an attempt upon Savona, came to an accommodation with the republic, which, as an equivalent for all his claims, agreed to pay him twenty-four thousand five hundred florins, or crowns of gold.

The Genoese again create a duke.

A D. 1414.

The city being now again freed from a foreign dominion, and undisturbed by the factions, twelve citizens were chosen, with full authority to compose a new form of government, in order to prevent any future intestine commotions. They accordingly published a great many salutary laws, ordaining, among other matters, that the duke, for the future, should be a citizen of Genoa, of fifty years of age, a Ghibelline commoner, and a merchant. These prudent regulations were not, however, sufficient to repress the factious spirit of the Genoese. In the following year, the family of Guarco attempted to surprise the palace; but were repulsed, and some of the rioters were banished. Notwithstanding their bad success, in the month of December, the family of Montalto made a second insurrection against the duke; who, to put an end to the hostilities, which continued several days, consented to abdicate the government. His sons, however, interrupted the accommodation, and both parties, on Christmas-day, concluded a short truce. The week after, they took arms, and continued skirmishing till the 6th of March, when a peace was at length concluded; by which the duke agreed to resign upon honourable

terms,

terms, being allowed a pension during life. On the 28th of March, he was succeeded by Barnabas Goano, doctor of laws, who was acceptable to both parties; so that the shares in the bank of St. George immediately rose forty-four per cent. Barnabas had not enjoyed his new dignity three months, when he was attacked by George Adorno and Thomas Fulgosio, with their followers, and obliged to abandon the palace. Thomas Fulgosio was then chosen duke, who, in order to conciliate the affections of the people, eased them of several taxes, and mortgaged his own estate, to the amount of sixty thousand florins, to pay off part of the public debt. Though he introduced great magnificence and splendor into his court, yet he attended assiduously to the affairs of state. He conferred several important commands upon his six brothers, by whose assistance he repressed an insurrection of the Corsicans, and recovered divers places, formerly belonging to the republic, from the marquisses of Malaspini. He likewise agreed to a truce for ten years with the French; who, being invaded by an English army, and reduced to great distress, hired six hundred Genoese bowmen, eight gallies, and as many large ships. One of these gallies was shipwrecked, and of the other seven, three were taken by the English.

A.D. 1416.

Although the great services performed by the duke were very conspicuous, and universally acknowledged, yet the families of Montalvo, Guarco, and Adorno, formed a design of expelling him from the government; and prevailed with the duke of Milan, the marquisses of Montferrat and Final, to favour their enterprize. On Christmas-day, they appeared before the city with one thousand five hundred horse, and two thousand foot, expecting an insurrection in their favour; but being disappointed by the vigorous measures taken by the duke, they quickly retired towards the mountains, and seized Gavi. Having then declared Jeramo Adorno duke, they soon after returned to the city, and seized several posts in its neighbourhood. During the whole summer, hostilities continued betwixt the two parties with various success, but generally in favour of the duke, who, by his vigilance and intrepidity, preserved peace and tranquillity in the city; and, on the last of September, forced the rebels to retire to the mountains. Jeramo Adorno, their duke, being thus frustrated be-

A.D. 1418.

fore Genoa, reduced the territories of the republic beyond the Apennines, which, however, he was obliged to divide with his allies, giving the greatest share to the duke of Milan. Some commotions, in the mean time, happening in the eastern Riviera, the duke found it necessary to part with Leghorn, which he sold to the Florentines for a hundred and twenty thousand florins. The rebels, finding the duke's authority so firmly established, did not appear in arms during the two following years; in the last of which Genoa was again visited by an epidemical distemper, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.

S E C T. IV.

The Genoese maintain Wars against different Potentates ; confer the Sovereignty on the Duke of Milan ; and finally are conquered by Lewis XII. of France.

ALPHONSO, of Arragon, in the mean time, having invaded Corsica with a fleet of thirteen large ships, and twenty-three gallies, on board of which were ten thousand men, took Calvi, and invested the town of Bonifacias, which was strongly situated on an abrupt rock, near a most commodious harbour. The duke exerted himself with great vigour to save the place. Though Genoa was then almost desolate, by the death and flight of its inhabitants, he caused seven large ships to be fitted out, and furnished with stores and provisions for the besieged, raising thirty thousand crowns for that purpose, by pledging his plate and jewels to the bankers of Lucca. This small fleet sailed from Genoa, under the command of his younger brother, on the 20th of December : though they found the mouth of the harbour blocked up, by five gallies chained to each other, batteries erected on the land, and the gallies within drawn up in a line, yet they boldly advanced, and, after a most furious engagement of seven hours, broke the chain, and proceeded to the town, where they continued five days, landing their stores: they again broke through the enemy's fleet, having thrown it into confusion by a small fireship. Alphonso, now despairing of taking the place, raised the siege ; a circumstance which encouraged the inhabitants of Calvi, in the beginning of the following year, to revolt and admit a Genoese garrison, though all the rest of the island was at this time independent of the republic, and governed by different lords ^a.

Alphonso of Arragon invades Corsica without success.

The rebels, mean while, by their continual solicitations, again prevailed upon the duke of Milan to espouse their cause : he accordingly published a declaration of war against Fulgosio ; and in the beginning of summer sent a powerful army, commanded by Guido Torelli, against Genoa. Another army marched into the western Riviera, under the command of the count of Carmagniola ; but his troops meeting with greater opposition than he expected, he fitted out two gallies at Final, which were joined by seven others hired from the Catalans, in order to block up Genoa by

A.D. 1421.

^a Foliet. lib. x. Stellæ Annal.

The duke of Milan obtains the government of Genoa.

A.D. 1422.

sea. Fulgosio, though he was greatly distressed for want of money, immediately equipt seven gallies, which, under the command of his brother Baptist, attacked the enemy, but were defeated with the loss of four gallies, in one of which was the admiral. The enemy, now becoming masters at sea, Fulgosio was obliged to enter into a treaty with the duke of Milan, promising to resign the government to him under certain conditions, as it was formerly granted to the king of France. The duke's army was accordingly admitted into the city, in the month of November, when the territory of Sarzana, and thirty thousand florins, were granted to Fulgosio, and fifteen thousand to his brother Baptist. Carmagniola, who commanded in the name of the duke of Milan, allowed the old council still to retain their authority, but persuaded them to submit to the duke without conditions. Twenty-four Genoese deputies accordingly went to Milan the following spring, and took the oath of fidelity to the duke, in the name of the republic. Soon after, four of the duke's counsellors arrived at Genoa, as deputy-governors; and on the last day of March, in the afternoon, took upon them the government by the express order of the duke, who, according to the usual custom, had consulted the stars on that occasion. The historian Stella informs us, that he assisted as chancellor of the republic at the consultations of these governors, who, at the desire of the Genoese, on the 5th of December, were succeeded by the count of Carmagniola.

A.D. 1423.

The new governor insisted on having a revenue of thirty thousand florins, which had formerly been granted to Boucicard. In the following year he persuaded the Genoese to fit out a large fleet to the assistance of Jane the Second, queen of Naples, and her adopted son, Lewis of Anjou, against Alphonso of Arragon, alleging, that it would be for the advantage of the republic to prevent the Catalans from possessing Naples. The Genoese, in consequence of their furious dissensions, were now so greatly exhausted, that every armament distressed them: nevertheless, finding themselves in no condition to hazard a denial, they decreed two hundred thousand florins for the expedition. Carmagniola exerting himself with indefatigable assiduity; on the 1st of December a fleet of twenty-four gallies, thirteen ships, and one brigantine, was fit for sea, eight of the gallies being equipped in Provence, by Lewis of Anjou. Guido Torelli arriving from Milan, and taking the chief command, Carmagniola was greatly disgusted, and many of the Genoese refused to embark. The fleet, nevertheless, in the end of the month sailed to Naples; and, after having performed

The Genoese send a fleet to the assistance of Jane, queen of Naples.

A.D. 1424.

performed signal services to the queen, returned in the end of May, when the Genoese, much against their inclination; were obliged to send their flag as a trophy to Milan. A few months after Carmagnola abandoned the government, and withdrawing his effects, deserted the duke's service, and retired to Piedmont, and from thence to Venice, exciting that republic against his old master. He was succeeded in Genoa by James Isolani of Bologna, a cardinal-deacon, whose revenue was settled at thirteen thousand florins.

A.D. 1424.

The Florentines, mean while, in concert with the Venetians, preparing for war against the duke of Milan, Fulgoso was persuaded by them to make an attempt upon Genoa. In the beginning of April he sailed from Leghorn, with twenty-four Catalan gallies, and appeared off the mole; but, being repulsed by the Genoese, he returned to the eastern Riviera, and took Porto Fino, Sestri, and Monella, his fleet commanding all the coast. The Genoese, by the duke's order, fitted out eighteen gallies, and ten large ships, to oppose the invaders. Some land-forces were also assembled, and in the month of June Opicino d'Alzate arrived as commander in chief both by sea and land. Great things were expected from his experience, and strict attention to a rigorous discipline. The whole season, nevertheless, passed off without any action of consequence: the duke did not even desire a speedy conclusion of the war, but wished to see the Genoese exhausted by their civil broils, in hopes of fixing more securely the yoke of servitude upon them. With this design, he, next year, allowed Francis Spinola, and Isnard Guarco, to seize several territories of the republic, as a security for the payment of twelve thousand five hundred florins, which they affirmed they had expended in the public service; and having concluded a peace with the king of Arragon, and hired some of his gallies, he gave him in pledge the castles of Porto Venere and Lerici; which proceedings greatly alarmed the Genoese.

A.D. 1425.

A.D. 1426.

The rebels, in the mean time, were allowed to strengthen their party in the eastern Riviera. In the beginning of September, about four hundred of them entered the city at night, under the command of one of Fulgoso's brothers, and seized some steeples; but not being joined by any citizens, they retired next morning not without considerable loss. Though the citizens shewed no inclination to revolt, Thomas himself, the following year, in the end of July, marched to the city with a small force, and, after continuing a few days in the suburbs, attempted the walls

The rebels strengthen their party in the eastern Riviera.

A.D. 1427.

by scalade, but without success. He retired upon a report, that great succours were marching from Lombardy to the relief of the city. About the middle of December he again entered the suburbs, and for three days attempted to scale the walls; but was always repulsed with loss, and in a sally from the city the greatest part of his followers were made prisoners. During these transactions, the duke of Milan again irritated the Genoese, by giving the city of Ventimiglia to Charles Lomellino, for ten years, in consideration of three thousand crowns, which he had borrowed from him.

A.D. 1428.

In the course of the following year Bartholemeo de la Capra, of Cremona, archbishop of Milan, arrived at Genoa as governor of the republic; and a peace was concluded betwixt the duke of Milan and the Venetians and Florentines. The rebels, however, did not think proper to submit, but advanced as far as the valley of Polseveri, and fifty-eight of them attempted to surprize the citadel of Genoa: they were discovered and repulsed after they had entered the outworks. Nicholas Picinnino, about the same time, arriving from Lombardy, in the end of November they thought proper to retire. Nicholas, who was a soldier of fortune, and an experienced commander, advanced against the rebels, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and in the beginning of February drove them from some posts on the mountains: he then entered the valley of Polseveri, and with great difficulty was prevented from extirpating the whole inhabitants. He pardoned them, however, at the intreaty of the council of ancients, but sent fifty-seven of their chiefs prisoners to Lombardy, obliged many others to give security for their future obedience, and took away all the bells from the churches, which had served only to excite them to rebellion. Having treated the other two vallies in the same manner, during the summer he recovered many places from the rebels; and, in the end of the year, being joined by one thousand Genoese bowmen, he marched to the relief of Lucca, and routed the Florentine army, which for several months had been besieging that city.

A.D. 1431.

Upon this victory the Lucchese and Siennese entered into an alliance with the Genoese against the Florentines, the Lucchese, according to Folietta, agreeing to chuse annually a Genoese governor. James Appiano, lord of Piombino, soon after joined in this alliance, and put himself under the protection of the Genoese. The Florentines, in the mean time, had recourse for assistance to the Venetians, who again declared war against the duke of Milan and the Genoese,

noese, and sent a fleet of sixteen gallies and two large ships to infest the Genoese coasts. About the end of August, this fleet, on board of which were several Genoese exiles, having been joined by three Florentine gallies and two brigantines, advanced within a few miles of Genoa, when it was attacked by the Genoese admiral, who, after a long engagement, was entirely defeated, and taken prisoner, with the loss of nine gallies. A few weeks after, the marquis of Montferrat, who was then in alliance with the Venetians, sent Barnabas Adorno, an exile, with some forces into the western Riviera, where he took possession of some towns; but, on the 9th of October, he was defeated and taken prisoner, with almost all his forces, by Nicolas Piccinino, who allowed his troops to plunder the country of the rebels, and to treat them with the greatest barbarity; and then marched into Montferrat, which he likewise plundered. The Venetians, in the mean time, sent a large armament against the Genoese settlement in the island of Chios; but after having besieged the place two months, they were obliged to retire with the loss of near two thousand men.

The Venetians declare war against the duke of Milan, and attack the Genoese.

Next year, both the Genoese and the Venetians fitted out considerable fleets; but no action of great importance was performed by either; and the year after, by the mediation of the marquisses of Ferrara and Saluza, a peace was concluded betwixt the duke of Milan and the Venetians and Florentines, with their respective allies. Soon after the conclusion of this peace, the Genoese, being informed that the Greeks had surprised one of their settlements in Lesser Tartary, they immediately began to fit out a fleet for the protection of their trade in the Black Sea, the command of which was given to Charles Lomellino, who sailed from Genoa in the month of March, with ten gallies and as many large ships, on board of which were upwards of six thousand troops. The Genoese admiral, upon his arrival in the Black Sea, quickly obliged the Greeks to surrender their late conquest; but afterwards, attacking an inland place belonging to the Tartars, he was surrounded by an immense multitude of that people, and with great difficulty escaped with a few of his men.

A.D. 1432.

A.D. 1433.

A peace continued.

Mean while, the queen of Naples, and her adopted son, Lewis of Anjou, both dying, Alphonso of Arragon, who was then in Sicily, resolved to make another attempt to obtain the kingdom of Naples, where he had a numerous party. Being put in possession of the castles of Capua by his friends, he invested Gaeta by sea and land; but the city being zealous for the family of Anjou, and garrisoned partly by Genoese, his inveterate enemies, baffled all his efforts

A.D. 1435.

*Alphonso of
Arragon
defeated
and taken
prisoner by
the Geno-
ese.*

efforts for several months. The republic being solicited by the besieged, fitted out a fleet of thirteen ships, which failed to their relief, under the command of Blasio Affereto, one of the public notaries, who, on the 5th of August, came to an engagement off the island of Ponza with the fleet of Alphonso, though doubly superior to his own in number of ships and men. The battle continuing from sunrise to the evening, when the Genoese gained a most complete victory, all the enemy's ships being taken except one, Alphonso, with two of his brothers, and about one thousand Spanish and Sicilian barons, being made prisoners. The news of this victory filled the Genoese with the most extravagant joy, which, however, was soon turned into disappointment and dejection; for the duke would not allow them the satisfaction of seeing the chief prisoners; but ordered the fleet to return to Savona, from whence Alphonso and some others were conducted to Milan, where, in contempt of the republic, they were treated with the greatest honours, and set at liberty. Philip even entered into an alliance with Alphonso, and ordered the Genoese to fit out six ships to conduct him to Naples; which command they complied with, though hardly able to stifle their resentment and indignation. The historian Stella concludes his annals at this period, with bitter complaints against the perfidy of the duke, who, he says, was the most capital enemy of their orphan republic. Philip, to appease the murmurs of the Genoese, with which he began to be alarmed, assured them, that he had prevailed with Alphonso to resign Sardinia to the republic; but, under pretence of transporting a garrison to the island, sending two thousand men to Genoa, the nobles were still more exasperated, and immediately formed a design to throw off his burthensome yoke.

A D. 1436.

*The Genoese
revolt from
the duke of
Milan.*

About the end of December the citizens took arms, under the direction of Francis Spinola, who had commanded at the siege of Gaeta, and having killed the governor in the tumult, quickly obliged the garrison to surrender. Savona directly followed the example of Genoa, and in a short time almost all the castles held by the duke in the territories of the republic, were reduced. Eight persons were then chosen, with full authority to regulate the form of the new government, provided they did not abolish the council of ancients, or any old laws. Philip, in the mean time ordered Picinino to march with a powerful army against Genoa, a circumstance which prompted the Genoese, without delay, to storm the citadel, and to send to the Venetians and Fiorentines for assistance against their common enemy. Picinino,

nino, finding it impracticable to reduce Genoa, marched into the western Riviera, and besieged Albenga; while the Genoese, instead of continuing unanimous against the enemy of their republic, most imprudently renewed their former animosities. After long and warm contests, Isnard Guarco was declared duke; but seven days after he was expelled by Thomas Fulgosio, who had returned to the city, and, being supported by a great many friends, was restored to the government, in consequence of his former election. Fulgosio immediately sent succours to Albenga, the siege of which soon after was abandoned by Picinino. The Genoese, in the mean time, had recovered Porto Venere and Lerici; and, having concluded an alliance with the Florentines and Venetians, considerably reinforced their army with recruits from Tuscany.

Next year Philip, in hopes of recovering Genoa, had recourse to fraud; and, by great promises to Baptist Fulgosio, persuaded him to seize the palace, and usurp the government. The duke was then at church; but being instantly joined by a great number of citizens, without difficulty he recovered the palace, and apprehended his brother, whom he pardoned and restored to his friendship, giving him the command of seven gallies ordered to assist the duke of Anjou, who the year after, in the beginning of April, entered the harbour with five gallies from Marseilles. The duke was received with the greatest honours, as king of Naples; and in the end of the month left Genoa, and proceeded to take possession of his new kingdom. After his departure, Pelegrini Promontorio sailed with four vessels against some Catalan pirates; but his forces mutinying for want of pay, he was obliged to return before he could find out the enemy. The same admiral sailed the year after with seven ships to the assistance of the duke of Anjou, who, by means of the Genoese, in the following year, made himself master of the castles commanding the city of Naples. The eagerness with which the Genoese attached themselves to the party of René of Anjou, at length disturbed the tranquillity of their state.

A few months after the taking of the citadels of Naples from the Catalans, the republic entered into an alliance with pope Eugenius against Alphonso; and the pope having raised four thousand horse, Fulgosio ordered a fleet to be immediately prepared, appointing his brother admiral. This nomination gave great offence to the nobility, especially to John Antony Fieschi, who, failing in an attempt to create a tumult in the city, retired to his estate in the mountains, where, being assisted by Philip Visconti, he raised

*Fieschi re-
volts and
harrasses
the territo-
ries of the
republic.*

A.D. 1442.

raised a considerable body of men, and invaded the territories of the republic. The coasts at the same time were harrassed by the vessels of Alphonso, which were assisted by the marquis of Final. The duke exerted himself with great activity against his enemies; but the distress of the republic, preventing the intended voyage of the fleet, the pope exclaimed against him with great bitterness. The year after, Alphonso made himself master of Naples; and René, despairing of his cause, returned in a Genoese ship to Marseilles.

A.D. 1443.

Fieschi still continuing in arms, and the discontents in the city being increased, on account of the great funeral honours bestowed by the duke on his brother Baptist, great precautions were taken by Fulgosio to prevent any tumults. Being informed that Fieschi had concerted a scheme with the malcontents to enter the city, on the 10th of December, by the steep rocks, which towards the sea served instead of a fortification, he ordered those passes to be lined by a guard. But the weather being extremely cold, and a strong west wind rendering the sea tempestuous, the soldiers concluded it would be impossible for the enemy to advance, and left their station. The wind immediately becoming favourable to Fieschi, he embarked his troops in small boats, and in about three hours entered the city. Fulgosio, finding it impossible to make any effectual opposition, referred the decision of the contest to sixteen citizens; but before any sentence could be given, he was expelled from the palace by Fieschi, and the government of the city committed to eight of the chief citizens. About the middle of January, however, Raphael Adorno was created duke, and four citizens were, at the same time, vested with the power of establishing new laws.

Notwithstanding this revolution, tranquillity was not restored to the republic; for Fieschi, remaining still discontented, retired from the city, and seizing the towns of Recco and Porto Fino, plundered the neighbouring territories. At the same time Peter Fulgosio, being exasperated against the republic on account of the expulsion of his family from the government, fled to the duke of Milan, who put him in possession of Novi, from whence he made continual excursions against the subjects of the republic, and carried off a hundred and twenty French mules laden with merchandize and military stores for France. While the republic was exposed to the ravages of these two malecontents, its commerce by sea was disturbed by the Catalan vessels, which obliged the duke, in the following year, to conclude a peace upon dishonourable terms with

with Alphonso, promising to present him annually with a bason of gold. Two years after, however, Alphonso insisting that the bason should be presented at a public audience in a full court, the Genoese renounced the late accommodation, and again prepared for hostilities.

About the same time, the equity and moderation of the duke disgusting his own family, who expected more licence under his government, they persuaded him that it would be for the advantage of the republic that he should resign the administration. The same day that he abdicated, they, in a tumultuous manner, elected Barnabas Adorno; but Janus Fulgosio, a few weeks after, entered the harbour with a single galley, and being followed by eighty-five young men, made himself master of the palace, although Barnabas had received a guard of six hundred men from Alphonso. This is the account given us by Folietta; but Monstrelet, a contemporary author, relates, that some of the family of Fulgosio and Doria, in the end of the foregoing year, arrived with five ships at Marseilles, and made an offer of the sovereignty of the republic to the king of France. While they were making an agreement with the king's deputies, Janus Fulgosio, assisted by some French, took possession of Genoa; but afterwards refused to deliver it to the French ambassadors, who retired disappointed, and seized Final^b.

Janus recalled Peter Fulgosio from banishment, and appointed him general of the city militia. As the marquis of Final made continual incursions into the territories of the republic, the duke assembled a considerable body of forces, which, in the beginning of the following year, marched against Final, two ships, soon after, being fitted out to annoy the enemy by sea, against whom the Genoese were so exasperated, that they ordered the money which belonged to them in their public funds to be confiscated. Mean while Janus Fulgosio dying, the city, as a testimony of their regard, ordered a public monument to be erected to him; and chose Lodovico Fulgosio as his successor, who, the following spring, ordered several galleys to be fitted out against the Corsican and Provençal pirates. Final, soon after, being reduced, the citadel of the place was demolished, and the suburbs were pillaged. The inhabitants, however, upon taking the oath of fidelity to the Genoese, were pardoned, and the third part of the city, according to stipulation, was granted to Marc Caretto, who had assisted in the

A.D. 1445.

Peace between the Genoese and Alphonso.

A.D. 1447.

A.D. 1448.

^b Monstrelet, tom. iii. cap. 3. Bellefort, lib. v. cap. 196. and others.

siege against Galeotto the marquis. After the reduction of Final, the duke published a severe edict against those who should bring from Rome any pontifical letters or rescripts, contrary to the privileges of the republic; but, in the following year, finding that the citizens began to murmur against his government, he voluntarily resigned his dignity.

A.D. 1450.

The supreme administration was again offered to Thomas Fulgosio at Sarzana; but he excusing himself on account of his great age, advised the citizens to chuse Peter Fulgosio, who was accordingly unanimously elected. Peter had raised his reputation by reducing Final; but he quickly gave great offence to the people by the rigour he used towards those who were suspected of disaffection to his government. He ordered a monk to be hanged before the church of St. Francis, on account of some reflections uttered by him against his administration. The French, towards the end of the year, seizing Final and Petra, he sent considerable garrisons to the neighbouring places; and being informed that Mahomet II. was making immense preparations in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, he sent a reinforcement of nine hundred men to the garrison of Pera. The Turks, however, making themselves masters of Constantinople, Pera was likewise obliged to surrender to them, a circumstance which greatly confounded the Genoese; especially as Alphonso, about the same time, made himself master of part of Corsica. Despairing of being able to protect their settlements in that island and in the Black Sea, they disposed of them to the society of St. George, which flourished at this time in a surprising manner, notwithstanding the distress and disasters of the republic.

A.D. 1453.

About two years after, Alphonso, instigated by the malecontents and exiles, attacked Genoa by sea and land. The duke, being chiefly apprehensive of the disaffected within the city, resolved to detect, and to quell them before he proceeded against the invaders: for this purpose he put a strong garrison in the palace, and pretended to go out of the city to view the enemy, retiring, however, by a private way into the castle. The opposite faction, believing him really gone, took arms and assaulted the palace; but being attacked from behind by Peter, they were routed and dispersed with great loss, and many of those who survived were publicly executed. The enemy, finding their friends in the city thus cut off, despaired of success, and retired in the beginning of winter, leaving only a few galleys upon the coasts. These ships, by furnishing succours to the malecontents, created some disturbances in Albenga and the western Riviera, which at length induced the duke to think

A.D. 1455.

*Alphonso of
Naples
sends an
army and
fleet against
Genoa.*

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of

of resigning. He found himself every day less able to struggle against the power of Alphonso, who was obstinately bent upon deposing him from his dignity, and restoring the family of Adorno, and the other exiles. That his enemies, however, might have no reason to triumph, two years after he sent ambassadors to France, with an offer of the sovereignty of the republic to Charles VII. who agreed to the conditions formerly stipulated with Charles VI. and sent John of Anjou, titular duke of Calabria, to Genoa, who was put in possession of the city and fortresses. This revolution greatly exasperated Alphonso, who immediately fitted out a large fleet, which he sent against Genoa, while the rebels, by his assistance, invested the city by land; but the king dying in the end of June, the fleet dispersed, and the land-forces were obliged to raise the siege.

A.D. 1458.

The Genoese confer their state on the king of France.

All the resources of the exiles being now cut off, Peter Fulgosio began to regret the loss of his dignity, which he now perceived he had resigned with too great precipitation. He retired to Novi, which, with another town, had been mortgaged to him for money owing to him by the republic. Having demanded the payment of his money several times in a pressing manner, he at length began to threaten the republic, on which account his brothers and relations were banished the city. The neighbourhood of the French being disagreeable to Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, Peter, by his means, was reconciled to Ferdinand of Naples, who promised to assist him to the utmost of his power in expelling the French from Italy, being jealous that they intended to invade his kingdom, which was now disjoined from Arragon. Peter, receiving considerable subsidies from him, in the spring assembled a large body of forces, and being joined by John Philip Fieschi, with his vassals, advanced within half a mile of the city. Fieschi being soon after killed by a shot from the walls, great part of his army dispersed, a defection which obliged Peter to retire to the eastern Riviera, where he seized some towns, which, however, were quickly recovered by the Genoese.

A.D. 1469.

The governor, being now freed from any apprehensions of the rebels, made great preparations for the conquest of Naples, receiving sixty thousand crowns from the republic, and as much from the private citizens, with which he fitted out ten galleys and three large ships, which were to be joined by twelve galleys, equipping by his father René at Marseilles. To avert these formidable preparations, Ferdinand pressed Fulgosio again to attempt the recovery of the city. Peter, accordingly, having received a large sum of money from him, assembled a new army, and, about the middle of

September,

September, surprised the city, and entered with his forces within the outer wall. Next morning, after a long engagement with the Anjou party, he penetrated through one of the gates of the inner wall with a few of his followers, who, being so imprudent as to leave the gate unguarded, were shut into the city; by which means Peter, being pursued through several streets on horseback, was at length taken prisoner, and died next day of his wounds. His followers, upon the news of his death, quickly dispersed; and a few weeks after the governor sailed with his fleet to Naples.

A.D. 1460.

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The Genoese revolt from the French.

While he was engaged in his Neapolitan expedition, the Genoese artificers, alleging they were oppressed by the unequal method of raising the taxes, took arms for the redress of their grievances. The sedition was probably fomented privately by the family of Adorno, who, knowing the aversion of Pius II. to the French, sent ambassadors to Rome to consult about the means of driving them from Italy. While the people seemed inclined to an accommodation, Prosper Adorno, and Paul Fulgosio the archbishop, and brother of the late Peter, entered the city, and excited them to renew hostilities: they accordingly drove the French into the castle, and, by the persuasion of the archbishop Paul, who affected great moderation, chose Prosper Adorno duke. Having received some money and troops from the duke of Milan, they besieged the castle, the garrison of which struck a great terror into the citizens, by firing a great number of bombs among the houses in different quarters of the city. The king of France, in the mean time, sent a body of six thousand veteran troops, and a considerable fleet, under René of Anjou, to the relief of the besieged; but, after they had advanced to the city, they were repulsed by the archbishop, who slew fifteen of the most obstinate of them with his own hand. Prosper, who before the arrival of the French, had acted in an absurd and arbitrary manner, was now apprehensive lest the popular favour should be transferred to the archbishop, and therefore, after the victory, excluded him from the city. A skirmish betwixt the two parties immediately ensued, when Adorno was expelled from the palace, and Spineta Fulgosio, the archbishop's cousin, was elected duke. The French, in the mean time, abandoned the citadel, which was forthwith occupied by Lodovico Fulgosio, who, two days after, succeeded as duke. The archbishop however, in the following year, offended that others should reap the fruits of

A.D. 1463.

his fatigues, about the middle of May seized the government. This usurpation occasioned a new tumult among the citizens, who, dreading a governor of his impetuous and restless disposition, about a fortnight after obliged him to resign. Four rectors were then chosen from the body of artificers, who governed only a few days, and Lodovico Fulgoso was again restored to his dignity. About two years after Lodovico was again expelled by the archbishop, who obtained from Pius II. leave to administer a secular government.

The king of France being apprehensive of an insurrection of his nobility, who were greatly discontented, and held frequent conferences together, resolved to secure the friendship of Francis Sforza, and resigned to him the city of Savona, with all his rights to the city and territory of Genoa; for which purpose he wrote to all the princes of Italy, prohibiting them, under the pain of his resentment, from assisting the Genoese against Sforza. Francis accordingly took possession of Savona, and soon after Albenga, and the other towns in the eastern Riviera submitted to him. The archbishop, in the mean time, giving full scope to his impetuous temper, grievously harassed the Genoese. Having collected a guard of russians, he openly murdered and plundered the most worthy citizens, by which means he quickly thinned the city, the inhabitants flying into voluntary banishment. Many of the chief citizens retired to Savona; and, by their solicitations, persuaded Sforza to send an army against the archbishop, who, upon the approach of the duke's forces, abandoned the city, and went to sea with three gallies, to wait for an opportunity of recovering the government. The Genoese, with great joy, took the oath of fidelity to the duke of Milan, who was respected by all the Italian states for his many civil and military virtues. His moderate government, at length, put an end to the commotions, tumults, ravages, banishments, murders, and other calamities, which, for a long course of years, had been gradually exhausting the miserable republic; so that before this revolution, the shares in the bank of St. George had fallen sixty-seven per cent. He was so acceptable to the Genoese, that the society of St. George voluntarily resigned to him the island of Corsica. Upon his death, which happened the following year, in the beginning of March, the Genoese, who deeply regretted his loss, renewed the convention with his son Galeazo, whose principles and conduct were very opposite to those of his father.

Galeazo, in the beginning of his government, disgusted the Genoese by treating their ambassadors with less regard

A D. 1464

The Genoese submit to the duke of Milan.

than he shewed to those of the Florentines; and five years after he gave great offence to the republic by disdain to accept of the honours the chief counsellors intended him upon his visiting their city. They furnished public lodgings, with great magnificence, for him and his retinue, and provided valuable presents, among which were four golden bowls, each of twelve pounds weight. He entered the city, however, without any ceremony; and, after a stay of three days in the castle, went away in such confusion and hurry, as though he had been flying from an enemy. Sixtus IV. a native of Savona, being chosen pope, the Genoese sent eight of their chief citizens to congratulate him upon his promotion; who were received by him in a courteous and respectful manner, and obtained from him a bull, granting them several distinguished privileges. The republic now declined with great precipitation, and quietly submitted to the oppressive government of Galeazo.

A.D. 1475.

*The colony
of Caffa
taken by
the Turks.*

About four years after, their important settlement of Caffa, in Crim Tartary, fell into the hands of the Turks; which misfortune was owing to the avarice and villainy of the governors of the colony. The city under the Genoese had become very considerable, and was, at this period, the center of a most extensive traffic. The emperor of the Tartars, sensible of the great advantage he reaped from that settlement, ordered all the disputes of his subjects in the adjacent districts to be determined at Caffa, and allowed the Genoese governors to have a negative in the election of the captain of the province. The governors of the colony abused this privilege, and expelled some captains who had been justly elected to admit others, from whom they had received large bribes. The ejected captains immediately fled to the grand seignor, whom they persuaded to send a fleet against Caffa, of four hundred and eighty sail, under the command of the bashaw Geduc Achmet, who, in a few days, made himself master of the place, when he sent fifteen hundred youths as captives to Constantinople, ordered all the Italians to quit the city, and seized one half of the possessions of those that remained.

The loss of Caffa was not so sensibly felt by the Genoese, their domestic grievances being then their chief concern: their minds were exasperated by the continual oppressions of their governors; and, instead of finding redress from Galeazo, their deputies were treated by him with the utmost contempt. He even ordered a canal to be made from the castle to the sea through the middle of the city; but being affrighted by the commotions of the Genoese, he dropt the undertaking, which would have ruined a great many fine palaces.

palaces. Their hopes were revived, by the news of his being assassinated in the church of St. Stephen at Milan, on the twenty-sixth of December. To prevent any commotion during the minority of his son, who was then only a boy, the Genoese chose a council of eight citizens, with an ample authority to punish the disturbers of the public peace. This council soon after added a body of two hundred foot to the ordinary guard of the governor. The families of Guarco, Adorno, and Fieschi, however, immediately began to raise commotions in the vallies, and not long after surpris'd the city with a handful of men, when the governor, though at the head of one thousand horse and foot, retired with great precipitation into the castle. Several persons were then appointed under the title of presidents of the liberty of the Genoese, who made great preparations for the defence of the city. The regents of Milan, mean while, sent a considerable army, under the command of Robert Sanseverino, to recover the city; and having set Prosper Adorno at liberty, promised him the perpetual government of the republic, if he would join their forces. The army being likewise reinforced by the family of Spinola and their adherents, after an obstinate engagement defeated the rebels, and recovered the city. During these disturbances, the Catalans harrassed the coasts of the eastern Riviera; and soon after Thomasin Fulgosio endeavoured to raise an insurrection in Corsica, but he was quickly reduced, and Lodivico Rivarolo, with six gallies, obliged the Catalan cruizers to retire from the coasts.

A.D. 1476.

A.D. 1477.

The government of Milan becoming jealous of Prosper Adorno, had formed a resolution to oblige him to resign the administration of the republic. Prosper, having intelligence of their design, entered into an alliance with Ferdinand of Naples, and having received considerable subsidies from him, openly renounced the title of vicar of the duke, and was created rector of the republic, with absolute authority. Thirty-eight counsellors were elected, one half of whom were merchants, and the other tradesmen; and a decree passed, excluding the nobility from all public offices. Hostilities immediately commenced betwixt the forces of Sforza and the Genoese, which last were commanded by Robert Sanseverino, who, in the former commotion, had served the duke. An army of fourteen thousand foot and two thousand horse arrived from Lombardy; but, after several skirmishes, it was at length entirely routed by the Genoese, who sold their prisoners as galley-slaves to the Catalans. This victory was no sooner gained than the factions in the city revived betwixt the families of Adorno and Fulgosio.

A.D. 1478.

*The Genoese
throw off
the Duke of
Milan's
yoke.*

After several disputes, Prosper Adorno was expelled from the city, and Baptist Fulgosio was created duke, with a council of eight citizens, whose authority was not limited by the laws^d. Next year, the Turks having made a descent in Calabria, and seized Otranto, all Italy was struck with consternation. The Genoese immediately sent two galleys to the assistance of the king of Naples. The year after they hired twenty-four galleys to the pope, which assisted at the siege of Otranto, and performed many signal services in that expedition. A few months after the recovery of Otranto, the Genoese sent four galleys to the Archipelago, in hopes of recovering the island of Mytelene from the Turks; but the enterprize proved unsuccessful.

A. D. 1482.

Baptist having, in a few years, rendered himself odious to the Genoese by arrogance and pride, and besides, being accused of a design to subject the republic to the emperor, and to receive it from him as a vicariate for himself and his posterity, his uncle Paul, who was now elevated to the dignity of cardinal, formed a party against him, and drawing him unwarily to his palace without any guards, forced him to abdicate the government, and deliver up the castles. The cardinal was next day declared his successor by the votes of three hundred citizens. Baptist, to alleviate his disgrace, addicted himself wholly to study, and composed, in the manner of Valerius Maximus, nine books of memorable actions and sayings; in which he inveighs with great bitterness against the perfidy of his uncle, accusing him of the most enormous crimes^e.

A. D. 1483.

A. D. 1484.

*A war betwixt the
Genoese and
Florentines*

The cardinal had not enjoyed his new dignity many months, when a war broke out betwixt the Genoese and Florentines, about the territory belonging to Sarzana, on the east side of the river Magra. Augustine Fulgosio had sold the city to the Florentines; but some quarrel afterwards happening betwixt him and that republic, he resigned it to the society of St. George, who immediately sent a strong garrison thither. The war, in the beginning, was carried on with great vigour by the Genoese; but their generals, allowing themselves to be bribed by the enemy, soon lost the fruits of their first successes. Hostilities continued betwixt the two republics all the following year; but, in the beginning of the year after, a peace was concluded by the mediation of the pope, by which it was agreed, that the Florentines should renounce all pretensions to Sarzana, and that the Genoese should transfer to them all their rights

A. D. 1486.

^d Foliet. lib. xi.

^e Idem ibid. Nebiens. lib. v. Bizar. lib. xv. Fulgos. lib. ii. cap. 6. ad fin.

to Pietro Santo. This treaty was solemnly ratified by both parties; but the Genoese having offended the pope, he entered into the interest of the Florentines, who were thereby encouraged to refuse fulfilling their engagements.

The government of the cardinal, in the mean time, creating universal discontent, ten citizens were chosen, with absolute authority to administer the affairs of the republic, and those of the society of St. George: the cardinal, however, still enjoyed the title of duke. Soon after the establishment of his new form of government, the Florentines again entered the territories of Sarzana with an army, and encamped on the east side of the Magra. The Genoese immediately fitted out a fleet of ten galleys, which sailed with three thousand land forces to Lerici, in the neighbourhood of which city a battle was fought betwixt them and the Florentines, who gained a complete victory, and a few days after made themselves masters of Sarzana. The Genoese, having no resource to carry on the war by land, were forced to leave the enemy in full possession of their conquest. They, nevertheless, still reserved their claims, in hopes of making them effectual at another opportunity. Thomasin Fulgosio and Paul Lecca, in the mean time, raising disturbances in Corsica, and seizing several territories in that island, some forces were sent thither, and Fulgosio being defeated and apprehended, was confined in the castle of Lerici, a circumstance, which so exasperated the cardinal and his son, that they caused one of the ten presidents of the republic to be assassinated.

A.D. 1487.

The cardinal, at length, beginning to dread the resentment of the people, thought of means to secure his own safety. To prevent his enemies from having the supreme authority, he persuaded the Genoese to put themselves under the protection of Lewis Sforza, who governed the duchy of Milan, as regent for his young nephew, but, in reality, had usurped his inheritance. Sforza received the Genoese ambassadors very graciously; and the cardinal's son, following them to Milan, he contracted an alliance with him, by giving him the bastard sister of his nephew to wife. The news of this marriage alarmed the jealousy of the opposite factions, who, to prevent the cardinal from confirming his tyranny by the power of Sforza, immediately formed a conspiracy against him, which soon became so formidable, that with difficulty he saved himself in the castle, which was immediately invested. During the siege, the city suffered so much by the fury of both parties, that the most moderate citizens sent an embassy to the king of France, begging his interposition, and likewise solicited the pope to interest him-

A.D. 1488.

*The duke of
Milan de-
clared so-
vereign of
the repub-
lic.*

self for the safety of his native city. These applications producing no immediate effect, they sent ambassadors to Sforza, excusing their proceedings against the cardinal. Soon after, by the policy of Sforza, an accommodation was concluded, whereby the duke of Milan was declared sovereign of the republic, and Augustine Adorno his vicar for ten years. The cardinal, finding himself abandoned by Sforza, surrendered the castle, and soon after retired to Rome, being allowed a yearly pension of six thousand crowns, till the pope should confer upon him ecclesiastical revenues to that value ^f.

A.D. 1493.

During the four years that immediately followed this new establishment, the Genoese enjoyed great tranquility, and their ancient spirit began to revive. The palaces which were burnt down during the siege of the castle, were rebuilt with greater magnificence; the value of the shares in the bank of St. George increased; the city abounded with provisions; and both Guelfs and Ghibellines, seeming to forget their ancient animosities, applied themselves with ardor to manufactures and traffic. To gratify Sforza, the republic consented, though with great reluctance, to a truce with the Florentines, which was afterwards renewed under the title of a cessation of hostilities. The war with the Catalans, indeed, still subsisted; but its effects were scarcely felt by the Genoese. The following winter was remarkable for the cold, which was so excessive, that the sea was frozen round the mole; so that, for two days, no vessels could sail out of the harbour. This rigorous season was succeeded in the spring by a dreadful pestilence, which proved so fatal, that scarce every fifth person of those that remained in the city escaped alive.

A.D. 1495.

*Charles
VIII. enters
Italy.*

This year it was that Charles VIII. of France entered Italy with a powerful army, at the instigation of Lewis Sforza, who was desirous of maintaining his usurped authority in Milan, by introducing all the horrors of war into Italy. The king of Naples had threatened him, if he did not immediately surrender the duchy of Milan into the hands of his nephew John Galeas; and an alliance with the French monarch, furnished the only probable means of being able to oppose the power of Alphonso. Lewis equipped at Genoa four large ships and twelve galleys, to act in concert with the French fleet. On the other hand, Alphonso, to make a diversion, entered into a strict alliance with the pope, and by this means engaged the cardinal Fregosa, to

^f Foliet. lib. xi. Barthol. Senareg. de Reb. Gen. ap. Murat. tom. xxiv. col. 515, &c.

excite fresh disturbances in Genoa. With some other disaffected persons, they joined the Neapolitan fleet, and laid siege to Porto Venere; but were repulsed by the intrepidity of Balbi, who commanded in the place, and forced to embark with precipitation ^g.

While the Neapolitan fleet was engaged in matters of little importance, the duke of Orleans arrived at Genoa, in order to counteract the measures of the disaffected, and induce the whole city to declare unanimously for Charles the Eighth. Having intelligence that the Neapolitans had taken Rapallo, he set out with a strong body of Genoese, assisted by some Swiss corps, to attack the enemy, and regain that place. To the ardor and courage of the Genoese we may attribute his success: they first mounted the enemy's entrenchments, drove them before them, and left nothing to the Swiss but the pursuit and plunder. Lawrence Fregosa and several of the disaffected, were made prisoners ^h.

Charles VIII. was at Asti, when he received the news of the victory gained over the Neapolitans. It was expected he would have made Genoa a visit; but he contented himself with sending ambassadors to engage the republic to declare war against Florence. His conquests were so rapid, that Lewis Sforza became jealous: he was now in full possession of the duchy of Milan, by the death of his nephew; and apprehended that Charles would not bound his ambition by his successes in Tuscany and Naples. To secure himself he changed sides, and engaged in a fresh alliance with the pope, the king of Spain, and the republic of Venice. Soon after this alteration of measures, the French monarch returned to Pisa, and was persuaded by cardinal Fregosa that Genoa might be easily reduced. Philip de Bresse and Miolano were sent with a fleet and army upon this enterprize; but they were both defeated by Adorno, and Spinola, surnamed the Moor. Rapallo was afterwards retaken; the French and Swiss garrison were made prisoners, and the succours landed from the fleet forced to retreat to the ships in great confusion ⁱ.

A.D. 1496.

To these advantages the Genoese added several others: Sarzana was recovered at the price of a sum of money paid to the governor, and the Venetians disappointed of their designs upon it, notwithstanding their alliance with Lewis Sforza. Adorno endeavoured to gain possession of Pietra Santo in the same manner; but the Lucchese inter-

^g Foliet. lib. xii.
Murator. col. 515.

^h Idem ibid.

ⁱ Senareg. apud

posed, and began a treaty about this place with the marquis d'Entragues. The duke wrote to Sforza, requesting him to intercede with the Lucchese; but this task he declined. Soon after, however, he visited the senate, and acquired the affection of the republic, by his affability, rich presents, and caresses, which no man knew how to bestow with greater addressⁱ.

The Genoese had just crushed a rebellion excited by Laviano, in Corsica, when they received advice that Charles the Eighth was preparing again to enter Italy, resolved to revenge the perfidy of Sforza, and his losses in Naples, by an attack on Genoa. He was in expectation of forming a considerable party within the city, by means of John Baptista Fregosa, and of profiting by the divisions between the duke and the Fieschi family: in a word, he imagined the Genoese would easily be induced to change their protector, on account of their chagrin at the late conduct of Lewis Sforza, duke of Milan. Trivulcio was sent with a strong detachment to Genoa, with orders to join Fregosa and the cardinal St. Pierre. Other detachments were made in order to straiten the duke; but he was not easily disconcerted. He reconciled the duke with the Fieschi family, and procured the latter to march with all the troops that could be got ready, against Trivulcio. Novi had surrendered to the French general, without striking a single blow; and thus the Genoese territories were exposed to the enemy's incursions, who did not fail to gratify their resentment and avarice by exacting heavy contributions. In the mean time, the Genoese advanced in their march; but no action ensued, in as much as Trivulcio retreated, on pretence that the scarcity of forage and provision rendered the expedition impracticable.

A.D. 1499,

*Lewis XII.
conquers
Milan and
the Genoese
dominions.*

At the death of Charles VIII. Lewis XII. claimed the duchy of Milan, in right of his mother; and conquered it, and all the Genoese dominions, in one campaign. The government of the city he gave to Ravestein; and as for Pietra Santa, he kept it in his own hands, until the several claims of the republic and Lucca could be determined^k.

Italy was no sooner delivered from French tyranny by the departure of Lewis XII. than its repose was again disturbed by the contentions of Florence and Pisa. The republic of Genoa sided with the latter. Pisa was besieged, and a thousand Genoese were sent under Renier de la Sarette, a Spanish officer of experience, to attempt the re-

ⁱ Guicciard. lib. i.

^k Idem, lib. v.

relief of the garrison by land, at the same time that a small Squadron endeavoured to throw in provisions by sea, from which the city is distant about four miles. Bardelle, who commanded this little convoy, found means to escape all the vigilance of the enemy, to push up the mouth of the Arno, and throw in stores; notwithstanding which supply, the besieged were soon reduced to great extremities. Determined, however, not to surrender to the Florentines, the inhabitants offered to put the city under the protection of Genoa; a proposition which it seemed the interest of the republic to accept, although it met with great opposition, particularly from John Lewis Fieschi, who carried his point so far, that the senate refused returning any answer before they had obtained the consent of the French king, on whom the republic depended. An embassy accordingly was sent to Lewis XII. to sound his inclinations; and that monarch, averse to any augmentation of the Genoese power, rejected the proposition. In consequence of the king's inclinations, the senate sent but faint supplies to Pisa, though their allegiance to Lewis was but of short duration¹.

What Lewis had foreseen of the Genoese inconstancy came to pass in the year 1506. They threw off their allegiance to him, and obliged the person he had appointed governor to quit the city. Mutual resentments had always been harboured in the breasts of the nobility and people. Neither could bear with temper to see the officers of the state divided, each being desirous of engrossing the whole to themselves. A band of mechanics, filled with these notions, flew to arms, attacked and wounded many persons belonging to the Doria family. The magistrates assembled to quell the tumult; but could not succeed, except by a promise, that the nobility would content themselves with a third of the public employments. For a little time they were satisfied with this concession: but new seditions were soon excited by certain factious persons, who grounded fresh pretensions and expectations on the facility with which the late concessions were made. They again assembled, and plundered the houses of the nobility, obliging the whole body to retire, to avoid worse consequences. Ravestein, the French governor, had made a visit to his native country previous to his insurrection, leaving his command to Rocabertin, who was forced by necessity to comply with the former demands of the malcontents. On notice of the tumult, Ravestein returned with a body of five hundred horse

A.D. 1506.

*The revolt
of Genoa.*¹ Foliet. lib. xii.

and seven hundred foot. He believed that he should be able to awe the mutineers; but finding his authority contemned, and the force he endeavoured to exert, ineffectual, he retired to the fort or citadel.

*Tribunes
appointed.*

The people became more daring by his retreat, committed the charge of public affairs to eight persons of the lowest class, whom they called tribunes; and, not satisfied with the possession of the capital, they endeavoured to extend their sovereignty over all the other parts of the Genoese dominion. They gained possession of Spezzia, which Lewis Fieschi held in the king's name; and, in a word, became so successful in establishing confusion and anarchy, that their situation was no longer tolerable to the nobility, who carried their complaints to the throne. The people soon after pleaded their own cause by their deputies, alleging, they had taken arms only because the insolence and power of the nobility were grown altogether intolerable and oppressive; that they had seized on Spezzia with no other view than to secure their commerce; and that they would observe the same obedience to his majesty as before. Lewis inclined to the side of the nobility; but he disssembled his sentiments, because the popular party was strongest. He feared that should he oppose them, they would throw themselves into the arms of the emperor Maximilian. He offered pardon to the ringleaders of the sedition, and promised to approve their distribution of the government, if they would restore Spezzia into the hands of his officers. These concessions were not attended with the expected success. The tribunes, contrary to the advice of the senate, refused to restore Spezzia, and the other places they had seized; nay, they directed their troops to attack Monaco. Ravestein did all in his power to oppose the progress of the malcontents; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he returned to France, to solicit a reinforcement that should be sufficient to reduce them entirely.

Incensed at the obstinacy of the popular faction, the king determined to march against them in person. They heard of the preparations making in France against them; but such was their obstinacy, that they still kept Monaco besieged by a squadron of galleys, and six thousand men, command by Tartalin, a general sent them by the Pisans. They remained for several months before this place; and at last raised the siege, on the approach of Guy de Alegre, who advanced at the head of all the nobility in the country, to relieve the garrison.

Their disappointment before Monaco served only to augment their discontent, and inflame their resentment against

Lewis

Lewis and the nobility. They pulled down his majesty's arms from all public places, and elected Novi, a silk-dyer, their duke; an office which had never been conferred on any man beneath the rank of a citizen of the middle class between the nobility and the vulgar. They next published a declaration, asserting the liberty of the city, and making it unlawful ever to subject it to a foreign prince; notwithstanding, a few days after they put up the imperial arms. A change of measures, in favour of the emperor, was brought about so suddenly, that all men believed the insurrection was fomented by his agents; a suspicion was corroborated by his letter of intercession to Lewis, requesting that he would abstain from all violence, and suffer the people to regulate the government of their own city, in their own way^m.

*A silk dyer
made duke.*

The Genoese then committed the defence of the city to Tartalin and Jacobo Corso, two of the best officers at that time in Italy. The latter remained in the city, while the former marched with a detachment to attempt relieving Ventimiglia, besieged by Trivulcio. After the departure of Tartalin, Corso laid siege to the citadel, which he battered with heavy cannon, without effecting a breach, while his troops were constantly harrassed with furious sallies made by the French garrison. At last he compassed by artifice what he could not effect by force: his emissaries insinuated to the besieged that all hopes of succour were now cut off, by the defeat of the king's army, the plundering of his camp, and seizing upon all the passes: he artfully mixed menaces with promises, and cunningly procured a capitulation, granting the garrison honourable terms, to which he paid little regard when he had them in his power. All the French were cut in pieces, with such circumstances of barbarity as were a disgrace to human natureⁿ.

*Cruelty of
the rebels.*

Having thus treacherously gained possession of the fort, commonly called the citadel, they attacked the other fortress on the plain, which was defended by a French garrison. It is probable that the fear of sharing the fate of their countrymen redoubled the courage of the garrison; they, indeed, made extraordinary efforts in their own defence, and often drove the besiegers out of the place, after they had got footing within the walls.

In this miserable situation was Genoa when king Lewis arrived at Aste. However insolent the mutineers had been, while danger was at a distance, they now became perfectly

^m Foliet. lib. xii.
fator. col. 515.

ⁿ Idem ibid. etiam Senareg. apud Mu-

humble, and sent six deputies to his majesty to apologize for a conduct that would admit of no palliation. Had manly liberty alone inspired them, posterity at least would have done justice to their fame; but it was faction, cruelty, and licentiousness, that actuated their measures. His majesty easily perceived that their professions of penitence and submission were only made to amuse him until the Florentine succours should arrive; as they had fortified all the passes to the city. He therefore ordered Charles d'Amboise to march forward with the army, while he himself waited to be joined by several Italian princes. After having forced all the passes, the marshal arrived at Rapallo, a village in the valley of Poseveri: here he maintained the strictest discipline, contenting himself with repulsing any attacks that should be made by the Genoese, until the king's arrival in the camp.

A.D. 1507.

The French king lays siege to the city.

Lewis no sooner joined the army, than he ordered the marshal to attack the Genoese forts on the mountains, and assist the garrison that was besieged in the fort on the plain. Immediately the army, consisting of eight hundred lances, eighteen thousand light horse, six thousand Swiss, and an equal number of other infantry of all nations, was drawn out in the king's presence. All things were disposed for the attack on the 12th of April: Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, and colonel Mercato, were sent with strong detachments to make a circuit round the hills, and attack the Genoese in the rear, while he charged them in person in front. A part of the cavalry he left to defend the passage in the valley of Poseveri, lest the Genoese should attack the French in the rear, while they were ascending the mountains. In this manner the assault began with great vigour on all sides: the marquis of Mantua soon made himself master of the enemy's camp, while they thought of nothing but standing their ground in the valley. He then charged with so much resolution, that the Genoese, believing the enemy greatly superior in number to themselves, soon gave way, and were put in confusion. At last a total rout ensued; some flying to the mountains, others to the citadel they had lately reduced. The son of the marquis d'Alegre pursued them with the regiment of Gascons to the walls, on which he planted the colours in the king's name. On this occasion the Genoese lost near three thousand men, killed and made prisoners.

The Genoese defeated.

The senate supplicates peace.

These losses without the walls excited so great a consternation within, that the senate were for surrendering the city to his majesty. Justiniani, attended by several other senators, waited on Lewis with propositions to this effect,

after

after having obtained a truce for twenty-four hours. The king refused to see them, but they obtained an audience of the marshal. They fell upon their knees, and with tears besought him to have compassion on the miserable state to which they were reduced : they represented, that they had no authority in the city, and that the disobedience of the Genoese arose solely from the fury and infatuation of the populace. Their government, they said, was divided into three classes ; the nobles and burghers composed the senate ; they had frequent quarrels, but always supported each other against the third class, which includes artificers and mechanics of all sorts, the embroilers and pests of government, and now the occasion of all the misfortunes of Genoa. In a word, the deputies pleaded their cause so pathetically, that the marshal, having reported their prayers to his majesty, it was determined to pardon the mutineers upon their submission.

The brutality of the populace, however, destroyed the effects of this resolution : they refused to lay down their arms, and added contemptuous terms and scornful insolence to their refusal. They determined once more to try their fortune in the field, and hoped it would prove more favourable than the last effort. They persuaded themselves that the king's army was less numerous than the senate pretended, and that these were not the troops who conquered Naples, but an army of new recruits, who were sufficiently tired of fighting, from the warm reception they met with in the late action. Ideas so flattering elevated their courage so high, that they were fired with desire of repairing their disgrace, and regretted every moment that was spent in deliberation.

This fresh tumult greatly embarrassed the citizens. On the one side, they feared the king's resentment, because they had promised what it was not in their power to perform ; and, on the other, they dreaded the perils to which they were exposed in combating the opinions of a headstrong multitude, with arms in their hands. In the morning, the multitude went forth in a tumultuous manner at break of day, and gained the tops of the mountains by secret paths, that were known only to the peasants. They attacked the fort the French had taken in the late action ; but met with more resistance than they expected, which helped to cool their ardor. They still, however, continued the attack ; but advice of their motions being received in the camp, the greatest part of the army marched against them, and they were driven, like a flock of sheep, back to the city, a great number being pressed to death in the crowd,

crowd, or overturned and tumbled over the rocks in their flight.

The night following, they quitted the city, with all their families and effects, headed by their duke, Paulo Novi. Most of them retired to Pisa, and the rest to some or other of the maritime towns. Those who were not resolute enough to go into voluntary banishment, laid down their arms, and were reconciled to the senate. In the morning, all was quiet in the city, and the senate sent fresh ambassadors to Lewis, to implore his mercy, and excuse the late outrage. Their petition was granted, and a part of the army ordered to take possession of Genoa. After the mareschal had seized the principal posts, and placed guards in the proper stations, he ordered all the arms of the people to be carried to the arsenal, and themselves to lodge in the higher stories of their houses, making room in the lower for the French troops.

A.D. 1508.

*Lewis XII.
is master of
the city,
and regulates the
government.*

Next day, Lewis made his public entry with great magnificence; and assembling the senate, ordered all the public acts and old records to be burnt in his presence, with a view that Genoa should henceforward have no laws but such as himself and successors should prescribe; a resolution truly barbarous and Gothic. He then ordered a declaration to be registered, importing, that the city and state of Genoa should remain unalienably annexed to the crown of France; that the Genoese should continue faithful to him and his successors, who would protect and defend them against all their enemies: that all crimes committed during the late troubles should be pardoned: that all contention among the different classes of the people should cease, and a perfect union be established among them: that the Genoese should build, at their expence, a citadel in a certain part of the town, upon a plan given by his majesty: that the bank of St. George should enjoy its ancient privileges: that the Genoese should be at all the expence of supporting such garrisons as the king should think sufficient for the defence of the city and Genoese territories: that they should maintain four gallies and four ships of war, to be disposed of at his majesty's pleasure: that the city should be governed by magistrates chosen annually; but that their power should not extend to make alterations in the police, form alliances, or declare war, all which articles should be deemed royal prerogatives: that the city, and all the Genoese dominions, should obey the orders of the mareschal Amboise, whom the king constituted

stituted his lieutenant on this side the mountains; and before whom it should be lawful for parties to appeal from the common courts of judicature.

Besides the articles contained in this declaration, his majesty obliged the city to pay all the expences of the war. He ordered all the old money to be recoined, and took every other measure that could destroy the least vestige and remembrance of the ancient republic.

S E C T. V.

The Genoese revolt; Doria restores the Liberty of his Country; the Conspiracy of Fieschi.

IT was in the following year that the emperor made some abortive attempts to wrest Genoa out of the hands of the French, by means of a secret correspondence with Baptista Justiniani and Fregosa, two banished noblemen. In 1509, Julius the Second endeavoured to surprize Genoa, assisted by the Venetians. His holiness equipped a fleet, which was joined by four large Venetian gallies. The armament was reinforced by great numbers of refugees and banished nobility; among others, by the archbishop of Genoa, son of Bieto Fieschi. It was proposed to invest the city by sea and land, intelligence of which design coming to Chaumont, who commanded in Genoa, he sent a squadron to give battle to the enemy. The two fleets coming in sight of each other off Porto Venere, began a cannonading, which continued for two hours; after which the pope's admiral steered for Sestri, without making any farther efforts.

A.D. 1509.

Notwithstanding a series of intrigues carried on with the refugee Genoese, at different courts, to seduce the city from her attachment to France, the Genoese continued faithful, and even raised a considerable army in support of the French government. The attempts of John Baptista Fregosa rendered it necessary to solicit a reinforcement from Trivulcio, which his circumstances would not admit of sparing. Fregosa profited by this conjuncture in the month of June to recover the ducal dignity. He approached the city; and the French commandant, believing himself too weak to resist, retired into the citadel. It was certain that he entertained suspicions of the fidelity of the citizens, as he refused to return at their most pressing intreaties. He even carried his jealousy to such a length, as imprudently to fire upon the city from the citadel; a
step

A.D. 1517.

step that incensed the Genoese greatly, and induced them to receive Fregosa, who was elected duke on the 29th of June.

The new duke immediately retorted the hostilities commenced by the French governor. At the instigation of the pope's legate the forts were invested, and batteries erected, which played with great vigour and success. Several places of strength surrendered; but the French found means to throw in succours into the southern fort, which withstood all the efforts of the Genoese. In the mean time, the king, informed of the revolt of the city, ordered all the Genoese ships and merchandize in his ports to be seized.

The duke, apprehending that the Fieschi family carried on some secret designs with the Adornos, to re-establish the French government, determined to defeat their measures.

A. D. 1512.

*The republic
revolts.*

Jerome Fieschi, being upon a visit to the duke on the 23d of May, attended by his two brothers, some words arose between him and Mobo Jomatin, in the anti-chamber. Young Fregosa took part with Jomatin, and his two brothers with Fieschi. In an instant a hundred swords were drawn on both sides, and much blood would have been spilt, had not the duke interposed his authority, and effected an accommodation. This reconciliation, however, was not sincere; for Jerome Fieschi was assassinated a few days after by Zachary Fregosa; and the two remaining brothers were taking measures to revenge his death, when the Adorno family marched with three thousand men into the valley of Posseveri. The duke detached a body of troops to give them battle. The whole Fregosa family took arms, engaged the enemy, and were defeated with great loss. Upon this success the Adorno family relieved fort Louthan, which had been long besieged. In a word, so successful were the two families of Fieschi and Adorno, that they obliged the duke to quit the city, and again restored the French dominion. Zachary Fregosa now suffered the just punishment of murder; after having been pierced with numberless wounds, his legs were tied to the tail of a horse, and his body dragged round the city.

Now the Genoese established a new council called della Boglia; and dispatched Melchior de Negrone, Ansaldo Grimaldi, Vincent Santi, and Augustin Ferrara, to the general of the fleet, to oblige him to return to Genoa, and submit to the French king. But while the Adornos were thus effecting the restoration of the French government in Genoa, his majesty lost the battle of Novaro; and Octavian Fregosa embraced this opportunity of expelling the Adorno family. He got together a body of troops, which

Antonio

Antonio Adorno was so far from opposing, that, rather than involve his country in a fresh civil war, he voluntarily laid down the dignity of duke, which he held from the French king; an instance of patriotism which may possibly be attributed to necessity. Certain it is, that during the short term of his government, he gained the affections of the people in a very extraordinary manner, and was loaded with their blessings as he now departed the city.

Prejon, who commanded the Genoese fleet, quitted the coast by the king's order; after having supplied the southern fort with all necessaries; and Octavian Fregosa was elected duke without opposition. The Genoese had kept this fort close besieged, when Fregosa assumed his dignity: he resolved to push the siege with vigour; but all his efforts were baffled, by the bravery of the garrison and the situation of the fort, which was washed by the sea. At length, the enemy received reinforcements of Milanese and Swiss, with which the Adorno and Fieschi families took the field, to the number of six thousand men, gaining, in a short time, possession of Chiavari and Portofino. The duke sent Nicholas Doria against them, with five hundred foot; and he was immediately followed by Frederic Fregosa, several other nobility, and reinforcements. Assisted by Andrea Doria, who commanded the fleet, they battered Chiavari for two days, but could not succeed. In the mean time, the enemy increased to ten thousand, and were marching to invest Genoa. Adorno encamped for the space of ten days at Bisagno, preparing all things necessary to push the siege with vigour, when of a sudden he quitted his camp with so much precipitation that he left his artillery behind. Thus Genoa was, for the present, relieved from the impending storm; but still the duke could not accomplish the reduction of the forts, particularly the southern fort, against which he bent all his endeavours. At last, however, having intercepted a convoy intended for the garrison, he obliged the governor to capitulate, after he had been reduced to the most deplorable necessity.

The Genoese besiege the French garrison in the citadel.

The joy produced by this event was so tumultuous, that it afforded the Adorno family an opportunity of attempting the city by surprize. They marched with five hundred men in the night, hoping to become masters of the palace with little trouble, in consequence of secret intelligence they held in the town: but the roads were so bad, and their march so tedious, that day-light discovered their design before they arrived at Castellazzo. Nevertheless, in a

A.D. 1514.

° Hist. de Gen. lib. xi. tom. ii.

council of war, it was determined to pursue their march. Accordingly they arrived at Genoa on the 27th of December, seizing on Carbonara gate, with little resistance. Pushing on to the palace, they cried out, "Long live Adorno and Fieschi!" They awaked the duke in attempting to force the gate, and found him a more vigorous enemy than they expected. Forming his men in the best order, he sallied out at their head, sword in hand, and made dreadful havock. The wounds he received served only to whet his ardour, and he continued the fight, till the enemy, no longer in condition to oppose so much valour, turned their backs, leaving a complete victory to the duke, who took Adorno, Fieschi, and Camillo, prisoners.

A.D. 1515.

*Francis the
First endeavours to
recover
Genoa.*

In this situation were things, when Francis the First ascended the throne of France. He immediately resolved to recover Milan and the Genoese territories, which had been wrested from his predecessor. For this purpose he endeavoured to form an alliance with Leo the Tenth; but his holiness had just concluded a treaty against Francis with Charles the Fifth, two days before the arrival of the French ambassador. There was not in Italy a man of quality more beloved by his holiness than Octavian Fregosa; he employed all his authority with the Spaniards to have him made duke, when the city fell into their hands, and he obtained the dignity for him in prejudice to the right of the elder brother, who had solicited this high office at the same time. On his side, Fregosa had always expressed a just sense of the pope's friendship, and regulated his conduct by no other rule than the inclination and interest of his benefactor. He had done him many good offices in return, and was highly instrumental in his exaltation to the papacy. He governed Genoa by the will of Leo; and discovered all the intrigues of the French to disunite him from the holy see; but now the pope's friendship grew burthensome, and Fregosa began to be tired of an alliance which hourly endangered his life, and exposed him to the hazard of assassination. France protected the Adorno and Fieschi families, his greatest enemies, who had now twice brought him to the brink of ruin. He saw that their attacks would never cease, so long as they were protected by France and he at enmity with that monarch; he therefore formed the resolution of entering into the measures with king Francis, and supplanting his rivals in the favour of that monarch.

On the other hand, the duke of Milan was Fregosa's sworn enemy, on account of the connections he had formed with the Adornos, and his pretensions upon Genoa. The Swiss had vowed never to forgive the injury done them, when he
made

made his application to the Spaniards to be restored to his dignity, rather than to them. Thus he was certain of being deprived of his dignity by either of the contending interests that succeeded in their schemes; and while he was balancing, the constable of Bourbon seized the opportunity, and by a secret treaty fixed him in the interest of France. The duke of Milan, however, got some intelligence that a French gentleman was concealed in the duke's palace: he sent notice of it to the pontiff, and requested that he would lend him the four thousand Swiss cantoned in the ecclesiastical dominions, with which he promised to secure Genoa to the holy see. Leo gave no credit to an information which he attributed to Sforza's malice, and refused to let him have the troops. Thus Fregosa was allowed to pursue his scheme with France unmolested.

Francis, having determined to invade Italy, sent the cardinal de Sion into Piedmont with an army of twenty thousand men; and, to open a passage for him, Aymer de Prie, one of the most experienced officers of his time, was detached with a squadron, on board of which were embarked five thousand veteran foot, and four hundred lances, to Genoa to join the duke, who had engaged to raise a certain force. This junction was formed, as they pretended, for their own defence. It was necessary to invade part of the Milanese beyond the Po, and surprise the towns of Tortona and Alexandria, in order to dislodge the Swiss posted in Suza, and prevent themselves from being attacked in front and rear. The duke and de Prie were successful in their scheme, having taken Tortona, Alexandria, and all those territories of the Milanese beyond the Po; but the prosecution of their design in thus opening a passage for the French troops proved unnecessary, the duke of Savoy having pointed out an easier road.

In the course of the following year, his holiness and the Spaniards concerted a plan for surprising Genoa; but it was discovered and frustrated by Fregosa. At last Colonna formed a scheme against it, which had better success, in spite of all the diligence and ability of the duke. Genoa was besieged by the Spanish and ecclesiastical forces; it was bravely defended by the duke, reinforced by the French, but at last forced to capitulate. Adorno was made duke in the room of Fregosa: the same form of government that had continued for so many years before the French came into Italy was restored, and the republic's fleet put under the imperial admiral's command for three years. While the capitulation was settling, the Spaniards, observing that the Genoese relaxed in their duty, seized the opportunity,

The Spaniards enter Genoa, and pillage it.

and forcing themselves into the city, pillaged it in a cruel manner. The only resistance they met with was in the street, where a body of three hundred French were posted. To these Fregosa and the count de St. Paul joined themselves, and fought with such desperate fury, that for three hours the Spaniards could not break this handful of men: at last these heroes were surrounded, and forced to surrender prisoners of war, the count de St. Paul alone escaping into a garret (A).

The pillaging of Genoa, the richest town at that time in Europe except Venice, brought on disputes among the confederate generals. Colonna accused Pescara of having broke the faith of kings, by abandoning the city to the licentious rage of the Spanish soldiers, in order to ingratiate himself with those troops; but he made very light of the charge.

From this period Genoa took no share in public affairs; at least it would be impossible to separate the affairs of the republic from the general transactions of the war between Francis the First and the emperor Charles the Fifth, which we have had so frequent occasion to mention in the course of our history.

A.D. 1515.

Although the republic made no great figure in this war, some Genoese individuals greatly signalized themselves, and among these Andrea Doria, who commanded a squadron belonging to the French king. He defeated the Spanish admiral Morcado after a bloody battle, that raised his reputation to the highest pitch of glory, and performed several other gallant actions, which placed him among the greatest commanders of the age: what, however, gained him more honour than all his military exploits, was the revolution he effected in Genoa in the year 1528.

A.D. 1528.

Doria quits the French service, and forms schemes for restoring liberty to the city.

Before this time Doria had quitted the French service, and employed his mind in projecting schemes for rescuing his country out of the hands of foreign princes. He well

(A) Foliet observes, contrary to the testimony of all other writers, that Fregosa was, at this time, confined to his bed with the gout; but ordered himself to be carried to the window on hearing that the marquis Pescara had taken the count St. Paul prisoner. This nobleman he demanded, in order to screen him from the fury

of the Adorni. The favour was refused, and he was so mortified with grief, that his distemper ascending to his stomach, put an end to his life (1). Other writers ascribe his death to the fatigue of this action, and the chagrin of seeing himself stripped of all his power by the Adorni (2).

(1) Foliet. lib. vi. xii.

(2) Senareg. ibid.

knew the fickle disposition of his countrymen, and encouraged this humour with great address, to promote their interest and restore their long lost liberty. As he had a great number of friends in the city, with whom he maintained a constant correspondence, he lost no occasion to excite discontents against the present administration. He persuaded the people that the French, under the notion of protecting them against their enemies, left them only a shadow of liberty, governing with all the despotism of conquerors. To the nobility he represented the disgrace of suffering the reins of government to be directed by foreigners, and putting their property, liberty, and lives, in the power of men less worthy of authority than themselves. In a word, he formed a strong faction, laid a plan, and judiciously fixed upon a season for the execution, when the violence of the plague had carried off three-fourths of the garrison (B). He advanced with five hundred men, his friends opened the gates to him, he seized the principal posts in the city, and thus became master of Genoa without drawing his sword, the French garrison having retired to the forts. Trivulcio himself withdrew to the citadel, from whence he wrote to the confederates that he would undertake to drive out Doria if they would send him three thousand men. This reinforcement not coming, however, at the time expected, Trivulcio blasted the laurels he had been collecting in a tedious war, by signing scandalous articles of capitulation, in order to save his own treasures.

He gains possession of Genoa.

No sooner were the French driven out of Genoa than Doria's name was echoed in every street: some expressed their real sentiments by their demonstrations of joy, others followed the current of fortune, and many thought to conceal their aversion to this hero, and the liberty of the republic, by joining in the public acclamation. Doria, without examining into the real opinions of individuals, resolved to profit by the general appearances, and the present humour of the people. He assembled the nobility, and restored the government into their hands, declaring that he pretended to no greater share in it than became him as a nobleman. He re-established the ancient form of the republic, and received from his country all those testimonies

(B) It appears, from all the circumstances of this relation, and the concurring testimony of authors, that Genoa was, at this time, under the protection of France, though it does not appear when the city had shaken off the yoke of the confederates, after they took it by surprize, anno 1521.

of gratitude, which a conduct so disinterested seemed to deserve.

*Andre-
stores liber-
ty to his
country.*

After having finished this glorious enterprize, Doria retired to his palace to enjoy in tranquility the fruits of his past labours. His country admired his moderation and prudence: they honoured him with the title of father of his country; and the restorer of public liberty; and to transmit to posterity the memory of their obligations, they erected a statue with the following inscription,

Andreæ Aurix civi opt. feliciss. que vindici atque autori publicæ libertatis: senatus populusque Genuensis pos.

In the mean time the Genoese did not suffer their joy so wholly to engross their minds as to divert their attention from the necessary business of the state. To enjoy the sole fruits of their liberty, it was requisite to gain possession of all the dominions of the republic, and to expel the French garri- sons out of several of their towns and forts. They began with Savona, which they closely blocked up. Montjean made several attempts to relieve the besieged; but all his endeavours were foiled by the vigilance of the Genoese. However, his ill success put him upon a scheme which served, at least, to raise his reputation. It was to surprisè Doria in his palace, the one side of which was washed by the sea, and the other joined to the walls of the city. Taking with him fifty horse and two thousand foot, selected from the whole French army, he set out for Genoa, travelled twenty-two Italian miles in one night, and arrived about day-break at the place appointed for the rendezvous. Under favour of a morning fog, he seized upon all the avenues leading to the palace without being discovered, and was first seen by a footman, at a very little distance from the gate. Immediately he awaked Doria, who scarce had time to save himself by the back-door, and throw himself into a small boat, that carried him to the galleys that lay in the road (C).

A.D. 1526.

Not long after the count St. Paul attempted to surprisè Genoa, but was disappointed by a heavy storm of rain, which rendered the ways impassable. Next year Charles the Fifth was crowned at Bologna, at which ceremony the ambassadors of Genoa and Sienna, disputing about precedency in the church, came to blows, and were both turned out by the emperor's order.

(C) Two years after, he commanded the emperor's fleet against the Turks, laid siege to Coron, in the Morea, and per-

formed several gallant actions, which we have elsewhere recorded.

Ten

Ten years after this transaction Hercules Fregosa and Guy Rincon made an attempt to surprise Genoa; they had entered the valley of Poseveri, when Andrew Doria, with the emperor's consent, detached Spinola and Antonio Doria, with seven hundred men, to the relief of his countrymen. When they arrived they found the city in the utmost consternation, and the women flying with their children to the mountains. Rincon had already arrived at the gate of St. Thomas, and planted his scaling-ladders against the walls, while Fregosa made another attack on the side of Bisagno. Baptisto Corso had sustained the first shock of the enemy, but was just on the point of yielding to superior force, when Spinola and Doria came up, renewed the engagement, drove Rincon from the walls, and thus delivered Genoa from the most dangerous attack she had lately sustained. Doria was like the tutelary deity of the state; he first gave it liberty, and then protected it by his vigilance and foresight, even when removed at a distance.

A.D. 1536.

*Delivers
Genoa from
a very
dangerous
attack.*

While the republic was heaping honours upon him, he took a step which greatly surprised his most profound admirers: he adopted Jeannetin Doria, a distant cousin, to succeed him, not only in his estate but employments. Jeannetin was the son of Thomas Doria, a nobleman reduced to want: he was bred a silk-weaver, an employment no way suited to his birth: he was young and handsome, but ignorant, vulgar, rash, and insolent. It is probable that Andrea Doria did not perceive his defects, or if he did, that he attributed them to want of education, which consequently would wear off as he became better acquainted with life. He introduced him to the imperial service, recommended him to many Spanish officers of distinction, with intention, that their protection should support Jeannetin in the dignity to which he should be raised at his death; and he gradually accustomed the Genoese nobility to treat him with that respect which they naturally owed their superiors in birth and merit.

On the other hand, Jeannetin did not support his elevation with all the prudence and circumspection necessary. Far from declining those extraordinary marks of deference, he seemed to claim them as his right: he demanded the homage of his equals with the insolence of a superior, obliged many to be his enemies who bore his cousin the strongest affection; and, in short, became hated and despised, in spite of the public respect that was universally paid to Andrea Doria.

† Hist. de Gen. tom. ii. lib. xi.

*The rise
and pro-
gress of the
revolution
attempted
by John
Lewis
Fieschi.*

At this period the most considerable nobleman in Genoa was John Lewis Fieschi, head of one of the most ancient and illustrious families in the city. Lewis was ambitious, and deficient in none of those qualities requisite for undertaking the most daring enterprizes. The indolence in which the Genoese nobility lived was no ways suitable to his disposition. He sought for means of signalizing himself, and obliging fortune to do justice to his merit. However, the want of proper conjunctures had set bounds to his ambition; and he saw himself restrained to those narrow limits to which persons of his rank were confined by the laws of his country. Jeannetin's elevation destroyed all his hopes of ever procuring an employment suited to his dignity and ambition. Doria's adoption gave to that upstart the command of the republic's armies in war, and the presidency of her civil æconomy in peace. Nothing remained for Fieschi but to accept of a subaltern employment under the person he despised,

In these mortifying circumstances he began to revolve in his mind whether a revolution in the form of government might not be effected, by which he might raise himself to those offices which he claimed in right of his rank and merit. He dissembled, however, his intentions; but others, who had formed the same designs, penetrated into his views, and a coalition of interests immediately took place. In the prosecution of this scheme, Fieschi was astonished to find such numbers of discontented nobility among those he always reputed the fast friends of Doria; nay, to find himself the most strenuously solicited by those men to rescue the government out of Doria's hands. His first care was to prove the sincerity of this new party: next he put himself in a condition to oppose the Spanish fleet and the Milanese troops, who would undoubtedly lay siege to the city, should any alteration be introduced into the government. But it was impossible to oppose the formidable power of Charles V. without applying for foreign aid; and France alone could afford the necessary assistance, or find its interest in supporting the views of Fieschi and his faction.

A commission was given to Cæsar Fregosa to sound the French monarch's inclinations; but Fregosa's negotiation proved abortive, from the obstinate silence he preserved with respect to the names of the heads and principal persons concerned in this design. Fieschi did not reproach him with his ill success; but he sent another agent, the famous Gonzaga, more expert in business, to treat with Francis. Gonzaga took the most effectual means to succeed; he de-

monstrated,

monstrated, in a few words, that the only means of driving the emperor out of the Milanese, was to cut off the communication between that duchy and his other dominions, an aim which could only be accomplished by rescuing the republic of Genoa out of Doria's hands, and consequently detaching it from the emperor's interest.

His negotiation at the court of France.

This remonstrance had the desired effect. It was determined in council to assist the projected revolution; but Gonzaga did not quit the court before he had obtained a solemn promise, that Francis would renounce, in favour of Fieschi, all his claims to Genoa, as soon as the revolution should be accomplished. He likewise received the necessary powers for assembling the troops cantoned in Piedmont, and calling them to his assistance whenever it was found expedient; and he selected out of the whole fleet in the harbour of Toulon, a certain number of ships, to compose a squadron for the same purpose.

After having secured the friendship of France, Fieschi meditated how he should still strengthen his interest, by drawing the pontiff into his measures. He made an excursion to Rome, on pretence of pleasure, but in reality with a design the more easily to communicate his plan to Paul III. The occasion was seasonable; for Doria had a dispute with the holy see about the effects of bishop Doria, his cousin, in Naples, who, in his last will, had appointed him sole heir and executor. This will was contested by the officers of the holy see, who insisted, that all the estate of the deceased bishop descended of course to the pope, as head of the church, and immediate patron of that diocese. The affair was carried to Rome, and decided by the rota against Doria, who found in the same persons his judges and opponents. Hence proceeded a coldness between Doria and his holiness, of which Fieschi hoped to make his advantage. He first opened his design to cardinal Trivulcio, who not only received it with approbation, but entered strongly into the scheme, which he promised to support with all his interest. It was indeed no difficult matter to gain his holiness; a variety of circumstances concurred to make Fieschi's journey as successful as he could wish; the pope not only encouraged him in his purpose, but furnished him with fresh means of bringing it to bear.

Although Trivulcio approved of Fieschi's project, as far as it related to France, yet he deemed it highly chimerical with respect to himself; and stated it in such a manner to Fieschi, that he was frequently upon the point of renouncing it; but the insolence of Jeannetin determined him to run every hazard. On his return from Rome he was treated so

so arrogantly by that young gentleman, that, with the utmost difficulty, he restrained his temper, and suppressed his resentment, the giving way to which would have infallibly destroyed his whole scheme. In the mean time he began with endeavouring to augment the number of his adherents by the utmost affability, liberality, and generosity. His conduct, however, was perfectly circumspect, and he still observed a medium between too much neglect and too eager solicitude. He never railed at the administration, or testified any impatience to see measures altered. His mind appeared tranquil, and his life easy, and divested of all public care. Nothing escaped him that could rouse the suspicion of his enemies; the more his ambition stimulated him, the more eager did he seem studious of repose and privacy. In a word, his whole carriage was artful, cautious, and politic; yet his designs were penetrated by Spanish emissaries, maintained at the public expence in Genoa. Fernando Gonzaga, who succeeded the marquis d'Este in the government of Milan, gave notice of the conspiracy to Doria; but his great soul discredited the report, which he attributed to a mean and insidious attempt to destroy the character of Fieschi. He relied upon his own integrity, the public affection, and the services he had done his country, without reflecting upon the prejudices conceived against him on account of Jean-netin.

When matters were sufficiently ripe, the plan of execution was regulated in all its circumstances; the place, the day, the hour, and the signals were agreed upon. The first attempts were made on Doria's palace, as the seizure of his person they knew would be more than half the business; but his good fortune once more interposed, and rescued Doria from the very jaws of destruction. On the first alarm he mounted his horse, and retired to a neighbouring castle, finding that all endeavours to oppose a revolt, apparently so general, would be of no effect. All their other attempts, however, were successful, and the senate and friends of Doria in a fair way of being driven out of the city, if Fieschi had not, unfortunately for his party, lost his life by an accident. The sudden change consequent on his death, was a proof of Fieschi's importance. As if the whole faction had been planet-struck, every arm ready to give the blow was arrested; the senate and Doria's party took courage, and the scale of fortune suddenly turned, by one of those circumstances which cannot rationally be accounted for. Certain it is, that when Fieschi perished, by the giving way of a board over which he was crossing a canal, no attendant was with him. His

death

*Fieschi
drowned,
and his
project de-
feated.*

death was known by accident : and yet, as if his whole faction had certain forebodings of his fate, a panic seized them in the career of prosperity, when hardly any thing opposed them, and just as Genoa was on the point of becoming the reward of their bravery and well-schemed designs.

It must be owned that the senate on this occasion acted with the utmost prudence and intrepidity. At first they made several weak attempts to resist Fieschi ; now, on intelligence of his death, they seized the opportunity, rallied their small party, and pushed the dispirited enemy with great resolution. The most sanguine of the conspirators were astonished ; many of them, who had not the same confidence in Jerome Fieschi, the surviving brother, fell off from the party, and joined the senate ; but it was not the intention of this body to depopulate the city by bloodshed, but to heal the wounds of discord by the salutary balm of peace. They entered upon a negotiation with the conspirators, and promised a general pardon, provided they laid down their arms, a proposition no sooner made than accepted. Three of the principal conspirators, Ottoboni, Verina, and Colaagno, not chusing to trust to promises which had not been ratified by old Doria, set sail for France ; and one happy consequence at least attended this insurrection, as it occasioned the death of Jeannetin, whose insolence, temerity, and harsh manners, had given the first disgust, and set Fieschi on rescuing his country from falling into the hands of a person unworthy to succeed Andrea Doria^u.

The tumult being thus appeased, the senate sent a deputation to Andrea Doria, to console him on the death of Jeannetin, and request him to return to the city, where he was received with all imaginable honours. His old age, which enfeebled his arm, added greatly to the respect of the people, who were easily persuaded to enter into his sentiments of revenge. Doria went next day to the senate, and under the veil of patriotism, strenuously advised a revocation of the pardon granted by the senate, which he said was an encouragement to incendiaries and parricides. Having obtained the senate's consent, he declared all those who were concerned in the late insurrection traitors to their country, and began the punishment with the body of Fieschi, which he ordered to be ignominiously treated and thrown into the sea ; his magnificent palace was next razed to the ground, and his memory rendered infamous : his brothers were proscribed, all the ringleaders outlawed, and

*Doria is
complimented by
the senate.*

^u Vide lib. citat.

the meanest individual concerned in this unfortunate affair banished the city for fifty years; a severity unworthy of the great Doria, and attributed to a mind enervated by old age, and soured with infirmity and grief at the loss of his adopted son. Jerome Fieschi was ordered to surrender Montobio to the commissaries who were sent to him; but this was a point not so easily settled as the others: Montobio was strong by nature, and Fieschi had bestowed great pains in fortifying it, from the time that he had harboured the first resentment against Doria. Jerome refused to comply with the demand of the commissaries; and the senate, fearing it would be difficult to force him, set on foot a negociation: but this too proved unsuccessful, Jerome being too much incensed at the persecutions he saw going on against his family, to hearken to any propositions whatever. The emperor's ministers dreaded that this obstinacy would again light up a war in Lombardy, and Montobio be put into the hands of the French. The place was of the utmost importance to the emperor; he therefore urged Doria to besiege it, promising to defray the whole expence.

Accordingly Augustino Spinola, an officer of great ability, was ordered to invest it, and he prosecuted the siege with so much vigour, that the garrison was forced to surrender at discretion. Doria had the good fortune to take in this place the greater number of his enemies, many of whom had returned in disgust from France, to signalize themselves in the defence of Montobio. Most of the senators were inclined to mercy; but Doria's authority prevailed. The Fieschi family could not exist, even in the meanest situation, without exciting jealousy in that of Doria: they were rivals, and consequently implacable enemies; it was, therefore, determined to extirpate, or at least punish the conspirators with all the severity the law admitted. Jerome Fieschi, Verina, Colaagno, and Offurato, were sentenced to death: Ottoboni Fieschi, and all his posterity, were outlawed. Scipio Fieschi, the youngest of the four brothers, about ten years of age, then a student at Padua, was included in the punishment, though of too tender an age to be deemed guilty of the crime; he was stripped of all his effects, forced to take refuge in France, and his posterity, to the fifth generation, were prohibited from setting foot in Genoa. Such were the effects of a conspiracy which, after having been planned with wisdom, secrecy, and address, and just on the point of execution, was ruined by an unforeseen accident, and the loss of Fieschi, count of Lavagna, who was the soul and animating principle of the whole faction.

This year his imperial majesty visited Genoa, and was received with all the honours due to his high rank and character. His retinue was so numerous that it excited the jealousy of the republic, and obliged the magistrates to place guards in every street for the protection of public liberty. A few days after their fears were augmented by a proposal which Charles made to the senate of building a citadel in the suburbs, in which he should keep a Spanish garrison for the defence of the city, and to suppress tumults and conspiracies, which became so frequent and so dangerous. This proposition was rejected with one voice, in spite of all the arguments urged by the emperor.

A.D. 1548.

The emperor visits Genoa.

From this time there appeared a certain coldness between the Spaniards and Genoese; it soon produced an unconquerable aversion, which at length broke out in the following manner. The court of Madrid had given secret orders for arresting a Spanish criminal, who fled from justice, and took shelter in Genoa: his name was Doza, and he was arrested in the street and committed to prison. Afterwards he was removed, with intention to be put on board a Spanish galley, and sent to his own country to take his trial; but the populace rose, and endeavoured to rescue the prisoner; the guard firing upon them, killed a Genoese mechanic, and threw the whole city in an uproar. Doria sent Spinola to appease the tumult, who, on his arrival, found the people besieging about fifty Spaniards in a house: he dispersed the mob, and conducting the Spanish guard and the prisoner to the nearest gate, let them out, and returned to Doria with an account that the sedition was quelled. This, however, was not the case, for the Spaniards were again stopped at the second gate by the guard, who prepared their pieces, and threatened to fire on them if they did not release the prisoner; but being informed of Doria's orders, they permitted them to pass without farther molestation.

The people attack the Spaniards.

In the year 1553, the marquis de Termes invaded Corsica, with an army of two thousand five hundred chosen troops. In a short space of time he reduced San Fiorenzo and San Bonifacio, places of great importance, on account of the intelligence and communication they held with Ornano. All the other towns submitted in a few days to the conqueror, who had now no other difficulty than to secure his conquests with so small an army. The marquis immediately sent to Marseilles for reinforcements; he began repairing the fortifications of Fiorenzo and Ayazzo, and putting them in a state of defence. On the first advice of this descent, the senate gave orders for new levies, and bestowed

The French invade Corsica.

A.D. 1553.

ed the command of all their forces by sea and land on the aged Doria, putting the standard of St. George into his hands, which he gave to his grand-nephew Andrew Doria, son of Jeannetin, now declared admiral of the whole fleet.

As the Genoese did not think their own strength sufficient to drive the French out of Corsica, they sought assistance from the emperor; and he wrote to the grand-duke of Tuscany, to whom the island lay most contiguous, to reinforce them: he likewise gave the viceroys of Naples and Sardinia directions to oppose the French by sea and land; but these orders were so general, that the republic was in a manner left to fight her own quarrel. It is true, indeed, the Neapolitan galleys conveyed the Genoese troops, to the number of seven thousand men, into Corsica, by which means the campaign began earlier than it would have done had they waited for the republic's fleet. Immediately Doria invested Fiorenzo; and the trenches being opened about a month, the garrison began to be in great want of provision. The marquis de Termes resolved to throw in a convoy, and Doria used every expedient to prevent their receiving any succours. Jean de Turin commanded the French detachment, who, after an obstinate battle, was killed, and his party defeated; however, the diversion Turin made, furnished two French frigates with an opportunity of pushing into the harbour, to the great joy of the distressed garrison, now enabled to prolong their defence. As the siege was likely to prove tedious, young Doria divided his army into several corps, and reduced the whole island, except Ayazzo, Rozzella, and Bonifacio, under the dominion of the republic.

Many of the Corsicans, who had first joined the French, now changed sides, and followed fortune. By these Doria's army was considerably increased and the marquis de Termes proportionably weakened; and, to increase his misfortune, the few troops that remained became mutinous for their pay. At last, Jourdain des Ursins, governor of Fiorenzo, was forced to surrender the place, towards the latter end of February, A. D. 1554. Several of the emperor's Neapolitan subjects were made prisoners here, and tried, condemned and executed as rebels.

After the loss of Fiorenzo, the marquis was forced to cross the mountains, and retire to Ayazzo: his army was too weak and mutinous to keep the field: several companies absolutely separated themselves from the main body of the army; and the marquis was forced to coin base money for their use, which he promised to take in exchange for good, as soon as supplies should arrive from France.

Young Doria sails thither with a strong armament.

The French general is obliged to retire beyond the mountains.

At last reinforcements came, and the war was renewed with vigour on both sides. Doria laid siege to Ayazzo, and took Colombino with little resistance. In the year 1557, the Genoese were reinforced by a body of two thousand five hundred Germans, and eight hundred Italians, which rendered them so much superior to the enemy, that Jourdain des Urins, who had the command, could not keep the field: he, therefore, put strong garrisons in those towns which yet remained in his hands, and retired with the remainder to the mountains, where he encamped in a very advantageous situation.

The republic, apprehensive that the Turks, who were ravaging the coasts of Italy, would make a descent on Corsica, negotiated a peace with the Porte, and effected it by means of their liberal presents to the bashaw. It contained in substance, that there should be a perpetual peace between the grand seignor and the republic; that the Genoese should maintain a bailiff at Constantinople, in the same manner as the Venetians, for the protection of their trade; that they should not send more than three ships to the Dardanelles; and, lastly, that if any accident should happen to interrupt the harmony subsisting between the Porte and the republic, both sides should give timely notice of their intention before the commencement of hostilities.

A.D. 1558.

In the year 1559, the emperor Charles V. dying, peace was concluded between his son Philip II. king of Spain, and Henry II. of France. By the seventeenth article of this treaty, it was stipulated, that Henry should restore to the Genoese, or house of St. George, all the places which he held in Corsica; but that the artillery and warlike stores should belong to the army, and be drawn off with the troops.

The year following was rendered remarkable by the death of Andrea Doria, prince of Melfi, the greatest captain of his age, and most experienced and successful naval officer. Doria was truly the father of Genoa: he rescued it from the usurpation of foreign princes; raised it to the highest pitch of glory, by his wisdom and military achievements, and would have died with a character unblemished, had he not polluted his hands with the blood of his countrymen after the last insurrection, and persecuted the unhappy family of Fieschi with a severity unbecoming a great mind. So happy was Doria in all his enterprizes, so wise in his schemes, so intrepid and alert in executing them, that the republic always thought their army invincible

A.D. 1560.

Doria dies.

cible under him, and for that reason created him perpetual duke and commander in chief of all the republic's fleets and armies.

In 1563, the Genoese seized on the marquifate of Final, the property of the marquis Caretto, which they pretended had devolved to them by the crime of felony, of which the marquis had been convicted. Caretto appealed to the emperor Ferdinand; but the republic refused to stand by his award: however, at the request of his catholic majesty, justice was done to the marquis.

About this period, the war broke out afresh in Corsica. A treaty had been concluded between the king of Navarre and Philip II. whereby the former relinquished his pretensions to Navarre, receiving in exchange from Philip the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, the latter of which he promised to conquer, by the assistance of Peter Corso, who had married Vannima d'Ornano, daughter of Francis Ornano, surnamed St. Pietro Corso. Corso went to Constantinople to solicit assistance from the Porte, or at least to engage the grand seignor to countenance the enterprize; but the death of the king of Navarre frustrated the treaty, and destroyed Corso's embassy. From Constantinople he returned to France, where, in a fit of jealousy, he murdered his wife Vannima. After having resided some time at court, he made a descent on Corsica with a handful of men, excited to the enterprize, in all probability, by Mary de Medicis, with whom he had frequent conversations. He seized upon Ilva, and formed a scheme to surprise Fiorenzo; but it was discovered, and disconcerted.

In the mean time, the Genoese fleet arrived at Bastia, where the admiral found the commissary of the island, with eleven companies of Corsican foot. Having landed his troops, he marched to Borgo, within ten miles of Bastia, and there held a council of war, in which it was resolved to pass to Caccia. On their arrival in that province, the Genoese found that Corso had advanced to Omessa, and that the Corsican auxiliaries, which joined them on their landing, were filled with traitors, who daily deserted to the enemy. A second council was called, to deliberate on the means of preventing desertion, and regulate the operations of the army.

In advancing through a valley, the Corsicans, from all hands, poured upon them like a torrent. The Genoese, under every disadvantage, fought with unparalleled bravery; but fortune did not second their endeavours; they were broke and defeated with great loss, numbers were
taken

The Genoese defeated.

taken prisoners, stripped naked, and driven, like sheep, to the next town *.

The directors of St. George having intelligence of the defeat of the army, and revolt of the whole island, resolved to send Stephen Doria, whose courage and conduct they could rely on, to take charge of the army.

He accordingly embarked for Corsica, with considerable reinforcements, and arriving on the island, marched directly to the residence of the bishop, where he pitched his camp, and employed five hundred mules in carrying provision of flour and biscuit from the fleet. Corso approached him with an army of fourteen thousand men. Next morning, he detached four thousand foot and five hundred horse, to attack the Genoese convoy. Carlo Corasolo commanded the convoy; and received the enemy with such undaunted courage, that, after a warm dispute, they were defeated, leaving seven hundred dead upon the field. Upon this check Corso retired, and deeply entrenched himself at Campaloro; whither he was pursued by Doria with the vanguard, while the rear of the army was ordered to take a circuit by Olleria, in order to attack the enemy in the rear. Doria began the attack with great fury, and met with a vigorous opposition. At last, however, on the coming up of the rest of the army, Corso, finding himself too weak, retreated with precipitation, leaving behind large quantities of wine, bread, and other provision. Doria then marched, and surrounded a lake, in which stood an island, where Corso kept his stores and provision; but a disease that prevailed among the troops, prevented the success of this enterprize. A dysentery swept off prodigious numbers of the Genoese, so that he determined to retreat to Bastia, though the distance was near fifty miles. During this long march, his rear was continually harassed by the enemy; and all the sick would have been killed or taken prisoners, but, for a generous resolution of some gentlemen who had served as volunteers in the army, to guard them, and sustain all the attacks of the Corsicans. On the arrival of the army at Bastia, the disease increased to a deplorable degree. It attacked the peasants as well as Genoese; the cattle died for want of forage; scarcity of provision was added to the terrors of an epidemical disease; and of twenty-two battalions of Italian soldiers which Doria had with him, two only remained fit for action.

An epidemical disease rages in the Genoese camp.

Doria had sent a part of his fleet to Genoa to bring over a reinforcement, and the galleys now returned with eleven battalions of Spanish infantry, who were opposed in their

* Barth. Senareg. ap. Murator. A. 24. col. 515. et sequent.

landing at Porto Vecchio. Doria advanced with his army, while the galleys made so terrible a fire with their cannon, that the garrison surrendered at discretion, instead of preventing the landing. Provision growing scarce, Doria embarked the artillery and infantry for Calvi, the cavalry being ordered to march thither by land. In this passage the fleet was attacked by a violent storm, which destroyed some ships, damaged others, swallowed up the whole artillery, and did incredible mischief, that greatly retarded the operations of the campaign. As to the cavalry, they executed their orders, but with great fatigue and danger; then the troops were put into winter-quarters, and cantoned round Capo Corso ^v.

In this situation Corsica remained till the year 1565, when the directors of St. George determined to exert all their endeavours in crushing the rebels. They sent orders to the generals to destroy the crops of the inhabitants, set fire to their houses, rob them of all sustenance and protection from the inclemency of the climate, and the attacks of famine; and the more easily to execute this plan, a strong reinforcement was sent to Doria. About the middle of March, Doria set out at the head of the army, to execute the barbarous instructions he had received; and these he literally fulfilled, mowing down the green corn, burning all the villages, and spreading terror and desolation over the whole face of the country.

Doria defeats the rebel general.

Having dispatched this business, he resolved to attack Corso, who was entrenched to the teeth, and strongly fortified near Cortè. To gain this place, it was necessary the Genoese army should cross the river Goyro, in which passage they were opposed by the enemy. Corso made several motions with his infantry, in order to make them appear more numerous: the stratagem answered in this particular; for report augmented an army of three thousand men to ten thousand, which stratagem, however, profited him nothing upon the whole. He was attacked, defeated, and almost made prisoner, his army cut in pieces, and his camp plundered. His life was saved by the generosity of one of his officers, who lent him his horse, and suffered himself to be taken by the Genoese, who barbarously hanged him on the next tree, with this label, "Behold the price of generosity!"

Doria then marched to Cortè, which he hoped to take by surprize; but he was disappointed, and his army almost cut off by an ambuscade. From thence he marched to Tulon,

a strong fortress, encompassed with numerous batteries, well planted with heavy cannon. Pietro Corso was encamped under the walls of this place; he made several vigorous attacks on the flanks of the Genoese army, but was constantly repulsed. Doria finding his enterprize against Tulon more difficult than he imagined, decamped with seeming precipitation, leaving a body of light horse in ambush. The Corsicans, seeing the camp abandoned, flew with eagerness to pillage it, were attacked by the light horse, and suffered the just reward of their temerity and avarice.

Provisions growing scarce, the Genoese army mutinied, and obliged the general to conduct them to the sea-coast, where they were plentifully supplied. In this march they passed through several ambuscades, laid by the enemy in narrow defiles, where only one horseman could go abreast; but such was Doria's circumspection that he prevented all bad consequences. After having laid waste almost the whole island, he returned to Cortè, which he besieged by order of the senate: his approaches were carried on with such diligence, that a considerable breach was made in the wall on the fourth day, orders given to storm it, and the garrison forced to surrender at discretion.

While the Genoese general was employed in the siege of Cortè, Pietro Corso encamped at a pass through which Doria must pass, near Omessa. His army was composed of nine thousand musqueteers, and three thousand picquets, all entrènced under the cannon of the town. He had every advantage over Doria, and victory in all appearance was in his hands; but the intelligence of a Cordelier, whom Pietro had taken prisoner, and now escaped to the Genoese army, saved Doria. His own prudence, indeed, and the excellent use to which he applied the Cordelier's intelligence, not only extricated the army, but very near reduced Corso to the same difficulties he had thrown in the enemy's way. In a word, the campaign was spent in marches and countermarches, in which both generals distinguished their abilities, but struck no blow that was decisive. The army being sent into winter-quarters, Doria set out for Genoa, to give an account of the success of their arms to the directors of St. George; and Corso took this opportunity of going to Marseilles, where he levied a great number of recruits with French money.

In the beginning of the spring, Pietro Corso found himself at the head of a formidable army; and, thinking it was incumbent on him to seize the opportunity, he marched to Balagna, where he destroyed a magazine belonging to

A.D. 1566.

A base project for betraying Pietro Corso.

to the Genoese army. Nothing more of consequence, however, passed during the campaign, which was employed just as the preceding, in marches, countermarches, and skirmishes. While the cordelier, who had furnished Doria last year with the important intelligence we have mentioned, was prisoner with Corso, that rebel had often put him to the question, and was preparing the most cruel death for him, just as he fortunately found means to escape. From that time the friar employed all his invention in order to be revenged: he first gained over an old servant of Corso's, greatly trusted by his master, in whose family he had resided for thirty years. He slept constantly at his master's chamber-door, and Pietro feared no alarm while this faithful domestic was upon the watch. The Cordelier settled a plan with this traitor, for betraying Corso and the whole army. An ambuscade was designed to draw Corso to an action, in the heat of which the insidious Vitello (for that was the servant's name) was to shoot his master. Fornari, the Genoese general, was apprised by the Cordelier of this project, and he was base enough to furnish him with the means to put it in execution. Corso fell into the ambuscade, and while he was making astonishing efforts to extricate himself, he was shot in the shoulder by the base Vitello. The wound brought him immediately to the ground, but not till he had first discovered the hand by which he fell. He upbraided Vitello, and cried out to his son, a youth of seventeen, "Fly, my son, we are betrayed;" but the son staying to rescue his father, was surrounded by a number of horsemen, the relations of his mother, who sought to revenge her death by the blood of Corso. He fought violently against his own uncle and cousins, and at last fell by their hands near the body of his father ².

Pietro Corso and his son are killed.

After the death of Pietro Corso, the rebels lost heart. Finding themselves hard pressed by the Genoese, they offered the sovereignty of the island to the grand-duke of Tuscany; but this wise prince rejected the proposal, and acquainted the senate of Genoa of what was intended. The senate gave notice of it to their general in Corsica, that he might take his measures accordingly. The weakness of the rebels was attended with one bad consequence to the Genoese; the soldiers, imagining they had no enemies to combat, abandoned their posts for want of pay, and dispersed themselves in small bodies round the country. Another circumstance augmented the confusion of the army,

² Senareg. de Reb. Cors. an. 29.

which,

which, as it was a little extraordinary, deserves to be particularly related. Pietro Andrea de la Costa, a Genoese captain, being sent with a detachment to reconnoitre a party of the rebels in the neighbourhood of Omessa, met with captain Paul Baptista, an old military acquaintance. Baptista told him, that since the defeat at Cavia he had quitted the Genoese service for that of Corso, where preferment was more rapid; upon which Costa drew his pistol and shot him as a traitor to his country, from sordid views, and not from principle. The other rebels hearing the report of the pistol, were alarmed; by which means the intention of examining their strength and situation was frustrated. On his return, this action being related to general Fornari, he severely reprehended Costa, and would have superseded him, had not the other officers and the soldiers with one voice stood up in his defence. Costa, however, found that the general embraced every opportunity of persecuting him; he, therefore, quitted his corps, set out for Genoa, laid his complaints in person before the senate, and was redressed in a manner extremely honourable, being assigned a pension till the campaign was ended, when it was proposed to give him the command of the army in Fornari's room.

About this time Corsica was torn by two factions, distinguished by the appellations Black and Red. The former had found means to engage Fornari in their party, and persuade him to drive their opponents out of the island. A plan was proposed, to which the general acceded, though the Red faction was better beloved by the republic. Upon more mature deliberation, the general entertained some scruples about undertaking a business of such importance, without the authority of his constituents: he wrote, therefore, for the opinion of the directors of St. George, who referred the whole to his discretion. Being now at liberty to pursue his own inclinations, he disposed every thing for the execution of his design. His first step was to engage the inhabitants of the mountains to assist in retaking a fortress which the Reds had taken some little time before from the Blacks; but this attempt proved abortive. The Blacks began a persecution against some prisoners confined in St. Fiorenzo since the last engagement with Corso, who had embraced the Red faction. Several of them they strangled with the general's permission; and in particular one captain Jacques, of a noble family, whom they first put to death in prison, and then exposed for several days to public view.

A.D. 1597.

The Corsicans divided into two factions.

Reprisals were made by the Reds : Lucio, who commanded in the fort, on which Camillo had made an unsuccessful attempt, was summoned a second time by the general ; but he refused to surrender to the Blacks, though he said he would willingly put it into the hands of a Genoese garrison. Fornari, having no suspicion of his sincerity, sent an officer with fifty men, who were immediately admitted, then surrounded, stripped, and thrown in prison, but released about a month after, and sent back. Nothing, indeed, could be more rancorous than the hatred these two factions bore to each other. Fornari sent Christopher de Negro with a strong detachment, and two pieces of cannon, to lay siege to the fort ; an employment that naturally devolved upon him, as he commanded the party which had been imprisoned, and used with so much severity. The enterprize, however, failed, and it was thought through design, Negro bearing a grudge to the general, which induced him to act with less spirit against the enemy. Happily, however, all these divisions terminated with the employment of Fornari, who was now recalled, and peace in a manner succeeded his departure.

During these transactions in Corsica, Genoa was not altogether in tranquillity. John Baptista Lercari, the duke, having finished the two years of his office, was intriguing to have himself made perpetual procurator ; a favour that was positively refused, on account of his being strongly attached to Spain. Stephen Prejon, his son, imagining that his father's disappointment arose from the influence of Luca Spinola, vowed revenge. Assisted by a band of desperate assassins, he attacked that nobleman in the street, killed Pinelli, one of the censors, supposed likewise to have opposed Lercaro, and dangerously wounded Spinola. One of the assassins betrayed Prejon, confessed the fact, and gave so distinct an evidence, that young Prejon Lercaro was arrested, imprisoned, tried, condemned, and beheaded, notwithstanding strong interest was made by the Spanish admiral, Garcias de Toledo, to have his life saved^a.

When Fornari was recalled, the directors of St. George appointed George Doria to the command of the army in Corsica, and Costa for his lieutenant. The moderation and prudence of these generals soon put an end to the rebellion, and healed all the divisions among the Corsicans. All party distinctions were carefully abolished ; and forts

^a Senarég. *ibid.*

were built in proper places, both to keep the nobles in awe, and secure the coasts against the incursions of the Turks.

Previous to the civil war we are about to relate, it may be necessary that we give the reader a short view of the changes wrought in the government at that time when Andrea Doria rescued it out of the hands of foreigners, and bestowed liberty, with all its blessings, on his country. It was, indeed, put under the protection of the emperor, who created Doria prince of Melfi; but under such restrictions that this tutelage drew nothing off from the public freedom.

Doria, having taken all possible precaution with respect to the external security of the republic, put the reins of government into the hands of twelve reformers, chosen from the old and new nobility. The first regulation made by these reformers, was, that all those names should be abolished which kept up distinctions, and preserved the memory of their civil discords: that Guelfs and Ghibellines, Whites, Blacks, and Reds, should be no more; that the nobility and people should be indifferently admitted into public employments, provided they possessed the qualifications requisite for holding such offices. They ordained that a duke and eight counsellors should be chosen; that no affair of importance should be determined, or passed into an act the same day it was proposed; that the duke, the governor, and the procurators, should have power to make what changes they thought necessary in the ancient ordonnances, and frame new laws, provided they had no tendency to enlarge or extend their own authority. The more firmly to establish a perfect harmony among the people, it was resolved to admit, on the first day of every year, ten citizens into the number of the ancient nobility; and, to remove all cause of contention, it was ordained that all the new nobility should incorporate themselves with the ancient, adding to their own proper names that of the ancient family in which they ranked themselves. Some alterations likewise were made with respect to the qualification of a senator. In a word, all the institutions of the reformers were directed to the noblest ends; the establishing peace, freedom, and concord. They chose Aubert Lazari duke; and their election was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the people. In this choice, they regarded his wisdom more than family, for he was not of patrician rank. The governors and procurators were created at the same time, some from ancient, others from new-raised families, with no other distinction than what their merit occasioned.

The Genoese, to shew their sense of the obligations they owed Andrea Doria, reduced the five syndics, or censors, to one, conferring the office solely upon him: they likewise made the office perpetual, and exempted him and his posterity from all taxes and public impositions. In consequence of these happy alterations, an entire liberty of voting, either verbally, or by ballot, was introduced. However, as no human institution is void of imperfection, or no government so wise as not to be weakened by time, the ancient nobility began to murmur, that more citizens and artificers were placed in public employments than of their body; and that no equality was observed in the election of a duke, although this had particularly been enjoined in the law made by the reformers, with respect to elections. This abuse, they said, arose from the perversion of the constitution; that of a grand council composed of four hundred nobility, scarce a third were ancient families; hence it was, that the young nobility carried all before them; a circumstance which bred dissension and jealousy among the different families. They alleged, that, notwithstanding the qualification-law, numbers had crept into the senate without the requisite qualifications. They urged besides, that admitting into the high council of the nation persons low in birth, fortune, and education, was sinking the dignity of a senator, making illiterate ignorant persons govern the helm of state, and preferring those to offices of trust and profit, whom nature had never intended for higher stations than that of common mechanics. It is not surprising indeed that the republic of Genoa should undergo such a variety of revolutions, when the mob became legislators^b.

S E C T. VI.

The Rise and Progress of a new Revolution in the State.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1571, Jeannetin Lomelin was elected duke, according to the usual formalities. This man shutting his ears to all the complaints of the abuse of power, which had lately been loudly uttered both by the old and young nobility, began a violent persecution against Matteo Senarega, grand-chancellor and first secretary of the republic, a man illustrious by his birth, his eloquence, and his erudition, upon whom the

^b Senareg. pass. apud Murat. col. 515.

senate rested the most important affairs with a confidence never before reposed in any of the new nobility. Jealousy and private resentment alone actuated the duke's conduct, which he nevertheless covered with a sacred veil of justice. He resented that Senarega alone should sign the state dispatches, and proposed, that they should henceforward be countersigned by himself and two senators. Had he taken this precaution from generous views, and for the public good, the duke would have merited praise; but it was apparent that he more regarded mortifying Senarega than advancing the interest of his country. The severity with which the order was executed sufficiently discovered the motives.

As the enmity between these two magistrates daily increased, it was believed, with some shew of reason, that Senarega excited the young nobility against the old. The latter had lately gained the ascendant in the management of affairs, and he had the boldness to set the former upon recovering their influence. The memorials requiring that the magistrates should be created, some by lot, and some by votes, were supposed to be drawn up by him, for this reason, that they were elegant, eloquent, and nervous. The utility of the law was in itself obvious; and it was no difficult matter for Senarega, so perfectly versed in the nature of the constitution, so skilled in politics, and so deeply learned, to support it with arguments which seemed irrefragable, and engage the minds of the people to a revolt, should it be disputed.

In the course of the following year, an accident occurred which increased the mutual animosity of the parties. Balthazar Rottalé, adopted into the Palavicini family, was arrested in Spain for debt; and he pleaded his release, in consequence of a law in that kingdom, by which no constraint can be laid on the person of a nobleman. His creditors denied him the benefit of this law, because they disputed his title; upon which the senate of Genoa sent a certificate, testifying Francis Rottalé, father of the prisoner, had always lived with the splendor of a nobleman, had been reputed such at Genoa, and was a cadet of the Palavicini family; but some of the ancient nobility, to whom Rottalé owed money, procured a clause to be inserted in that certificate, whereby it appeared that he had not entered into the Palavicini family till the year 1628. The friends of Rottalé had address enough to make his particular affair the cause of the whole body of new nobility, who found their privileges affected in the distinction. The dispute was carried before

A.D. 1572.

*Origin of
the revolution.*

fore the senate, and argued with great warmth, but no resolution formed.

To these causes of dissensions we may add another, which had considerable weight. In the year 1528, the reformers had ordained, that the revenues of the house of St. George should be applied to portioning the daughters of ancient noble families, and to the other necessities of the old nobility. Some of these families, in order to exclude the new nobility, and engross the whole benefits to their own body, made out their genealogy, lopping off from the original stem all the new engrafted branches. The Lommelin family in particular ordered their genealogical tree, pruned in this manner, to be registered among the public archives, obtaining for this purpose a decree of the senate, in spite of all the opposition made by the new nobility. Upon this occasion it was said, "That the tree would one day bear bitter fruit, destructive of public tranquillity, and poisonous to the freedom of the state."

This affair of Lommelin's made more disturbance than all the rest: their passions were already raised high, and wanted only this additional stimulus to fly out into violence and excess. Interest now was immediately affected, whereas before nothing more than certain priviles and rank were the objects of contention. Some of the more moderate, who had nothing in view but the good of the community proposed that a committee should be chosen of men of probity and wisdom, who could not be suspected of prejudice or bias, to determine the affair, and make such new regulations as they saw necessary. But this expedient was opposed by the new nobility, who believed that if the committee was equally chosen out of both parties, they would lose their cause.

A fresh alarm was likewise given by the arrival of certain Spanish gallees at Savona, which they alleged the ancient nobility had invited to come and lay an undue restraint on the public resolutions. Although these gallees soon retired, the new nobility made a pretext of this circumstance to declare, that unless their grievances were soon redressed, they would immediately seek more effectual means for defending their rights. John Andrea Doria, at that time in Sicily, knowing that the civil divisions would increase with the ensuing election of magistrates, hastened back to Genoa, in hopes of opposing, by his influence, the heats and animosities of the state; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual. Soon after, Grimaldi Durazzo, a man beloved by the whole city for his moderation, affability, and social virtues, was elected duke.

Towards

Towards the beginning of the following year, his catholic majesty sent Idiaquez to Genoa, to endeavour, by his advice, eloquence, and address, to heal the civil divisions, which threatened the entire ruin of the republic. He spoke with such irresistible elocution in the senate, that his harangue seemed to make a sensible impression, which, however, was soon effaced.

A D. 1573.

In 1574, the civil divisions again broke out from a variety of circumstances: both parties endeavoured to gain an ascendancy in the administration, to raise themselves on the ruin of their competitors, and destroy that equipoise of government, which alone could preserve harmony and freedom. The new nobility attempted to strengthen their own body by incorporating in the ancient families several citizens who deserved well of the state. They petitioned the senate to this purpose, and received a harsh refusal. They were now connected with the people by the tie of interest, and would not lose so fair an opportunity of strengthening their faction: in fact, they entered into the strictest alliances, and the cause of the new nobility now became the cause of the whole body of subjects in the Genoese dominions. Cabals were formed for carrying their point, and civil discords rose now to a higher pitch than ever.

The designs of the old and new nobility.

Some of the more thinking of the new nobility proposed an accommodation: a negotiation for this purpose was set on foot; but the people resenting it, they were forced to break it off for fear of losing their interest. Insensibly, however, this proposition divided the republic into three factions, each of which had a distinct name, according to the quarter of the city they inhabited. A second time the incorporation of the people with the old nobility was proposed to the senate; but rejected with contempt, which augmented their animosity, and produced the closest harmony between the new nobility and the people. Sebastian Cerone, and Bartholemi Montobi, names scarce known in Genoa, were the leaders of the popular faction. They were patronized by the new nobility, who found their characters well suited to their purposes. Both had a sort of rough fluent eloquence, excellently adapted to influence and direct the conduct of the populace. In the end, they raised seditions, and were the immediate instruments of the civil war that ensued. They flattered the people into hopes of a more indulgent form of government, and thus rendered them more eager and ardent in the pursuit of whatever they prompted. They promised to diminish the taxes as soon as they could accomplish their scheme of government; that the price of labour should be raised, provisions sold more reasonable,

The city divided into three factions.

reasonable, justice distributed more equally, and the much wished for incorporation effected. They likewise wrought on the credulous disposition of the populace, by joining motives of fear to hope, insinuating, that the ancient nobility had formed a design, in conjunction with Spain, to reduce the people to the most shameful and abject servitude.

Filled with imaginary fears and expectations, the people held assemblies to deliberate on the means for attaining their purposes. Seditious harangues were pronounced in every quarter; and the streets, which used to be the scenes of industry, were now converted into theatres of war, and occupied by armed soldiers. The people thought, spoke, and acted without controul; the most horrid crimes were committed with impunity. The magistrates were insulted, the nobility murdered, and every species of disorder reigned; and no tribunal durst presume to take cognizance of such trespasses against society and government. Every post in the city was filled with guards; shops were shut up; and the gates, arsenal, and granaries, seized by the mutincers. They even had the insolence to enter the senate-house with an armed force, and renew their demands, with menaces in case of refusal. In a word, universal confusion and anarchy would have prevailed, if Senarega, seeing that matters were pushed too far, had not taken compassion on his country, and determined to disabuse the people. He assembled the populace, and pathetically represented to them the miseries their turbulence would bring upon the republic, and the consequences of that seditious humour, which had ruined the most flourishing and opulent commonwealths. He demonstrated the little benefit they could expect from the promised changes in the constitution; and the better to adapt his reasoning to their capacities, he repeated that celebrated fable of the Belly and the Members. In fine, he convinced them, that unanimity was absolutely necessary to the existence of government; and that a republic could flourish only when the direction of affairs was left to those who, by birth, by nature, by education, and habit, were qualified for this important trust, and not to the giddy, headstrong, and discordant multitude.

Senarega's harangue had the desired effect: the people were satisfied of the truth of his arguments; but he no sooner quitted the assembly than passion took place of reason, and every trace of this patriot's harangue was erased from their memory^c.

^c Senareg. de Reb. Gen apud Murat. col. 515.

It was amazing to see how little the ancient nobility exerted themselves to stem the torrent of infatuation: they contented themselves with guarding their houses against being pillaged, and praying the senate to apply some remedy to the public calamity. Several assemblies, indeed, met to deliberate on this subject, some advising force, and others persuasion, to reduce the people to obedience; but there appeared not that vigour of action or debate which might be expected from the greatness of the danger. After several consultations, nothing more was determined, than that the guards at the city gates should be doubled, to prevent strangers from entering, and that all persons should be prohibited from carrying arms in the night.

The indolence of the ancient nobility.

Still the new nobility urged their demands, became very importunate, and talked of a new form of government in the most public manner. The sumptuary law was the great point contended against, which they said was introduced for the general advantage of the people, and failing in that end ought to be annulled for the same reason. The ancient nobility offered to submit their differences to the decision of the pope and king of Spain, or any two foreign princes, unbiassed by their prejudices, and uninterested in their parties; but this proposal the others refused, insisting upon a general council, where they hoped to carry their point by dint of superior numbers. The old nobility implored the protection of John Andrea Doria; and requested that as he inherited his uncle's estate, so he would display the same patriot-spirit, and exert the same diligence and influence in the service of his country. Doria, thus adjured, assembled the mechanics and citizens, whom he intreated not to inlist in any party, but rest satisfied in guarding the city, and suppressing all riots and seditions. He represented to them the obligations they and their ancestors owed the ancient nobility: he reminded them that his uncle Doria had restored liberty to their country; had, upon different occasions, defended Corsica against the attacks of the French and Turks; and had beautified and adorned the city with a number of public edifices and endowments.

At first Doria's harangue made such an impression, that the mob promised to do whatever he desired; but the memory of obligations makes only a slight impression on the minds of the vulgar: they soon forgot what they owed to the Doria family. They altered their sentiments, and, with a fickleness natural to the multitude, returned to their former seditious humour. The tumult, indeed, rose so high, that the ancient nobility shut themselves up in their houses,

houses, which they guarded with great numbers of peasants, drawn from their estates in the country.

In this situation of affairs the senate demurred: they feared incurring the displeasure of the young nobility by determining against them, and to grant their demands would occasion a revolution destructive of public liberty; but though numbers were on the side of the people, the capacity and experience of some of the ancient nobility gained them great advantages. At last Idiaquez, the Spanish minister, wrought on the minds of the leading persons in both factions so effectually, that a truce for three months was agreed on. His apparent intention was to persuade the people, during this recess, to lay down their arms; but the persons he employed to influence the people, secretly excited them to revolt. In the mean time, the ancient nobility, to shew their moderation and regard to their word, laid down their arms, permitted all foreigners to pass and repass as usual, and forbid their tenants the customary office of guarding their houses, and protecting their persons. The ambassador produced in the senate the treaty for a suspension of hostilities, and engaged the principal persons on both sides to sign it; and now the people, seeing the nobility disarmed, would not lose so fair an occasion of redressing themselves, or rather of crushing their opponents. In an instant every place was filled with soldiers: the streets were barricadoed, the Germans posted on the mole to guard the artillery, were driven away by the people, and the cannon pointed against the ducal palace. On the other hand, the German and Italian officers, in the republic's pay, ranged themselves in order of battle to oppose the populace, and defend public liberty. Immediately the senate met to apply remedies to those new disorders. The new nobility pretended to be greatly embarrassed, though they were at the bottom of the insurrection, and alleged that the demands of the populace must be granted to appease them; the old nobility were for checking their fury by vigorous measures, and warm altercations resulted. The first urged that the ducal palace would be demolished, the senate murdered, and the city laid in ashes, should any opposition be made; and the others no less strenuously affirmed, that anarchy and confusion must result from giving way to the multitude.

In the midst of these disputes John Baptista Lercari, a senator highly esteemed for his incorruptible integrity, public spirit, and persuasive eloquence, rose up and addressed himself with great warmth to the ringleaders of the sedition; whom

*A truce
concluded.*

*The people
break the
truce.*

whom he observed standing before him. He spoke in pathetic terms of the blind ignorance, the passion, and the unjustifiable designs of those, who, to serve the purposes of ambition, would lay their country in ruins, trample upon society, and lay freedom expiring on the ground, for the villainous honour of heading a faction, and being the first men in a community of slaves. He demonstrated that their civil divisions would certainly lead to that dismal catastrophe; that nothing could be more rash than to attempt reformations in government, while the scourge of servitude hung over their heads, and powerful foreign monarchs watched the occasion for swallowing up their liberty, so lately and providentially recovered; and he concluded with exhorting the senate to set the menaces of the rabble at defiance, punish the ringleaders, and, by a vigorous exertion of their power and dignity, rescue their country from those evils with which it was menaced.

The abettors of the popular faction and the new nobility could no longer endure this discourse; they interrupted Lercari, and affirmed that it was no time to assert the dignity of the senate, when the people appeared with displayed standards before the ducal palace, and were in possession of all the gates, the artillery, arsenals, and granaries. They said it would be the height of folly to expose themselves to certain death, from a vain notion of glory, which could only be entertained by wrongheaded adventurers, tired of a life in which they were despised. Fear operated more powerfully than glory on the minds of the senators; they agreed to the abolition of the law, in spite of the opposition made by Lercari, Caterce, and Grimaldi, who protested against their proceedings, and declared they would submit to the most cruel indignities rather than assent to a resolution so dishonourable.

In a little time, however, the people, perceiving they had not reaped the promised advantages from the revocation of this law, and that they were made the tools of the young nobility, they demanded that five hundred of their number might be admitted into the senate; that the duties on wine retailed in small quantities might be abolished, the price of labour raised, and an amnesty granted to all those who had taken up arms in the late commotions. At that time the senate was in a disposition to refuse nothing: fear had rendered them compliant; they chose to assent without hesitation to what they knew could be extorted by force, and acquiesced in all that was demanded. Lercari, however, bravely stood out, declaring to the Spanish ambassador, before his grand-vicar and secretary Senarega, that he was
ashamed

*Demands
made by
the people.*

ashamed of living in a community where insolence and obstinacy triumphed over reason and justice ^d.

The new nobility had obtained the satisfaction they required, and confirmed their own power in this victory; yet did they not rest satisfied. What they usurped by the strong hand, they apprehended might be lost, as soon as an opportunity should offer for the ancient nobility to exert themselves in recovering their dignity. In order to anticipate this event, a president and commissary were dispatched to the valley of Poseveri, to rouse the inhabitants to a sense of the danger which might result from permitting troops from Lombardy to enter Genoa; and induce them to secure the passes. On the other side, the Spanish ambassador held frequent consultations with the ancient nobility, on the means for keeping the passes open. To accomplish their several ends, each entered on the most vigorous measures. The ancient nobility, in conjunction with Idiaquez, had assembled so formidable a force as made their enemies tremble, yet were not themselves eased of their fears. It was dangerous for them to stir out of their houses; and they were obliged to assemble in the most private manner in Genoa, for fear of being sacrificed to popular resentment. Divers expedients were proposed, and some advised to seize upon Savona, which others objected to as a measure that would give umbrage to the court of Madrid. Many were of opinion, that, as there was no security of their lives in the city, they ought to forsake an ungrateful people, and banish rather than embroil themselves in a civil war. This expedient was adopted by some individuals, and several of the oldest families absconded before next day. By this precipitate retreat, the new nobility gained all the advantage they could desire: the trumpet was sounded, and those persons cited to attend the assembly who it was well known had absented themselves. Upon their not appearing, they were formally deposed from their offices, and others of inferior birth substituted in their places ^e.

The ancient nobility retire out of the city.

The voluntary recess of some of the ancient nobility gave great uneasiness to those moderate persons who laboured to effect a reconciliation: they sent to all those who still remained, intreating them not to depart. The new nobility too, apprehensive that if they once escaped into the country, it would be difficult to destroy them, joined their intreaties, promising to disarm the people, to double the guards, and terminate matters amicably. It was true, that experience had taught the ancient nobility that little confidence

^d Senareg. apud Murat. col. 515.

^e Senareg. ibid.

was to be placed in such soothing promises; however, not knowing how to remedy themselves, they determined to dissemble. Next day they appeared in public, and ordered a solemn mass to be celebrated, at which the whole body assisted. Finding no opposition, the new nobility proceeded to re-establish the law of 1528, whereby certain citizens were incorporated with the body of nobility, and to elect their magistrates according to the disposition made that year. The more effectually to destroy their opponents, they enacted, that whoever should presume to censure the present form of government, should be punished as a disturber of the peace; which ordonnance was ratified by the senate.

Then they levied troops, introduced a quantity of arms into the city, fortified the frontiers, and took the most effectual steps to prevent foreign princes from making attempts on their liberties, not doubting but their enemies would throw themselves into the arms of France or Spain.

The young nobility levy forces.

About this time the arrival of the pope's nuncio was productive of a great alarm. The new nobility apprehended that he had formed designs against them; to secure themselves from which, they obliged the people to swear, at a public mass which he celebrated, that they would not suffer the least alteration in the present government. The nuncio was highly offended at their prostituting a place, destined for the worship of the Supreme Being, to profane purposes; and Genoa was threatened with the thunder of the holy see just as the pope died.

The new nobility, who now wholly composed the senate, apprehending that Gregory XIII. would resent their impiety, sent Senarega in quality of ambassador extraordinary to Rome, to justify what they had done, and implore his holiness to continue his protection to the republic; to heal their divisions, and order both parties to lay down their arms; to prevent the weaker from calling to their assistance the Hugonots of France, by which the purity of their religion would be destroyed. Senarega executed his commission with great address. He obtained all the pope could grant, that was a legate, whom he sent to Genoa, to exert the influence of the holy see (C). In consequence of the

(C) The old nobility sent Nicholas Doria to oppose Senarega at Rome, and plead their cause before his holiness; but the eloquence and address of the latter carried all before him; and the pope, though willing to conciliate them, conceived strong prejudices in favour of the new nobility.

legate's endeavours, several assemblies were held to deliberate on the means of reconciliation; but the ancient nobility not chusing to run the hazard of attending at these, nothing could be settled; and the breach grew wider on occasion of the ensuing election for magistrates of the towns dependent on Genoa, some proposing to follow the old law, and others that of 1528. The result of this dispute was, that the people determined to abandon the new nobility, and recall the old, to prevent a design they had formed of seizing on Savona, and make still greater alterations in the government, by enlarging their own power. In opposition to a measure of such important consequence to them, the new nobility propagated a report, that several persons were gone in search of the legate, to demand alterations in the government, inconsistent with liberty. A report of this nature soon wrought on the minds of the populace. They abandoned their design, reconciled themselves to the new nobility; and thus the old nobles, who ventured to return on their invitation, were a second time forced to quit the city.

*The ancient
nobility le-
vy troops.*

Nothing now remained for the ancient nobility, but to redress themselves by force: they accordingly levied troops with great application. The legate at Genoa sent his secretary to Aquì, in Final, where the head-quarters were fixed, to induce the commissioners to disband the forces, and enter upon a negociation preliminary to a thorough reconciliation. The secretary acquitted himself so well, that he prevailed on Lercari and Stephen Mario to return to Genoa, to negotiate matters with the legate in person, and the Spanish ambassador. Their propositions appeared so equitable, that the new nobility, fearing they would engage the legate on their side, excited the people to insult Lercari, and oblige him once more to retire from Genoa. The ancient nobility now perceiving that they had nothing to expect but what they carried by dint of arms, prepared with diligence for war, and offered the command of their troops by sea and land to Doria, which he refused, under pretence of his not being able to accept it without the consent of his catholic majesty, in whose service he was.

Although the new nobility had passed a decree, whereby three hundred of the commons were to be incorporated with them, yet their great aim was to keep the whole political machine to themselves. Both factions now appealed to different courts. Philip II. in particular, seemed to side with the ancient nobles; and the senate disoblged Don John of Austria, whom they refused to receive in the harbour with his whole fleet, although they assured him of all manner

of

of refreshments and civilities, if he would come attended with four galleys only. On this occasion it was, that Doria, in presence of count Egmont, governor of Milan, said, that the ancient nobility were resolved to use force to obtain their rights, should the senate continue to refuse them in an amicable manner. He then asked leave of Don John to command their forces, and to serve his friends and countrymen; but Don John did not chuse to discharge him from the Spanish service before he consulted the court.

About this time an embassy extraordinary from the emperor arrived in Genoa. Both factions made their complaints; and were assured, that his imperial majesty would scrupulously examine into the dispute, and give his protection to that party which had equity on its side. The senate became jealous of this commission; however, that they might not appear refractory, and averse to all terms of reconciliation, they appointed two of their number to treat with the foreign ministers; at the same time, taking measures for filling the treasury, levying troops, and putting themselves in a state of defence, to prepare against the worst. His imperial majesty, in appearance, held the balance equal; he granted an audience to Spinola, in behalf of the ancient nobility, in such a manner as to give no umbrage to the senate, and at the same time wrote to the new nobility, advising them to acquiesce in such terms of accommodation as his ministers should think reasonable, without offending the ancient nobility.

These latter had several meetings, without coming to any resolution. Various propositions were made, and all of them liable to objections. Some were for an accommodation upon any terms; while others were for asserting their rights at all events. Doria was of the party that expressed the greatest zeal for maintaining the dignity of the peerage; and he spoke with such eloquence, as animated the most timid, and warmed the most indifferent. On the other hand, their opponents raised some companies of German foot, for the defence of the city. Reineri would have prevented their entering Genoa; but the imperial commissioners required they should have a free passage.

While both sides prepared for war, the fleet on the coast of Naples, under Don John of Austria, occasioned great speculation. As he had troops quartered between Milan and Naples, it was apprehended that his secret intention was to restore the ancient nobility. This rumour gained strength, when it was known the fleet steered towards Genoa. The people took the alarm, and, in less than

an hour, thirty thousand men were under arms. However, their fears were soon dissipated by Don John's return to Naples.

All Italy dreaded the consequences of the civil divisions in Genoa, believing that the weaker party would have recourse to foreign assistance, and render Italy the scene of fresh wars. Some measures taken by Henry III. of France increased their fears; and their suspicions were almost confirmed by the march of the Spanish forces to the frontiers of the Genoese territories. Immediately the senate appointed two commissioners to superintend the defence of the city, and sent reinforcements to the garrisons of Savona and Novi. However, amidst all their apprehensions, they received some comfort from Don John's releasing two of their ships, which he had long detained. This favour did not, however, induce them to neglect any thing that could contribute to their defence, or prevent their publishing a decree, setting forth, that as the voluntary recess of the ancient nobility had occasioned extraordinary expences to the republic, it was equitable their estates should be answerable for these charges. They were accordingly confiscated, and sold to the highest bidders.

The ancient nobility issue orders for all of their body to quit Genoa.

The ancient nobility, at the same time, gave the strictest orders to all their body to retire out of Genoa, and confiscated the estates of all who refused to withdraw; which decree obliged a great number of young gentlemen, descended from ancient families, to quit the capital, to the great prejudice of their fortunes. Foreign ministers laboured to bring about an accommodation, but all their endeavours proved ineffectual. The sentiments and demands of both parties were so widely different, that no healing medium could be found. One side laid great stress on the troops they had ready to march on the frontiers, on the antiquity of their families, their high descent, fortune, alliances, and education. The other presumed upon their being in possession of the capital, on the people's siding with them, on the advantages derived from the laws of the reformers; and, lastly, upon their being in a condition to defend themselves. Both sent ambassadors to Madrid; and those of the ancient nobility made such dispatch, that they obtained an audience two days before the arrival of the others. One requested that Doria might be suffered to assist them with the galleys under his command; and the others demanded, that Don John might be prohibited from entering the port of Genoa. His catholic majesty having heard Doria and Tagliacarne, the ambassadors from the rival republicans, replied, that it was an easier matter to begin than to end

a war;

a war ; it was, therefore, his advice, that they would terminate matters amicably : he observed that they were all citizens and neighbours, who ought to put up with each other's failings, and, above all things, avoid the destruction of that harmony upon which depended their very existence : that with respect to himself, it was to be apprehended, if he declared on either side, all Italy would rise in arms against him. In a word, he excused himself from engaging in the quarrel, and recommended strongly their declining an application to any foreign power, which would, in the end, deprive them of their independence.

Next year Philip desired a passage for some troops, he was sending to Sardinia, through the republic's territories, which request was at length granted, after warm debates in the senate. All this while the ancient nobility were labouring to raise a fund for supporting the war, which, notwithstanding the endeavours of his catholic majesty, seemed inevitable. Doria set the example, by subscribing a considerable sum, which all the rest followed in proportion to their zeal and ability. They waited with impatience to commence hostilities ; but not presuming on such a measure without Philip's consent, they resolved secretly, that Ambrose Lommelin and Scipio Campora, who had been banished the republic for some misdemeanor, should, in their own private quarrel, attack the valley of Poseveri with four hundred foot, and that Francis Vivaldi should enter Lunigiani with another corps. This irruption they were not to appear in, though instrumental in raising the forces, for fear of giving umbrage to king Philip. Thus they hoped to gain possession of Novi and Spezzia, which would serve for magazines when the war began. These troops entered the valley, which they filled with terror ; but they were forced to retire by order of the duke of Gandia, who appeared with a squadron off Genoa.

Disappointed and chagrined at the retreat of Lommelin and Campora, the ancient nobility sent deputies to the duke de Gandia, and, from his reply, were under terrible apprehensions of Spain's declaring in behalf of their enemies. Their ambassadors at Madrid discovered, at the same time, by the conferences they had with the duke of Alva, that Philip, with all his specious moderation, sought only an opportunity of rendering himself master of Genoa, by fomenting the civil divisions of the republic. This design appeared plainly, from a declaration of the duke, that the only means to prevent eternal divisions and tumults in Genoa, would be to build a citadel in the town, to be garrisoned by his catholic majesty's troops.

In the mean time the ancient nobility made proposals to the duke de Gandia, which served more than all they had done before to acquire the protection of the court of Madrid. They offered to submit their differences to Don John, and to empower him to alter the laws at pleasure: a proposal so dangerous to the present form of government, it was seen would be rejected. and this was, perhaps, the chief reason why it was made. In fact, it was rejected by the senate, who refused to put such power into the hands of any foreigner; a declaration which drew on them the displeasure of the pope's legate, as well as the Spanish minister and Dohn John.

Soon after it was reported that Doria had planned with Don John the whole operations of the war; and that he was gone to Naples to get all things in readiness for that prince to open the campaign. The report, though premature, was not without foundation. Doria set sail for Naples with twenty-five gallees, accompanied by George Doria, and John Baptista Spinola. Immediately the new nobility spread a rumour, that Doria aspired to the sovereignty of Genoa; and that he had already marched a body of men to seize on the gates. The senate, being informed of his departure, did not doubt but he had encouragement from Don John; and that Spain had determined to espouse the ancient nobility. It was, therefore, thought expedient to make vigorous efforts in their own defence: accordingly three thousand men were sent to Sarzana, most of them Florentines and Lucchese, and all the magazines were put into the best order, which last precaution became the more necessary, as Don John had wrote to the grand-duke of Tuscany, requesting that he would prohibit his subjects from supplying the Genoese with ball, powder, saltpetre, and provisions.

Doria arrives with a fleet on the coast of Genoa.

Negotiations for an accommodation were resumed, but suddenly broke off, by the arrival of Doria on the coast of Genoa, with a strong squadron; then the deputies of the ancient nobility withdrew, by which step they gave umbrage to the foreign ministers, who acted as mediators. As soon as Doria appeared off Genoa, he dispatched a messenger to the marquis de Ajamont, governor of Milan, acquainting him with Don John's intention, and requiring him to provide the necessary stores and ammunition, to order two regiments to march to Spezzia, and take such other measures as he thought would promote the prince's views. Two German battalions were also taken into the pay of the ancient nobility, several Italian regiments were raised, and twenty independent companies of one hundred

men

men each, all under the command of Doria. Antonio Serra raised five thousand five hundred foot at Milan, in the name of his Catholic majesty, to whom they took an oath of allegiance.

Doria began the war with erecting the standard of the republic, alleging that the government was usurped by rebels; and he sent a small squadron to attempt gaining possession of Porto Venere, which succeeded happily. The grand-duke of Tuscany, seeing the Genoese territories filled with confusion, and his coast covered by a numerous fleet, raised ten thousand men, and fortified all his towns, to prevent being surprised; nay more, he seemed to enter into a kind of friendly correspondence with the senate and new nobility of Genoa.

By the late vigorous measures taken by Doria, it was plain the ancient nobility determined upon war; a consideration which wrought more on the senate than all the overtures, intreaties, and menaces they had before used. The ambassadors of the mediating powers observing this disposition, assembled at the house of the legate, to contrive means for accommodating matters; but the hostilities committed by Doria, and the obstinacy of both parties, a second time frustrated their endeavours. Application was made by both parties to his holiness and several Italian princes for assistance; but they all strictly prohibited their subjects to enlist with either, except the grand-duke of Tuscany, who took umbrage at Doria's success, and at seeing so powerful an armament in his neighbourhood. The forces of the ancient nobility were, indeed, very numerous, and daily augmenting; while the new nobility were powerful only in the city, and weak in the field. On this account the people began to fall off; many of them deserted the city and joined Doria, who now undertook the siege of Novi; others pressed the senate to an accommodation, insisting that the subject of dispute might be submitted to arbitration; but the ancient nobility would agree to nothing till Savona was first put into their hands. By gaining these two cities they hoped to treat upon an equal footing at least, especially as the army they had in the field was greatly superior to that of the enemy. Several propositions were set on foot for a peace; but the war went on. Doria made his approaches before Novi, and at last opened several batteries, with which he played furiously on the town. The walls, which were feeble, soon gave way to his cannon; but as the garrison was numerous and brave, it was hazardous attempting to storm the breach. At last, Spinola, who commanded in the trenches, determined

*Doria be-
sieves Novi.*

upon a general assault; but, to spare the blood of his fellow-subjects, first summoned the governor to surrender. Figarella, the governor, made no other reply than by a brisk discharge of the artillery on the ramparts. Spinola, in revenge, ordered five hundred fusileers to march in the night, under cover of the fire from the batteries, by a secret path that led to the city. A centinel discovered the detachment, and giving the alarm, the besieged sallied out, and a warm action commenced; but the detachment was retreating in good order, when it was attacked in the rear by the garrison of Gavi, who would have cut Spinola's men in pieces, had he not opportunely come up with a reinforcement. The battle was renewed with redoubled vigour; but was of short duration, the garrison of Gavi being forced to retreat with loss and precipitation. Still the governor of that place resolved to raise the siege of Novi; for which purpose he made frequent sallies, and at length determined upon one last effort.

With this design, Stephen Ivrea, Pietro Antonio Chiefa, and Marco Fornari, put themselves at the head of thirty-two companies, making about five thousand men, and marched towards Doria's, or rather Spinola's camp. They advanced unobserved within a very short distance of the out-guards, whom they attacked, being supported by a furious sally of the besieged; but were received by Leonardo Plastifer with a courage that soon cooled their ardour. He was joined by count Felix of Lodron, who, at the first alarm, mounted his horse, and put himself at the head of a squadron, with which he repulsed the besieged with loss, while the garrison of Gavi was hotly contesting victory with Spinola, by whom they were at length defeated. The project was well laid, and promised fair, had it been executed with spirit^f. The consequence of its miscarriage was the immediate surrender of Novi.

Novi surrenders.

A. D. 1575.

Gavi surrenders, but the citadel resolves to make a vigorous defence.

Spinola having secured Novi with a strong garrison, went and summoned Gavi; but the governor resolving to defend himself to the last extremity, the town was invested. At first the besieged made Spinola's approaches very difficult by a furious discharge from the ramparts, which, however, did not long continue. Fornari, who commanded the town, evacuated it as soon as the besiegers began to play their batteries, and retired to the citadel. The burghers, afraid of being pillaged, immediately opened their gates to Spinola, who, taking possession, proceeded to besiege the citadel; but his forces not being numerous enough

^f Senareg. apud Murat. col. 515.

to shut up all the passes by completely investing the place, the garrison made frequent sallies into the town, from whence they returned loaded with booty. This inconvenience obliged Spinola to think of raising the siege, and endeavour to strike some alarm in Genoa, which might help to forward the accommodation so long in agitation. His scheme succeeded; the people imagined the Spanish army was advancing to enslave them. The citizens took sanctuary, with their children and effects, in the churches. Many desired leave of the grand council of war to retire; and several old inhabitants, who had seen former revolutions, doubted not but a duke, with an unlimited and despotic authority, would be created by the ancient nobility.

Notwithstanding the consternation in Genoa was very great, Spinola judged, contrary to the opinion of his officers, that it would not be possible to render himself master of it with his handful of forces. He dreaded losing his reputation, should he fail in the attempt: he feared likewise that despair would make the city receive the yoke of some foreign power; and he knew by intercepted letters that many of the citizens, tired of the present government, longed for a change in the administration. While he thus continued irresolute, Doria, who then commanded the fleet, although he was generalissimo of the whole forces by sea and land of the ancient nobility, came to Final, to settle the operations of war with his constituents. However, no military transaction of any consequence happened until the accommodation was in such forwardness, that both parties began to lay aside their animosities. The vicinity of Spinola with the army, and Doria with the fleet, rendered the senate and new nobility more compliant; while the king of Spain's stopping payment of the interest of those large sums he owed the ancient nobility, rendered them more disposed to peace, from their inability to carry on the war. The mediating ambassadors indeed exerted themselves in a very extraordinary manner to effect a reconciliation. They laboured in this business the more earnestly, because Italy, and consequently all Europe, was interested in the fate of Genoa. Above all, the pope exerted his influence in a manner so judicious, that chiefly by his means the long wished-for reunion of interests, and perfect incorporation of the old and new nobility, were effected. Hostages were exchanged for the mutual performance of their agreement; and the following regulations in the political government were made by the arbitrators. To take away all distinction, the very names of old and new nobility were abolished; and it was decreed, that henceforward they

A reconciliation effected between the old and new nobility.

A.D. 1576.

they should be one without difference or distinction : that as idleness is the mother of faction, of every vice destructive of society, the cadets of noble families should be permitted to exercise mechanical employments, or, at least, merchandize, without derogating from their rank : rewards were decreed to persons of merit, and recompences to all who had spent their time upon any discovery useful to the community ; it being deemed a sufficient qualification for admission into the body of nobility. Four hundred senators were chosen out of the nobility to compose the high council of the republic : only persons of distinguished virtue, and considerable fortune, were to be preferred to certain offices of trust and power : proper measures were likewise taken to prevent chicane and fraud in elections for magistrates : all persons possessed of offices which their abilities and character did not merit, were degraded : a law was passed for the election of great and little officers ; and even of the duke himself, to prevent disputes and jealousies : magistrates were obliged to give an account of their conduct at their going out of office ; but as the truest cement of friendship was made up with blood connections, a kind of nuptial tribunal was formed of gentlemen, who were to transact matters of that nature between old and new families : a magistrate called conservator of the laws was created, and it was made criminal to introduce new laws, or any changes in those already established : carrying arms, and all seditious assemblies were prohibited, under severe penalties : trade, with respect to weight, measure, and the quality of commodities, was set on the best footing. In a word, every thing possible was done to obliterate the late animosity, and restore the harmony, and consequently power, wealth, and felicity of Genoa^s.

S E C T. VII.

The Conspiracies of Vachero and La Torre ; War with the Duke of Savoy ; Genoa bombarded by Lewis XIV. of France.

AFTER the late accomodation, the republic of Genoa enjoyed peace and felicity for the space of forty-eight years, during which interval scarce an incident, domestic or foreign, worth recording, occurs. In the year 1624, a dispute arose between the republic and Charles Emanuel,

*War with
the duke of
Savoy.*

^s Ibid. etiam Mauble. lib. xij, xiii.

duke of Savoy, in which Lewis the Thirteenth bore a share. Each of these princes had his particular reason for coming to a rupture with Genoa. The marquissate of Zucarel was the subject of contention with the former; and as for Lewis, his intention was to make such a diversion in Italy, as should engage the principal attention of his Catholic majesty, and prevent his seizing the forts which commanded the pass in the Valteline.

But besides motives of interest, the duke of Savoy was impelled to this rupture from punctilio, and a scrupulous delicacy in point of honour. Some school-boys at Genoa, of low birth, had formed themselves for diversion into two bodies, one intitled the Spanish, and the other the Savoyard army. These armies were conducted by the mock princes in person, and coming to a pitched battle the duke was defeated, driven out of the town, then taken prisoner, and led in triumph about the streets. The senate disapproved of this comedy, and punished the actors; but the duke was not satisfied with that reparation. A treaty was concluded between France and Savoy, and the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign concerted.

*France declares
against
Genoa.*

In the month of February, 1625, the constable de Lesdiguières, governor of Dauphiné, passing the mountains, arrived at Turin, and found his highness had assembled a body of troops to march at the shortest notice. It consisted of twelve thousand men, having a fine train of artillery, with which it was determined to lay siege to Savona. A council of war was afterwards called, and this resolution warmly debated. It was supported by the constable, marshal Crequi, and the count Dauriac, and opposed by his royal highness and the marquis de Uxelles.

As the treaty between France and Savoy could not be kept long secret, his Catholic majesty sent to Genoa, with offers to the senate of liberal assistance in case the republic should be attacked by the confederates; but the senate was aware of the inconveniences of accepting such succours: they had seen their own and other republics lose their liberty, by having recourse to the protection of powerful monarchs. Trusting, therefore, to the strength and unanimity of their own state, they returned his Catholic majesty their humble thanks; but declined his offer, under pretence that the destination of the confederate army was very uncertain, and that the forces of the republic were sufficient to protect the Genoese territories.

It was more agreeable to the senate to make application to his holiness, whom they requested to use his influence with the duke of Savoy to desist; and in case his exhorta-
tion

tion should prove ineffectual, to lend men and money to the republic. The pope, however, declared himself neutral, and would promise nothing to the Genoese. His refusal did not discourage the senate: troops were levied with all expedition, and directions given for equipping a strong squadron. It was not now a war in which citizen fought against citizen, but where every subject of the republic assisted with all his power to repel the common danger. Five thousand Germans were taken into pay; a society of rich nobility raised, at their own private expence, thirty companies of Italian foot, consisting of two hundred men each; besides six hundred foot drawn from Corsica. The prince of Bozzolo supplied the republic with eight hundred foot and two hundred horse; Lucca sent four hundred auxiliaries; and Doria assembled a strong body of men upon his own estate. In a word, the forces of the republic were such as it was thought would not only protect the Genoese territories, but oblige the enemy to keep on the defensive.

Meanwhile the duke de Gulfe, who lay with a fleet at Marseilles, seized two hundred thousand crowns, which his Catholic majesty was sending to Genoa, on board two merchantmen, relying upon the faith of treaties, and the peace between the crowns of France and Spain. This seizure occasioned great alarms in Genoa, where money was much wanted. All the troops had before been sent to the frontiers, on the supposition that the enemy would make their first attacks upon the barrier towns, before they ventured to penetrate into the heart of the country. Seeing the enemy follow a different course, they fortified Savona, and recalled all the troops dispersed along the banks of the river Ponant, which they employed in fortifying the passes between them and the enemy. They determined to abandon Novi and Ovada, the better to defend Gavi, a place of great importance, as it commanded the principal avenue to Genoa, through the valley of Polseveri, by which alone it was practicable to draw artillery and waggons. Here they placed two thousand men, secured the pass with lines and batteries, and employed two thousand five hundred men to guard the strong pass of Ronciglione.

It was now of the utmost consequence to make choice of a general capable of conducting their military operations. The great esteem in which John Jerome Doria was held, secured him this office; his courage and integrity were undoubted, and he had performed a variety of actions in the Spanish service, that put his capacity out of all doubt. Carlo Doria, of the same family, was appointed to command in the city; an officer equally admired for his abilities

*Doria
chosen ge-
neral of the
Genoese
forces.*

as a soldier, and his virtues as a man and a citizen. He was duke of Tursis, but had spent all his life in the army, so that great confidence was placed in his judgment and probity. When he was called into the senate to give his sentiments upon the operations of the campaign, he disapproved of the resolution taken to evacuate Novi and Ovada: on the contrary, he advised that they should be well garrisoned and provided. It was, he said, the business of the republic to keep their enemies as long as possible from penetrating into the bowels of the state, and touching the capital, where resides the vital principle. He observed that, admitting they would make no long resistance, they would at least amuse the enemy, and give more time to finish the fortifications of Genoa. Moved by these reasons, the senate suffered him to act in the affair as he thought proper; upon which the duke sent his nephew, Georgio Doria to take the command of Novi, while he resolved to defend Ovada in person: but he was forced to alter his plan when he found these places totally evacuated, and destitute of stores, provision, and cannon. He then bent his whole endeavours to defend the pass at Gavi, which was the only way the enemy could possibly bring their artillery.

In the mean time the constable advanced with his army, too inconsiderable, indeed, to undertake any thing of consequence. He obliged Aqui and Capriata to surrender, and he defeated a detachment of five companies of Neapolitans, on their march to join Spinola, who commanded a detachment of Genoese. This attack was so warmly resented in Spain, that all the French ships in Spanish ports were seized; but no actual hostilities commenced between the two crowns. The governor of Milan carefully refrained from every kind of violence, while the towns in the duchy were ill provided, and the fortifications out of repair; as soon, however, as things were put in a proper posture, and the French army past the defiles, the duke de Feria took off the mask, knowing that the loss of Genoa would soon be succeeded by the invasion of the Milanese.

While the duke de Feria was preparing to succour the Genoese, the duke of Savoy forced the passage of Ronciglione, which he attacked with his whole army. The Genoese troops abandoned their post at sight of the enemy; upon which the duke made himself master of the trenches they had thrown up, and of the town, without any resistance. After the reduction of Ronciglione he advanced to St. Judith, and summoned the governor to surrender; but he declared he would defend the place to the last extremity. Genoa was all this while filled with terror and dismay:

women

The Spaniards declare in favour of Genoa.

women and children flocked in thousands from the country, and consumed the provisions; the cannon lay in the arsenal without carriages, and there were no gunners to work them if they had been mounted; the troops, raised at a great expence, dwindled away with sickness and desertion; both those strong detachments sent to defend the defiles at Gavi and Ronciglione had dispersed through fear only; although three hundred thousand ducats had been sent to Milan, the forces promised upon this subsidy were not yet arrived; the Neapolitan auxiliaries were already cut in pieces by the French: in a word, the face of affairs was totally altered, and without any visible cause, except the panic which had seized the whole republic, after the misconduct at Ronciglione. This confusion was still increased by the crowds of women, children, and old men, who poured in hourly from every part of the country, particularly from Voltri, and those towns and villages which lay in the enemy's route. Genoa could now be compared to nothing so justly as Rome, after the defeat at Cannæ. This wealthy city had for near fifty years enjoyed profound tranquillity, without hearing the sound of a cannon, drum, trumpet, or warlike instrument, except on public rejoicings. No wonder then if the approach of an enemy proved more alarming to its inhabitants than to others more accustomed to war. Women of fashion fled their country; the rich sent their moveables to Leghorn; and the populace ran about like persons distracted, although they had nothing to lose.^b

Amidst this confusion the senate resolved to recall all the troops they had sent for the defence of the frontiers. A courier was sent to John Jerome Doria, ordering him to assemble the garrisons round Ottavio, and bring them with the utmost expedition to Genoa. Doria, however, was too experienced a soldier to obey those orders, which were dictated by fear and ignorance. He endeavoured to quiet the fears of the senate, by assuring them it was impossible the enemy could form the siege of Genoa without their heavy cannon, and that the surest method to retard their operations would be to keep the passes blocked up in such a manner, as would render it difficult for the artillery to join the army. These reasons being examined in the senate, were unanimously allowed to be judicious; notwithstanding which, such was the people's confidence in Doria and Spinola, that both were recalled for the defence of the city, and Ottavio and Gavi left to shift for themselves. The garrisons, indeed,

^b Mauble, lib. xiii.

were maintained in these places, but put under the conduct of officers of whose ability the soldiers had a mean opinion.

The presence of Doria and Spinola gave fresh vigour to the Genoese, which was soon farther increased by the arrival of Lewis Gualco with two thousand Spanish foot and two hundred horse, from Milan. By Doria's advice the senate took some effectual steps to prevent the confusion that reigned in the city, by strictly prohibiting persons, of whatever quality, to move themselves or effects out of Genoa. They next applied with great diligence to the fortifications, and mounting the cannon on the ramparts.

After all, Genoa owed more to fortune than to her own conduct or prudence. The differences between the duke of Savoy and the constable greatly retarded the motions of both. The latter lay before Gavi, without being able to invest it for want of cannon, with which the duke promised to supply him, in consideration of a very considerable subsidy which was paid him every month. It was supposed that jealousy of the constable's reputation made him betray the common cause; but certain it is, that the delays occasioned by his highness happened most providentially for Genoa. At last, the duke of Savoy having gained some advantages over Caraccioli, the Genoese general at Ottagio, marched to join the constable at Gavi.

While the confederate army was preparing for the siege of Gavi, warm debates were carried on in the senate, whether it should be evacuated, or vigorously defended? Some were for giving it up as untenable, recalling the garrison for the defence of the capital, and not sacrificing such a number of men merely from a desire of procrastinating the siege of Genoa a day or two longer. Others, on the contrary, affirmed, that it ought to be defended to the last extremity, as the siege of such a place would necessarily weaken the enemy, and give time for putting Genoa into the best posture of defence. Amidst a diversity of opinions, they resolved to be determined by the sentiments of the duke de Feria. But while the Genoese were deliberating whether they should evacuate the town, the constable was trying to reduce it by force. He lodged a strong detachment in a monastery to cover the workmen employed in erecting batteries on an eminence, which was the only ground from whence the citadel was capable of suffering any disturbance. Here the besieged evacuated some forts without making any resistance. Next day the besiegers defeated a body of eight hundred Genoese in the road of Savcavella, and took a hundred and twenty prisoners. While
the

*A Genoese
party de-
feated.*

the French were receiving fresh spirits and courage from these successes, the besieged were thunder-struck with their losses; they began to despond, and despair of being able to make a long resistance. The town walls were in a shattered condition, and a heavy piece of cannon, well managed, would have made a practicable breach. Niasco, who commanded in the town, entreated Justiniani, governor of the citadel, to receive him and his people in case they should be driven from their post; which request Justiniani refusing, he made a sally, with intention to break through the enemy, but was beat back to the town. Finding nothing could be done by force, he had recourse to the clemency of his enemies, and demanded of the marshal Crequi a safe-conduct for himself and garrison. The passport was granted, the capitulation signed, and Niasco marched out with his arms, baggage, and other honours of war; but his reputation was ruined by the oath he took never to serve the republic against the French.

Gavi surrenders.

Justiniani was incensed at the retreat of Niasco; and, to express his resentment, ordered a general discharge of his artillery. Next morning he was summoned to surrender; and replied, that the citadel being entrusted to him, he would defend it to the last. It was represented to him, that no quarter would be given if he stood an assault; upon which he demanded a day to deliberate, and returned an answer, when the time was expired, by a brisk fire from the artillery, and a bloody flag, which he hoisted in the most conspicuous place. Other batteries were instantly erected, which began to play furiously on the garrison. A third time Justiniani was summoned; and then he desired a passport for a messenger to go to Genoa to represent the situation of the citadel, promising to surrender if he did not receive an answer in three days. The passport was granted, and the messenger returned within the time, with orders for the garrison to defend themselves, as they would soon receive powerful succours; but the duke of Savoy arrested him in the camp, and, the time being expired, Justiniani was decoyed into a capitulation.

Gavi having surrendered, the Piedmontese troops took immediate possession of the citadel, a circumstance which greatly piqued the French general. The disputes on this subject introduced others somewhat prematurely; it being warmly contested who should be governor of Genoa when taken. Other jealousies arose between the duke of Savoy and the constable, the former alleging, that the latter was secretly negotiating a peace with the Genoese. These dissensions were very opportunely stifled by the king; who

gave

gave strict orders, that the constable should listen to no terms from the enemy without the duke's approbation; that the army should be reinforced and supplied with stores and provisions; and that such officers as were most obnoxious to the duke should be recalled. Orders were likewise given to the duke de Guise to block up Genoa by sea, with a squadron of six galleys.

In the mean time his highness and the constable held a council of war on the method of investing Genoa; when it was found impracticable to besiege that large city without a proper train of artillery and magazines for the army, both which were wanting. It was the duke's business to provide these, and keep the roads in repair for drawing the cannon; and he had given directions to that effect, which were executed but slowly. That no time, however, might be lost, he attacked Piava, a place of some consequence, and carried it after a short resistance. The constable, after this success, opposed laying siege to Genoa before the army was properly supplied with artillery and stores; but the duke made all preparations for investing the city, which he imagined would surrender to the terror of his arms. He formed magazines at Gavi, set pioneers to work on the pass at Ottagio, ordered the artillery to be put in motion, and seized upon several imperial fiefs belonging to the Genoese nobility. His natural son, Don Felix, he sent to attack Savignon, by which he might open a passage to the valley Bisagno, which leads directly to Genoa; and this attempt succeeded as all others had done. The Genoese, alarmed at the loss of Pavia, turned their whole attention to the defence of the capital, as the last stake. They made retrenchments, cut ditches, erected bastions, built pallisades, and mounted all their cannon. What embarrassed them most was the scarcity of money. Remittances were expected from Spain, but the fear of falling in with the French squadron kept the ships from putting to sea. Private persons had sent in their plate to be coined; but still this was insufficient for the purposes of government. As yet the Germans were not come to the Milanese, and there was the less dependence on them, as their delay was owing to the failure of the promised subsidy. Thus the Genoese had no foreign assistance to rely on, except a small corps under Pimentel, who now deserted them likewise, and drew off his forces from Tortona to Alexandria, to the great astonishment of the senate. Besides the Swiss, who observed the treasures of his catholic majesty were exhausted, suffered themselves to be gained over by the confederates, and absolutely denied the German auxiliaries a passage through their country.

*Piava
taken.*

*The confederates
prepare to
invest
Genoa.*

But what proved most irksome to the republic, was the great preparations the enemy were making to obtain a superiority at sea, by which they might either block up Genoa, or make a descent on Corsica. It was likewise observed, that all the princes in Italy seemed to have a bias in favour of the confederates, from a jealousy and dislike of Spain. The grand-duke of Tuscany was assembling an army at Pisa, with intention, it was supposed, to fall on Sarzana, or Sarfonello, places to which the Florentines had long formed a claim; and this circumstance obliged the Genoese to divide their forces, in order to make head against another enemy, and protect their possessions. The duke of Mantua maintained the appearance of friendship with the republic; but he granted a passage through his dominions to the confederates, and entered secretly into their interest, although he offered to raise six thousand men for the defence of Genoa, provided the republic would supply levy money. As to Venice, there was no subject of dispute between the two republics, except their jealousy about the superiority in the Mediterranean. For several years they had lived in friendship, yet were the Venetians zealous promoters of this league against the sister republic; probably from a dislike of Spain, and jealousy of the grandeur of the house of Austria, with which Genoa was closely allied. All, however, that the Venetians did, was to retard the assistance from Milan, by making a diversion in the Cremonese: however, the old animosity was so far renewed, that the Genoese merchants durst not appear in Venice, and public rejoicings were made in that city upon every advantage gained by the confederates. In a word, the affairs of the republic appeared to themselves to be in so desperate a situation, that they connived at the horrid attempt of assassinating the constable; an attempt which reflects infamy on the republic, and the base projector, the baron de Alegre.

Such was the state of the Genoese affairs when a million of ducats arrived from Spain, which was soon after followed by five millions more. Matters instantly assumed a different aspect; alacrity and spirit appeared in every countenance; the works, which had long languished, were resumed with spirit; levies were set on foot; remittances made to Milan, in consequence of which near eight thousand troops arrived from that duchy, among whom were two thousand of the best veterans in the service of Spain. The inclinations of his holiness and the grand-duke seemed to veer with the fortune of the republic; for now they made no scruple of reinforcing the Spanish fleet with a certain
number

number of galleys, which it was believed were intended for the service of France.

A council of war was called at Genoa, to determine upon the operations of the campaign; and here it was resolved to take particular care of the defence of Genoa and Savona; the latter being necessary to the security of the former. It was farther agreed, that no attempt should be made to recover the places the enemy had taken, since they must of course belong to that side which should remain master of the field. At the same time these circumstances concurred to defeat the enemy's projects, they were disappointed of the provisions expected from England. The king of France wanted all his strength to reduce the Huguenots, and an epidemical disease carried off near half the army: besides, the Piedmontese troops were greatly distressed, the inhabitants of Montferrat refusing, on account of some ill usage they had received, to suffer convoys to pass through their country. His highness was encamped between Gavi and Ottagio, and not only cut off from provisions, but greatly harassed by alarms and attacks from the inhabitants, who seized every opportunity of annoying him. But what distressed the duke most, and rendered it impossible for him to have his artillery, at least for some time, was an order sent by the senate to the inhabitants of Polsevera to form themselves into a strong detachment, and seize upon five hundred bullocks which were crossing the skirts of the valley, to go to the camp for the use of the artillery. This order was executed with great spirit: the escort was defeated, and the cattle were carried off in triumph to Genoa. It was not possible for the duke to assemble a number of draught horses or bullocks sufficient for his purpose, and he was reduced to the necessity of waiting for horses from France.

Advantages gained by the peasants.

The peasants of Polsevera were not contented with their late advantage; it had so elated their courage, that they determined upon another enterprize. They joined a small corps of regulars, and laid siege to Savignon, in which place the duke's son, Don Felix, commanded two hundred men. Their attack was so sudden and furious, that Don Felix must have surrendered prisoner at discretion, had not the duke, on the first intimation of his danger, made a forced march with five hundred men cross the mountains, and carried him off in the night. This retreat, however, was effected with great danger, as the peasants pursued him closely in the rear, and fell upon him in a defile through which he must necessarily pass.

Hitherto the duke de Feria's conduct had been irresolute, through want of money, and the fear of coming to a rupture with France. At length the remonstrances of the senate prevailed, or rather the liberal remittances they made, enabled him to take the field with a powerful army, which greatly perplexed the duke of Savoy and the constable. After Feria had put strong garrisons in all the fortified towns, his army amounted to upwards of twenty thousand fighting men, a force greatly superior to that of the confederates, which did not exceed eight thousand, harrassed, sickly, and half-starved. Nothing was now thought of but how to retreat, and a variety of projects were formed to accomplish this aim; for as to the siege, it was abandoned as a thing impracticable. They were pursued in their march; and several skirmishes happened between the confederates and the Spanish troops, but none of any importance.

Novi and Gavi recovered.

In consequence of this retreat, the Genoese recovered Novi and Gavi, with several other places which had fallen into the enemy's hands. La Grange commanded in Gavi with a slender garrison, which capitulated a few days after the Genoese appeared before the town; nor did the citadel, though strong and well supplied with necessaries, make any defence, as the retreat of the confederate army rendered it impossible for them to expect any relief. The governor was, indeed, suspected of corruption, and sent prisoner to France, where orders were issued for trying him, when he happily died, and avoided a more ignominious catastrophe.

The confederate army retreated.

Peace concluded.

After the retreat of the confederate army, negotiations for peace were set on foot, and it was concluded upon equal terms, matters being restored to the situation in which they were at the beginning of the war ^b.

A.D. 1627.

About two years after the peace with France and Savoy, the republic was greatly embarrassed by a resolution of his Catholic majesty to lessen the interest of the money he had borrowed from the bank of Genoa, or rather to sink the capital an eighth part. Olivarez did them this good office, because the republic had declined lending a large sum of money, at low interest, upon the security of some very precarious funds which he offered. Nothing could be more unseasonable than any dispute with Spain; when a circumstance happened which set the republic and duke of Savoy again at variance. Since the late peace at Monçon, general

^b Mauble, tom. vi. lib. 14.

Brancaccio lodged at Pigna, a town under the authority of the republic, but maintaining, at its own expence, a garrison of three companies of German foot. Part of this garrison going to Bussò, a little town within a mile of Pigna, and in its jurisdiction, found some Piedmontese troops quartered there, which they drove out, with considerable slaughter. The duke highly resented this act of hostility, and declared that he looked upon the peace as infringed, and would act accordingly. The republic punished the offenders; but the duke was not to be pacified, although he was sensible that the senate had no share in the transaction.

While his highness was contriving means to revenge himself on the republic, Vachero came to Turin, to propose to him an enterprize which would sufficiently punish the Genoese. This Vachero was a young, ambitious, and wealthy plebeian, who having received some affront from certain young nobility, resolved to revenge himself on the whole body. He beheld with chagrin persons of inferior wealth entitled to posts by their quality, which were refused to him. His profuse liberality gained him a number of adherents, and made his house the rendezvous of the factious, the daring, and those who wished for a revolution which would cancel their crimes, or their debts. Since his return from Turin, he redoubled his caresses and liberality, and even found means to draw into his interest persons of better morals, and less desperate fortunes; to whom, however, he communicated but a part of his real design, which was no less than to extirpate the whole body of the nobility, and get himself made sovereign of Genoa. Merchants, mechanics, and the meanest of the people, had access to Vachero's house and table; and in a short time the number of the conspirators was so great, and the plan so well laid, that Genoa must have been the scene of blood and confusion in a few days, had it not pleased Providence to interpose, and discover their machinations in a manner inscrutable by human foresight. He had deferred the day of execution too long, from a desire to concert his measures securely. The duke of Savoy had repeatedly urged him to strike the blow, which he delayed for the greater certainty. At length, the day was fixed for the 1st of April, 1628. He had given orders to the conspirators to assemble at the palace, to kill the German guards, to force their way into the chambers, throw the senators over the windows, and massacre all who should fall in their way; assuring them, that they would easily get the government into their own hands, as there was a body of Piedmontese ready to support their measures.

*An account
of Vachero,
and the plot
contrived
by him.*

*Conspiracy
discovered.*

The conspirators expected with impatience that day, to be rendered so deplorably memorable by such a variety of murders; but it pleased the Divine Providence to turn the plot upon the contrivers, and make their ambition the scourge of their villiany. Vachero, for the greater safety, wanted to engage one Radini, a captain, in the conspiracy. He invited him to his house with several other conspirators, and treated him with such profuse generosity, that Radini was prevailed to engage in this faction, in hopes of raising his fortune by performing an action so agreeable to his natural sovereign, the duke of Savoy. He took an oath to meet them next day at the palace with his company of soldiers; yet, upon farther thoughts, he reflected with horror on the crime he was going to commit, and thought it his duty to save such a number of lives by the breach of an oath taken rashly. Accordingly he went overnight to Luke Clavari, the duke, informed him of the whole plot, and obtained under his sign-manual a full pardon for his offence, and the promise of a reward adequate to the importance of the service he had done the state.

Filled with horror and amazement, the duke immediately assembled the senate privately, and acquainted them with the danger of their situation. After warm debates on the means of warding off the blow, it was determined to seize the persons of the principal conspirators, by entering their houses in the most secret manner; and also to secure their magazine of arms, which service was committed to Lomelin. This last order was executed immediately, and all the arms were brought to the palace without the least noise or disturbance; but Barigel, to whom the business of seizing on the conspirators was entrusted, betrayed the senate, and gave them notice of the order he had received. He happened indeed to be a party in the conspiracy, and took his measures so well, that not only himself, but the chief of his accomplices, escaped before morning. Vachero, Zignato, and Fornari, endeavouring to escape by sea, were taken, and publicly executed. Several others got safe to Turin, where they published bitter invectives against the government. Some time after, however, they suffered the just punishment of their crimes: endeavouring, with the assistance of a body of Piedmontese, to surprise Genoa, they were repulsed, besieged, and burnt in a house, to which they retired. In this manner ended a conspiracy which brought Genoa to the brink of perdition, and nearly ended in the entire extirpation of the whole body of nobility¹.

As soon as the duke of Savoy was informed that Vachero was prisoner, and the conspiracy discovered, he used all his endeavours to save the lives of that criminal and his accomplices. He declared himself the author of the whole plot, in order to revenge the affair of Buffo : he insisted that the prisoners ought to enjoy the benefit of the amnesty passed after the late peace, though nothing could be more absurd than the arguments alleged ; and he found means to bring over to his opinion the governor of Milan, and the marquis de Croix. He even ordered the Genoese that were taken at the battle of Ottagio, and permitted on their parole the freedom of the city, to be shut up in prison, threatening to make their lives answer for whatever should be done to the conspirators. There were, indeed, some circumstances with respect to the Genoese prisoners, which gave a colour of justice to this step, and greatly embarrassed the republic and the court of Spain. The senate resolved, however, to run all risks, and even hazard the consequences of a war, unsupported by Spain, rather than pardon so gross a violation of the laws of nature and society. *Vachero put to death.* Vachero was not only ignominiously put to death, but his house razed to the ground, and a column, with an inscription setting forth his crimes, erected on the spot.

The senate tried Vachero ; but a court called the Burning Chamber was established for the trial of the other conspirators. The power, however, of this tribunal was limited in such a manner that it could not condemn to death, until the evidence was first reported to the senate. When the duke of Savoy was informed of the death of Vachero, and the inquisition erected for the trial of his accomplices, in the first transport of passion, he gave orders that four of the principal Genoese prisoners should be punished in the same manner ; but his choler subsiding, he listened to the admonitions of his ministers, who represented the inhumanity of sacrificing innocent lives, and revoked his rigorous orders. The Spanish ministry expressed great resentment likewise at the little regard paid to the intercession of his Catholic majesty ; and the governor of Milan set at liberty several of the conspirators who had been arrested in that city at the request of the senate. But matters went no farther ; the king of Spain was too closely connected with the republic in pecuniary matters, and in trade, to suffer a dispute of this nature to interfere with his interest.

Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, dying in 1631, his son, Victor Amadeus, intreated his Catholic majesty to terminate, by his mediation, his disputes with the republic ; and this was done by a treaty signed at Madrid by the ambassa-

dors of Genoa and Turin. It was agreed, they should mutually restore the towns, cannon, and prisoners, taken from each other since the commencement of the war: that the property of Zuccarel should remain in the republic, on payment of sixteen thousand crowns to the duke, at four installments: that a general amnesty should be granted to the subjects of either side who served against their country; in which article were included the conspirators, who were restored to their former estates and privileges. Both parties exclaimed against this article; the Genoese thinking it a gross insult on the republic, that traitors should be comprehended in a treaty of peace; and the duke representing that most of the conspirators were already put to death, and only a few now alive to receive the benefit of the amnesty. To compensate this loss, he insisted on the full restitution of his galleys; that his cannon should be sent to Gavi, together with several other points, which were at last compromised, on condition that only prisoners of war should be included in the general pardon.

Thus was peace at length concluded with Savoy, after a long and troublesome war, which had cost the republic not less than eight millions, if we include the fortifications erected between Porto Maurizio and Savona, together with the new walls extending from the Lantern fort to the valley of Bisagno, great part of which was carried over mountains, and cut in the solid rock.

*Plague in
Genoa.*

Genoa was no sooner eased from the calamities of war than it was afflicted with the still more dreadful consequences of pestilence: however, by the excellent regulations of the senate, a stop was put to its progress, and the plague was entirely confined to the city, in which it did no considerable damage.

In the year 1636, the Spaniards attempted to surprise the city; but notice of the plot being given to the senate, by the republics of Venice and Florence, measures were taken to frustrate the design. The Spanish admiral was refused leave to enter the harbour; the fortifications were diligently inspected; twenty-four companies of foot were put under arms; and Charles Doria, who was suspected to be privy to the design, was arrested with his whole family at Savona. The Spaniards, disappointed by these preparations, abandoned the enterprize, and the affair was dropped without any consequences to affect the repose of the republic. From this time till the year 1656, Genoa enjoyed all the blessings of peace and commerce. In that year the city was molested with two evils, each of them calamitous, and destructive of her happiness. A dreadful plague

*War with
the corsairs
of Barbary.*

plague reigned within the walls, and the corsairs were grown so powerful in the Mediterranean, that the trade of the republic was almost wholly destroyed. All inland traffic was likewise interrupted by the plague; so that the city was reduced to extreme distress. To remedy these evils, every possible precaution was taken to check the progress of the pestilence, and a powerful fleet equipped against the Moors. On this occasion, Hippolito Centurioni, the Genoese admiral, distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Being separated from the fleet in a hard gale, he fell in with four stout corsairs, who attacked him with great fury. The engagement was unequal in force; but Centurioni compensated the want of numbers by skill and intrepidity: though raked on every side, and often boarded, he plied his cannon and small-arms with such dexterity, that the enemy were constrained to sheer off in a very shattered condition. This was the only action that happened; for the plague raging with unremitting violence on board the rest of the fleet, the admiral put into port, and the ships were laid up.

Next year the fleet put again to sea, but were soon obliged to return, the plague having carried off near three hundred seamen in the space of a week. Centurioni, however, with two galleys kept the sea, and gained several advantages over the corsairs, taking some of their ships, and putting all to the sword who fell into his hands; a severity which somewhat checked their insolence, and paved the way for a treaty of commerce concluded with the piratical states, and grand signor, in the course of the following year. The treaty with the Porte was considerably extended by the marquis Durazzo, who went in quality of ambassador to Constantinople in the year 1666. The particulars were mutually advantageous, and such as renewed the vigour of the Genoese trade to a pitch beyond what any of the maritime towns had experienced since the Dutch founded their commercial republic, and extended their trade not only to the Levant, but to every quarter of the globe.

A.D. 1657.

For some years Genoa lived in peace with all the neighbouring powers, enjoyed domestic harmony, and assiduously cultivated commerce, and whatever could render the republic powerful and happy. Some little jealousies and differences arose between her and Venice, the sister and rival republic; but they were such as terminated amicably, and never gave any disturbance to the repose of Italy. Towards the year 1670, the duke of Savoy began to renew his claim to some of the dependent territories of Genoa, at the

*Account of
La Torr , and the con-
spiracy he
formed
against
Genoa.*

the persuasion of Raphael de la Torr , a young turbulent ambitious man, son to Torr , a celebrated civilian of that age. This gentleman was bred at Florence, and afterwards appointed page to the grand-duke. Tired of this employment, he returned to his own country, where he confirmed every bad habit contracted at a wealthy and luxurious court. He afterwards made the tour of Italy, rather to acquire vices than to improve his manners; and in coming back indulged himself in the most profuse and criminal dissipation, to the ruin of his fortune, which he sought means to repair at the expence of his country and of his honour. How gross soever his vices were, he had his imitators and adherents; and he linked himself in strict society with persons of his own disposition, who flattered his passions, and soothed his vices, while his fortune was able to support their own. As his genius was lively, and imagination fertile in the worst of artifices and calumnies, he profited by that talent. In a word, so easily did he extricate himself out of all difficulties into which his vices led him, that he was grown daring in the most enormous crimes, and committed, with impunity, actions which would have brought any other man to the gallows. At last, a robbery on the high seas, which he committed, obliged him to fly from Genoa; upon which he repaired to the court of Turin, and insinuated himself into so much favour, that he obtained offices which astonished all those who were acquainted with his character. Raised to the command of a company of cuirassiers, he immediately turned his thoughts to revenge the injury done to his reputation, in passing upon him a sentence which he richly merited; for he was condemned to death at Genoa.

Determined to render his exile fatal to his native country, he first fell upon the meanest stratagems to execute the dictates of that inveterate grudge he bore to the city which gave him birth. The house of C sar Durazzo was burnt to the ground, and there was the strongest presumption that Torr  was the incendiary; for Durazzo, in quality of perpetual governor of the city, had passed sentence on him. But not contented with a private revenge, he proposed nothing less than the conquest of Genoa, and the ruin of the commonwealth; a plan for which he drew up and communicated to the young marquis de Livorno. This nobleman, however, was dissuaded from presenting it to the duke of Savoy by the marquis de Pianezza, his father, who had long governed Savoy in quality of prime minister, and now, though retired from business, was consulted by all the princes of Italy as an oracle. Nevertheless, La Torr 

Torré was so pressing in his instances with the young marquis, that he at length procured him an audience of the duke. He found his highness's sentiments favourable to his design, and the project was embraced, contrary to the opinion of the marquis Pianezza, who gave in several remonstrances against embracing a scheme planned by the disgust and revenge of a wrong-headed refugee.

Ravished with joy at seeing his designs succeed so happily, La Torr  indulged himself, like another Cataline, in the pleasing prospect of reducing the senate under his power, oppressing his enemies, pillaging the rich treasures of St. George, and trampling on the liberties of his country.

Being now protected by the duke's countenance, he began to commence hostilities, raising a gang of desperadoes, to rob, plunder, and spoil his country: but these incursions satiating neither his resentment, his ambition, nor his avarice, he resolved to collect a strong band, with which he formed a plan to surprise Savona in the night, than which design nothing could be more romantic and extravagant. The duke was flattered by his minions in whatever could gratify his ambition: he did not perceive the absurdity of La Torr 's project, because he examined it only with the eye of passion; for had he once applied to his reason, he could not fail of perceiving the futility, the weakness of the measure concerted by that rancorous exile. War with the republic was absolutely determined upon; and count Catalan Alfieri, an officer of approved valour, was ordered to advance to Ceva with three thousand foot and one thousand horse. They arrived on the 24th of June, and then took the road to Savona in the night, with the utmost silence, provided with petards, and other implements for taking places by surprise. Alfieri, however, falling ill, the command devolved on the marquis de Livorno, general of the cavalry.

*March of
the Pied-
montese
army.*

The senate had been advertised of the march of the Piedmontese army; but as it was in time of full peace, they doubted not but their intention was to go to work on some fortifications: however, when certain intelligence arrived of their approaching Savona, all were thrown into consternation; still they could not persuade themselves that a young wild spendthrift, like La Torr , could have formed a plan so bold, or acquired influence enough at the court of Turin, to be supplied with the means of execution. The confusion and terror in the capital was augmented by advices that certain companies, sent to defend the passes, were defeated by the enemy. This intelligence, however, proved false; for Jerome Spinola, governor of Savona, in order

order to strengthen these posts and his own garrison, had assembled the militia of the country, fortified the passes, and taken every necessary measure of defence.

Whatever precautions Spinola had taken for the security of Savona, the capital could oppose no more than a garrison of three thousand men, mostly undisciplined, to the regular and numerous army of Savoy. Levies were ordered to be made, and the principal nobility took upon themselves the charge of defending the most important posts round the city. Marc Doria was sent with two hundred Corsicans to Chiavari, to suppress some commotions in that place that were raised in favour of La Torre. Indeed the Corsicans exerted a laudable spirit on this occasion, for the support of the government. The nobility of the island raised companies at their own expence, which they sent over to Genoa, under the conduct of their sons, brothers, and relations.

To these preparations the senate added others of no less consequence. Commissaries were sent to Polsevera, to raise the peasants of the valley and neighbouring mountains; some stout ships of war were equipped, and the number of gallies augmented. All the nobility, and some of the citizens, raised men at their own expence; and prince John Andrea Doria, then a youth, distinguished his patriotism in a very extraordinary manner, offering his person, his fortune, and all his influence, for the service of his country. His example roused the generosity of the rest of the nobility. So liberal were their donations, that in the space of a few days the sum of three millions of livres was raised for the public use, and about six thousand foot were levied for the defence of the city. Even the women contributed their jewels and ornaments for the protection of liberty, and the expences of so just a war.

In the mean time, the Piedmontese army, which had rested for some days at Ottari, renewed their march; but they had scarce advanced two miles, when a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, fell with such violence as greatly frightened and discomposed them. This incident, and intelligence of the preparations made by the Genoese, induced the marquis de Livorno to alter his purpose, and instead of besieging Savona, to march towards Salicet. There the marquis de Catalan joined the army, and determined to lay siege to Pavia. His march was rapid, and the consternation of the inhabitants of this place proportioned to the suddenness of the visitation. Their courage failed them, and the town was surrendered on the first summons. Here it was that the marquis published several manifestoes,

declaring

declaring the duke of Savoy's motives for seizing upon Pavia, which, he said, was rather to secure his own possessions against the incursions of the Genoese peasants, than to augment his dominions by unjust conquests. To these manifestoes the republic made spirited replies, which were sent to the Genoese ambassadors at the several courts of Europe.

At this time, the duke d'Osuna was governor of Milan, a man whose interest the senate knew to be very considerable at the court of Madrid. It was their business, therefore, to prevent the duke's falling in with the measures of Savoy; an incident which would throw the weight of Spain into that scale, and make it greatly preponderate. Upon this consideration, the marquis Francis Maria Balbi was sent to Milan, to gain over the duke; and a more fit ambassador could not have been chosen, both for his illustrious rank and engaging address. Notwithstanding all his arts and remonstrances, however, the duke d'Osuna's reply was extremely equivocal. Upon the departure of Balbi, he published an edict strictly prohibiting all the subjects of his Catholic majesty from enlisting in the service of any foreigners. But in order to preserve the appearance of neutrality, he made loud complaints against the duke of Savoy, particularly of the march of his army through the Catholic king's dominions without permission.

The Genoese senate were no strangers to the duke d'Osuna's real sentiments; but as he did not declare against the republic, they seemed satisfied, and took the most vigorous steps for defeating the designs formed by the court of Turin. Receiving advice that the enemy were fortifying Pavia, they put all the neighbouring places in a state of defence. What most embarrassed the magistrates and generals of the republic, was the terror which had laid hold of the minds of the people, particularly the peasants, before they had set eyes on the enemy. Every person who could afford money to defray the expence of his passage, was preparing to move off to some foreign country with his family and effects. The senate resolved to put a stop to this practice by the most severe edicts; which, however, proved insufficient, till the country was put in such a posture of defence, as bid defiance to all the power of Savoy.

What contributed to the security of the republic more than all her endeavours, was the disorder that reigned in the enemy's camp. The marquis de Catalan received at Pavia a reinforcement of five hundred foot, sent from Mondovi. On their arrival they were so fatigued with their march over desert mountains, as to be unfit for service,
and

Great disorder in the Piedmontese camp.

and so badly disciplined, that they abandoned themselves to every kind of licentiousness, ruining by their example the rest of the army. The indulgence of their officers increased their insolence, and encouraged them to commit the most flagrant thefts and robberies with impunity. Catalan exerted all his influence to restrain them; he cautioned, harangued, and punished them to no purpose. Daily complaints against the army were lodged by the inhabitants. Punishment produced no other effect than desertion, which became so general, that two hundred frequently went off in a day to the Genoese, and incorporated themselves in the troops of the republic.

On the other hand, the Pavians, not able to endure the insolence of those who remained, began first with attacking all stragglers, whom they sacrificed without mercy: next, they proceeded to more open defiance, and expressed their resentment by forming a kind of regular army, with which they attacked the works erecting by the Piedmontese, and attempted to cut off the communication between the infantry and cavalry. Several skirmishes passed, and numbers were slain on both sides; but the Piedmontese were generally worsted.

In this situation were affairs when the duke of Savoy sent D. Gabriel of Savoy, with a strong reinforcement, to take the command of the army, restore discipline, and push the war against the republic with all possible vigour. This prince arrived on the 8th of July at Pavia; where he found the troops greatly diminished by desertion; the generals at variance; discipline neglected; and the whole in a state of confusion. Instead of applying remedies to evils of such dangerous consequence, he contented himself with making replies to the manifestoes published by the republic, in which he shewed the quibbling genius of a schoolman rather than the talents of a politician.

While the Piedmontese generals were thus making war among themselves, the republic neglected nothing which could forward their affairs, during this recess from hostilities. The senate well knew, that gaining time was of the utmost importance to the defensive side; they abstained, for this reason, from every measure which could rouse and irritate the enemy, contenting themselves with completing their levies, fortifications, and magazines. The prince of Piedmont repaired to court to receive fresh instructions, leaving Catalan in the utmost perplexity. Of this the Genoese made their advantage; and so harrassed him with perpetual attacks on his foragers and convoys, that he resolved to leave Pavia, after having razed the fortifications,
and

and at length enter upon some action, which would silence the reproaches of his enemies, especially of the marquis de Livorno, who was his rival in command and reputation. Having received a reinforcement of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse, he began with attempting to open the passes, chiefly those which led from Pavia to Ormea; and the Genoese officers used all their diligence to frustrate his measures. Restori, a Corsican officer, taking the command of all his own countrymen, maintained perpetual skirmishes with the Piedmontese: at last he came to a more general action, in which he must have sunk under numbers, had he not been seasonably supported by Gentilé, a Genoese general, who maintained the battle upon an equal footing, till the enemy again gained the superiority, by the arrival of the marquis de Livorno. At length Restori drew off his troops in good order, but left the enemy in possession of the out-posts of Pavia, and the bridge of St. Anthony.

A battle between the two armies.

The advantage gained by the Piedmontese on this occasion, did not prevent the Corsican general from harrassing Catalan's out-guards, and cutting off his convoys. This inconvenience rendered it necessary once more to send the prince Gabriel to the army, accompanied by the regiment of Piedmont, and a great number of volunteers. This junction no sooner took place than the army was divided into two columns, the prince with the stronger marching towards Oneglia, to prevent the Genoese galleys from seizing on that important place. In his route he summoned the slight fortress of Deano, garrisoned by a handful of militia, and fifty Corsicans, to surrender, threatening to give no quarter, should the governor refuse to comply; but that brave officer returned an answer, that he would defend his charge to the last drop of his blood. This reply he faithfully adhered to, and, by his vigorous defence, obliged the prince to abandon the siege. In his retreat, he was attacked by Restori and his Corsicans with great intrepidity. For some time the Piedmontese stood their ground; but the fury of the Corsicans at length broke and defeated them with the loss of sixty officers, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. After this action, his highness was still more unfortunate; for, taking the road of Tatico, he was attacked in front, flank, and rear, by the Corsicans. These brave islanders, without regard to discipline, fell on with such impetuosity, that the Piedmontese were totally discomfited, and saved from destruction only by a strong reinforcement, which fortunately joined them from Catalan.

The Genoese gain several advantages.

As for this officer, his measures were more prudently taken. His design was to attack Roccabarbena; and, to prevent

prevent the enemy's penetrating his views, or incommoding his march, he divided his army into three bodies, each of them having orders to march to the place appointed by different roads. The scheme succeeded; he appeared before the town without molestation, and obtained possession of it after an hour's cannonading, notwithstanding the garrison was sufficiently strong to have made a long defence. Such was the shameful panic which seized the Genoese troops, that they fled at a postern, leaving their arms behind, to prevent their being incumbered in their flight. The same success attended this general before Zuccarel, a place hardly tenable, but garrisoned by Piedmontese deserters, who, expecting no quarter, made desperate efforts to prevent their falling into the hands of those who would not fail to punish their perfidy.

While Catalan remained at Zuccarel, he was joined by Carlo Emilio de Parella, an officer of spirit, who was displeased with the cautious conduct of the general, and pressed him to vigorous measures, contrary to prudence. Catalan, fearing his reputation might sustain some prejudice from the misrepresentations of Parella, advanced towards Albenga, and sent to request prince Gabriel to join him there. But this junction the prince's circumstances would not permit, the roads being infested with bands of Corsicans, and he himself wholly engaged in preparations for recovering Villa Nova, which the Genoese had lately taken. The marquis de Livorno, indeed, offered to conduct the army to Albenga, and the prince yielded to his remonstrances: but the issue had near proved fatal; for the Corsicans attacked them in the narrow passes, rendered it impossible to advance, and almost cut off a retreat. Catalan, on the other hand, finding himself too weak to attempt any thing with his own corps, and the prince unable to alter his situation, made several efforts to unite the whole Piedmontese army; but these the Genoese and Corsicans frustrated by their diligence and activity.

When Catalan perceived the Genoese forces daily augment, himself cut off from the rest of the army, forage, provision, and ammunition failing, and the soldiers murmuring, concluding that the campaign must end in his ruin, if he kept the open field, he resolved to retreat among some inaccessible rocks and mountains in the neighbourhood of Zuccarel; and in that situation wait till fortune should favour the endeavours of the prince to join him. The irresolution which appeared in all his motions, indeed, persuaded the prince, and even Catalan's own officers, that he never had any serious thought of effecting a junction. Excess
of

of prudence sometimes passes for folly: Catalan had left behind his baggage under a slight guard, which his son commanded, in the neighbourhood of Albenga; had he removed to any considerable distance, the Genoese garrison in that town would have been more than sufficient to defeat his son, and take all his baggage, which it was impossible to carry across the mountains. It was this consideration that induced him to chuse a strong encampment to wait for the prince, who was now reduced to great straits by the junction of the Genoese forces, and the nature of their disposition, which rendered it next to impracticable for him to hold any communication with Catalan. On the other hand, this officer, greatly straitened for provisions in his present encampment, was desirous of cantoning his army in Castel Vecchio, Erli, and Gereffio, which was a matter of difficulty, on account of the barren mountains he must necessarily cross, and the strong detachments with which the Genoese had blocked up all the passes. Necessity, however, obliged him to make the experiment; and, after a fatiguing march, the vanguard arrived at Gereffio, when the rear was attacked by the Genoese. The Piedmontese army had marched in two columns, which were now separated by a long wall that encloses one side of Erli, and it was necessary to open a breach here before the corps could assist each other. In the mean time, the rear of the army was put into confusion, and the bridge at Erli seized, at prevent Catalan's throwing himself into Gereffio, which was the only pass by which he could procure subsistence for the troops. The marquis de Livorno, who commanded the rear of the second column, was entirely defeated, the marquis Careto, third in command, slain, together with a great number of soldiers and volunteers, disasters which obliged Catalan to make the best of his way to Castel Vecchio, a place neither fortified, nor capable of supplying him with provisions. Parella, with a body of volunteers, seized upon a church and a small fort in the neighbourhood; and the regiments of Montferrat and Piedmont gained the passes of Gereffio and Zuccarel.

*Catalan's
retreat.*

Castel Vecchio was, of all places, the most unfit to sustain a siege, yet Catalan was reduced to the necessity of defending it. On the 3d of August, Restori, with his Corsicans, invested the place, while Gentilé, with the Genoese under his command, surrounded Parella. Restori's first measure was to deprive the besieged of water. The excessive heat of the weather effectually answered his purpose, and reduced the Piedmontese, in the space of two days, to the most deplorable necessity; nor was there any method of removing it, but by forcing the lines which the Corsicans had

A.D. 1772.

*His army
cut off.*

drawn, and their triple retrenchments, defended with cannon. Water was sold at an enormous price, and the soldiers fell down dead with thirst; upon which Catalan determined to force his way sword in hand. The efforts he made were, indeed, glorious, though unhappy: by moon-light, he sallied forth at the head of his men, forced one line after another, and filled them with slaughter. The Genoese and Corsicans behaved with the utmost intrepidity; but the confusion which happened in the night, rendered it impossible to distinguish friends from foes, by which means Catalan, Licorno, and a few other officers and soldiers made their escape, all the rest being killed or taken prisoners. Parella, with the whole force under his command, was forced to surrender at discretion; and thus the whole Piedmontese army was ruined in one campaign.

It was the misfortune of the Genoese to be ignorant of the means of pursuing their victory. It is a maxim in war, never to lay aside arms till the conquered are reduced to the necessity of suing for peace. Had the republic attended to this maxim, and carried the war into the enemy's country, the duke of Savoy would have been compelled to accept of any terms; but the senate, contented itself with repulsing the danger with which the state was threatened, without a thought of pursuing their good fortune. Their inactivity animated the duke of Savoy to retrieve his affairs by the most vigorous measures, at a time when all the world expected to see the victorious Genoese carrying slaughter and devastation to the walls of Turin. Clement IX. interposed his mediation to reconcile the parties; but the duke's levies being in great forwardness, he rejected all pacific dispositions. He contrived, however, to amuse the nuncio, and lull the republic into security, while he was preparing to destroy the very being of the commonwealth. Resolving to pursue the war with all his own forces, and the allies he could make, he dispatched ambassadors to the duke of Bavaria, his brother-in-law, to the dukes of Parma and Mantua, and to Lewis XIV. for assistance.

*Several
towns yield
to the Ge-
noese.*

At last, the senate penetrated the duke's intentions, and ordered their armies to take the field. That under Prato undertook the siege of Oneglia, the capital of a small principality of that name belonging to Savoy, and obliged the garrison to surrender upon honourable conditions. The reduction of this city was followed by that of Corio, Aprico, St. Sebastian, and several other places that sent deputies to Prato, offering their submission. He then pitched his camp under the walls of Oneglia, in a strong situation, where he could neither be forced or straitened. This motion prevented the

the French fleet, which appeared on the coast, from attempting any thing contrary to the interest of the republic.

The Genoese, who had now ten thousand men in the enemy's country, formed two flying camps, under Restori and Frediani: Restori marched with six thousand, chiefly Corsicans, across the mountains, to attack Briga, an important place in the neighbourhood of Ventimiglia. On his first motion, the peasants assembled to defend the pass of Notre Dame, within a mile of Briga; but they were soon dislodged, and Briga forced to surrender on the first assault.

*Progress of
the war.*

Francis Maria Spinola Ceto, who commanded the army of St. Remo, was less fortunate in the siege of Perinaldo, a large town belonging to the duke of Savoy. After having fired the works in the suburbs, he applied petardsto the gates; and scaling ladders to the walls; but was obliged to retire with precipitation, by the valour of the besieged. He was afterwards joined by Frediani, and both generals resumed the siege with more alacrity and success, so that the governor surrendered at discretion after a short defence.

This was not the only subject of affliction to the duke of Savoy. The Spanish gallies, commanded by the duke de Turfis, entering the port of Genoa, acted in concert with the Genoese admiral, in carrying stores, ammunition, and men, to all the maritime towns, which conduct was a direct declaration of his catholic majesty's good-will to the republic. His highness gave immediate instructions to his ambassador at Madrid, to complain of this breach of his professed neutrality, hoping to obtain an order to recall Turfis, or, in case of refusal, to persuade Lewis XIV. to declare himself against the republic. Indeed all his address was employed in working upon the passions of the latter, and he succeeded so well, that Lewis ordered the marquis de Vivonne, with a strong squadron, to watch the motions of the Genoese fleet, and treat them as enemies, in case the republic should refuse listening to a reasonable accommodation, and the mediation of the French envoy.

It is certain, that the republic had always been inclined to peace, and prolonged the war for no other reason than because the enemy would not grant such terms as the Genoese were entitled to by the success of their arms. On the contrary, the duke of Savoy was making the greatest preparations for attacking the Genoese territories on the side of Lombardy, where the country was more open, and his cavalry at liberty to act. A powerful army was set in motion, with orders to attack the enemy in four different quarters, and though they received some checks, they did not fail to force the passes of Nova and Erli. The marquis of St. Damien,

laid all the Genoese villages in ashes, and put the inhabitants to the sword; after which execution, he retook Rinaldo, and some other places of less importance: he made several attempts on Pena, all of which were frustrated by the diligence and intrepidity of the inhabitants. This disappointment the marquis revenged on the country lying round Ventimiglia, which he pillaged and burnt, while Prato was busy in putting the fortifications of the town in a state of defence.

A fourth attempt was made on Pena, and the place besieged in form by general Badate, detached with a strong corps by the marquis de St. Damien. On this occasion the besieged behaved with more gallantry than ever, defending the town in despite of Corfellini, the treacherous governor, who, finding them obstinate, deserted to the enemy. Captain Gastaldi took the command on Corfellini's departure, and refused to capitulate on any terms, though the Piedmontese general threatened to put to death his two sons, who were prisoners in the camp. His zeal for the service of his country over-ruled all the dictates of natural affection, Gastaldi preferring the reputation of a faithful and brave citizen to that of a fond father. He so animated and inspired his men, that, though pinched with the extremity of want, they bravely determined to wait for assistance from Prato, who was making efforts to relieve this garrison of militia. At last, the siege was raised by Frediani, who found means to throw a large convoy into Pena, under cover of a vigorous sally made by Gastaldi.

*Bravery
of the gar-
rison of
Pena.*

In the mean time, the duke's army on the side of Lombardy was more successful, the number of the Piedmontese cavalry giving the general a great advantage over the Genoese. Ovada surrendered to the duke's general, and it was imagined the Piedmontese would next undertake the siege of Ventimiglia, to cover which place Prato was recalled. Upon this occasion his retreat, amidst dangerous defiles, lined with the enemy's troops, does more honour to the military skill of that officer, than all his former actions. Immediately after this retreat he prepared to relieve Pena, which was again invested by the Piedmontese, as if they were determined to conquer the obstinacy of this little intrepid garrison. The efforts he made to accomplish this purpose, diminished nothing of the reputation he had so deservedly acquired. Duke Anthony of Savoy, with an army of six thousand men, triply entrenched, covered the siege; and Prato, with scarce one thousand regulars, planned a scheme for forcing this strong camp. He disposed his men in such a manner as to conceal his weakness, and attacked the enemy with such fury in different quarters, that, hav-

ing

ing forced two entrenchments, he was in a fair way of gaining the third, when a sudden panic seizing his men, they retired with precipitation. Their brave general would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had he not been rescued by Grampilla, who flew with a small corps to his assistance. Notwithstanding this repulse Prato made himself master of Brecco next day, which he fortified, in hopes of making a diversion in favour of the garrison of Pena. All his endeavours hitherto proved ineffectual; and the generals of superior rank believing the design impracticable, and that all attempts would only be attended with the loss of so many brave soldiers, sent orders for Prato to retire, and rejoin the main army under Durazzo. This was what Prato could not prevail upon himself to do: he esteemed it dishonourable to suffer a brave garrison to perish for want of assistance, and determined upon one more exertion of his genius and courage for their relief. Carefully concealing the orders he had received, and the arrival of the gallies in which he was to embark his men, he published a report, that they had a reinforcement of five hundred men on board, with which he intended next morning to attack the enemy's lines. In order to diffuse this report in the enemy's camp, he ordered two Corsican desperadoes to desert, and take the first opportunity of returning. By them duke Anthony of Savoy was informed of Prato's intention; and, not caring to come a second time to blows with an officer of such courage, he set fire to his camp and raised the siege; upon which Prato ordered Dornano, with two companies of foot, and a quantity of provision and ammunition, to throw himself into Pena. No sooner did the inhabitants see themselves once more delivered from their enemies, than they determined upon revenge, the cruelty of which sullied all the glory acquired by their courage and fidelity. They murdered all their prisoners, before notice of their intention was given to Prato; an action which afforded a matter of great grief to that brave officer, whose humanity and principles of honour were equal to his conduct and intrepidity (A). In the

(A) Notwithstanding this barbarous action, which was executed without the consent of Gastaldi, the senate recompensed the valour of the garrison, by ordering pensions for life to the wounded, the widows and children of the deceased, and half a year's pay to be presented to the living. Gastaldi had a handsome pension settled on him, and portions assigned for his daughters. The city of Ventimiglia had so strong a sense of the service done by Prato, in relieving

Pena,

the mean time duke Gabriel of Savoy was making rapid conquests on the side of Lombardy. Ovada was taken after a tedious and bloody siege; Oneglia regained, and Saffello reduced, in spite of the endeavours of the Genoese generals. Prato, however, was determined not to abandon the coast-towns to Damien and duke Antonio of Savoy: though he had repeated orders to embark, and join the forces in Lombardy, instead of obeying, he sent back the galleys, with an explicit justification of his conduct, which the senate approved: a dangerous precedent, but a measure sometimes necessary, where the fidelity, courage, and ability of the person are unquestionable.

Peace concluded by means of the French envoy.

His holiness and catholic majesty now used all their influence to accommodate matters betwixt the republic and the duke, to prevent the flames of war from spreading through the rest of Italy; but it was Gosmont, the French envoy, who put the last hand to this work. In his way to Genoa he passed through Turin, and soon penetrated the intentions of the duke, which were to gain time, in hopes of fully re-establishing his affairs. The French minister soon convinced his highness, that he must either listen to the mediators, or run the hazard of their joining with his enemies to compel him into measures necessary to the repose of Italy. Having disposed the duke to accept of Lewis's mediation, he hastened to Genoa, where he was magnificently entertained in the house of Pietra Spinola. He next day had an audience of the senate, before whom he laid his instructions, which were to demand the restitution of Oneglia, and a suspension of hostilities, that they might appoint commissaries to treat of peace. The senate consented to the truce, but remonstrated against the restitution of Oneglia, though they were soon obliged to accede to this proposition. At last peace was concluded, on condition that the prisoners on both sides should be released, their conquests mutually restored, and boundaries left to be adjusted by the doctors of Ferrara; soon after which accommodation the duke died, highly esteemed and regretted.

For some years the republic diligently pursued her commerce, and reaped all the blessings of repose. In the year 1684, the Genoese had the misfortune to incur the resentment of Lewis XIV. who looked with an evil eye upon

Pena, that it solemnly decreed a yearly present of a fine sword, adorned with jewels, to be made to him, as the recom-

pence best suited to the disposition of a warrior, and his generous disinterested spirit (1).

(1) Mailly, lib. xvi.

their attachment to Spain; and could not bear to see the republic under the protection of that crown. He had been for some time seeking a pretence for humbling them, and at length an occasion occurred. They had built four galleys, which the French king pretended were for the use of his catholic majesty, and therefore he insisted upon their being disarmed. As the Genoese did not immediately comply with this imperious injunction, which they considered as an insolent invasion of their liberty and independence, he resolved to make them feel the weight of his superior power. He sent thither the count de Seignelai, with a powerful squadron, who demanded that the four galleys should be immediately put into his hands; as they hesitated in complying, he subjected the city to a most dreadful bombardment. He likewise landed a body of troops with a view to surprise the city in the midst of the consternation which the bombs had occasioned; but the inhabitants having received a reinforcement from the governor of Milan, defended themselves so well, that the French were repulsed, and obliged to re-embark. Nevertheless, the terror of the French arms made such an impression upon the republic, that she condescended to make the most humble solicitations for peace, which was effected accordingly by the pope's interposition, on these humiliating conditions; that the doge, Francesco Maria Imperiali, attended by four senators, should repair to Versailles, and personally express their sorrow for having incurred the king's displeasure; that the Genoese should disarm the four galleys, dismiss the Spanish troops, and repair all the damage which the French bombs had done to the churches, convents, and chapels of the city^a.

During the ensuing war kindled by the ambition of Lewis, which embroiled the greatest part of Europe, the republic of Genoa, adhered to a sage neutrality, and enjoyed the blessings of peace and commerce, while the dominions of their neighbour, Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, underwent all the calamities of war.

^a Mailly, Hist. Gen. Murator. Annal. ad ann. 1685.

C H A P. LXXIV.

The History of the German Empire.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

WE have, in the Ancient History, traced the gradual decline of the Western empire, which, after having been weakened by divisions and intestine broils, was deluged by an inundation of fierce and warlike nations, who have likewise been described under the names of Allemans, Gepidæ, Franks, Suevi, Heruli, Burgundi, &c. We have seen how Odoacer, king of the Heruli, made such a successful expedition into Italy, that the emperor Augustulus, being in no condition to make head against him, was obliged to submit, and his resignation put an end to the empire in the West. The Heruli were soon expelled by the Ostrogoths, and these, in their turn, subdued by Justinian, who reunited this province to the Eastern empire; but the popes found means to obtain the temporal, as well as spiritual, jurisdiction over a considerable part of it, while the rest was erected into a kingdom by the Lombards, who were very troublesome neighbours to the pontiffs, and, at length, besieged Adrian I. in his capital. In this emergency he had recourse to Charlemagne, who came to his relief with a powerful army, defeated Desiderius, and caused himself to be crowned king of Lombardy. The pope, in order to express his gratitude to that victorious monarch, and secure the protection of such a powerful ally, did, with the consent of the Roman people, declare him emperor, and dignified his dominions with the appellation of the New Western Empire, after he had agreed that the pontiffs should reside in Rome, while he himself should choose his residence on the other side of the Alps, where he might be nearer the center of his territories.

Thus Germany became the seat of the Western empire; the history of which it is now our purpose to display: but, before we proceed to a detail of the events which compose it, the reader will doubtless be pleased to find some general account of this great body, in a summary sketch of that constitution by which it subsists; that, from such previous information, he may conceive a distinct idea of the politics which actuated particular states, as well as the motives that influenced the resolutions and conduct of the community.

Germany

Germany is at present bounded on the north by the Baltic sea, Denmark, and the German ocean; on the south by Italy and the Swiss; on the east by Prussia, Hungary, and Poland; and on the west by the Low Countries, Lorraine, and Franche Comté: so that it comprehends the Palatinate, Cologne, Triers, and Liege, which formerly belonged to the Gauls, and is dismembered of Friezland, Groningen, and Overijssel, which are now incorporated with the Low Countries.

*The limits
of Ger-
many.*

Germany lies between 45 deg. 4 min. and 54 deg. 40 min. north latitude; and in longitude, between 23 deg. 30 min. and 36 deg. 52 min. extending from north to south seven hundred and twenty miles, and six hundred and fifty-five from east to west: as this country is in general populous, and considerably larger than the kingdom of France, the number of the inhabitants is supposed to amount to twenty millions.

Germany, though in some parts barren, and encumbered with mountains and morasses, is in general fertile and well cultivated, abounding with wood and water, enjoying a salutary air, affording all the necessaries, conveniences, and even the elegancies of life.

The principal rivers of Germany are the Danube, the Rhine, the Mayne, the Elbe, the Oder, and the Weser.

The Danube, or Donau, formerly called Ister, rises in Suabia, in the territory of Furstenberg, runs eastward through Germany, Hungary, and Turkey, receiving above one hundred and twenty rivers in its course, and discharges itself by several outlets into the Black Sea.

The Rhine derives its origin in the country of the Grisons, from two springs; at the town of Coire it becomes navigable; below Rheineck it falls into the lake of Constance; near Schaffhausen it forms a great cascade, and then receives the Thur and Aar: at Mannheim it is joined by the navigable river Neckar, and by the Mayne at Mentz: at Oberlahnstein it receives the Lahn, or Lohn; at Coblentz, the Mosel; at Duisberg, the Roer; and at Wesel, the Lippe: at Schenkenschanze it enters the United Provinces, and is divided into two branches: one of these, called the Waal, joins the Maese; another, which formerly discharged itself into the North Sea, is now become a stagnant water, and ends near the city of Leyden.

The Mayne has a double source; one in the margraviate of Bayreuth, the other in the Fichtelse, on the Fichtelberg,
in

in Franconia. These streams going below Culmbach, form the Mayne, which, in its course receives the Regniz, Saal, Tauber, and Kenzig, and afterwards runs into the Rhine at Mentz.

The Elbe rises in Bohemia, receives the Moldau and the Eger; entering the circle of Upper Saxony, it is joined by the Mulde and the Saale; then running through the circle of Lower Saxony, it is augmented by the Havel and the Ilmenau. Dividing itself into many branches in the neighbourhood of Hamburgh, it forms a number of islands. Below Gluckstadt it receives the Stor; and near Brunsbüttel loses itself in the German ocean.

The Oder rises in Moravia, traverses Silesia, waters the marquise of Brandenburg, enters Pomerania, pours itself into the Great Haf, and out of that into the Baltic.

The Weser is formed by the rivers Werra and Fulda, the first rising in Fulda, and the other in Franconia: these uniting at Münden, take the name of Weser, which, after it has received the Aller in Verden, and the Wümme in Bremen, disembogues itself into the Northern or German ocean ^a.

Since the reign of Charlemagne, this country is divided into High and Low Germany: the first, towards the south, comprehending the Palatinate of the Rhine, Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, Stiria, Tyrol, the Swiss, and the Grisons; while the provinces of Lower Germany, towards the north, consist of the Low Country of the Rhine, Triers, Cologne, Mentz, Westphalia, Hesse, Brunswick, Misnia, Lusatia, High Saxony upon the Elbe, Low Saxony upon the Elbe, Mecklenburg, Lauenburg, Brandenburg, Magdeburg, and Pomerania.

Its division.

Germany is likewise distinguished by those countries that border upon the Rhine, the Danube, the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser; and thirdly, it is divided into certain generalities, or large provinces, called circles, comprehending the princes, prelates, counts, and cities, which, on account of their nearness to each other, may conveniently assemble about their common affairs. Under this appellation the members of the empire were divided by Maximilian I. into six parts, namely, Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, the circle of the Rhine, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony; he afterwards added those of Austria, Burgundy, the Lower Rhine, and High Saxony; so that the number

^a Busching. Geograph. vol. iv.

was augmented to ten, and confirmed in the reign of Charles V.

Each circle is provided with directors and a colonel; the first being invested with the power of convoking the general assembly of the states belonging to the circle, and of regulating its public affairs, while the colonel is entrusted with the command of the soldiers, and the care of the artillery and munitions of war.

As all the members must contribute for the occasions of the empire, each circle is taxed for the support of the troops and other public necessities, at the rate of so many horse and foot, or a certain monthly sum, distinguished by the name of Roman months; an appellation derived from the first use of that tax, which was levied for the support of twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, to accompany the emperor in his journey to Rome; and those who could not furnish soldiers, paid a monthly equivalent in money.

The circle of Austria, of which the emperor, as archduke, is director, comprehends all the provinces depending upon the empire, which are possessed by the house of Austria; for the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, together with several other states, which they possess independent of the empire, are not comprized in this circle.

The circle of Bavaria, so called, because that duchy constitutes the principal part of it, includes several other independent states; the elector, as duke of Bavaria, and the archbishop of Saltzburg, being the directors.

The circle of Suabia, which, more than any other, abounds with imperial towns, has for directors the bishop of Constance and the duke of Wirtemberg.

Those of the circle of Franconia, denominated from the province of that name, are the bishop of Bamberg and the margrave of Bareith, or Culmbach, who possesses the burgraviate of Nuremberg.

The circle of Upper Saxony is under the sole directorship of the elector; but as for that of Low Saxony, which is one of the most considerable circles in Germany, the king of Sweden, as duke of Bremen, and the elector of Brandenburg, as duke of Magdeburg, are alternately co-directors with the eldest of the dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg.

The circle of Westphalia produces such plenty of men and horse fit for service, that, in time of war, the states of this province choose to furnish their proportion rather in horse than in money; their directors being the elector of Brandenburg

Brandenburg and duke of Newbourg, with the bishop of Munster (A).

The circle of the Lower Rhine, which is also called the circle of the four electors, because it includes the three ecclesiastic electors, and the Palatinate situated upon the Rhine, has, for directors, the electors of Mentz and Palatine; while those of the Higher, or Upper Rhine, are the bishop of Worms and elector Palatine, as having succeeded to the duchy of Simmeren, though the first pretends to be sole director.

As for the circle of Burgundy, which takes its name from that province, now dismembered from the empire, and belonging to the king of France, it was formerly under the directorship and sovereignty of the king of Spain, and comprehended not only High Burgundy, or Franche Compté, but likewise the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, which, in the reign of Charles V. were received as members of the empire, independent, indeed, of the imperial chamber with respect to justice, but subject to pay as much as is levied from two electors, in case of a war against the Turks: however, this contribution was never raised, and is now entirely omitted in the rolls of the contingencies of the empire. Exclusive of this circle, therefore, the contributions for a Roman month, paid by all the others, amount to two thousand four hundred and nineteen horsemen, and twelve thousand four hundred foot soldiers; or, in money, to seventy-five thousand eight hundred and forty florins; and this tax is augmented double, triple, and quadruple, according to the number of troops to be raised, but always in proportion to the established rates in the book of matriculation.

*Division of
the states.*

The empire of Germany is a body, of which the emperor is the head, and the states are the members. These states are divided into three classes, namely, the college of electors, the college of ecclesiastic and secular princes, and that of the imperial towns, which are admitted into the diets or general assemblies.

Charlemagne and his successors possessed the empire by hereditary right; but that race being extinct, the princes assembled, elected Conrad, and afterwards Henry the Fowler, who was succeeded by Otho, surnamed the Great,

(A) The elector and duke the counties of La Mark and are directors of this circle, as Ravensberg, together with the being possessed of the duchies lordship of Ravenstein. of Juliers, Cleyes, and Bergue,

after

after whom the emperors enjoyed their dignities by succession, though the consent of the people was necessary, touching the capacity of him upon whom the empire devolved. This custom continued till the reign of Henry IV. who gave occasion to the constitution which regulates the elections of the emperors, and by virtue of which he himself was afterwards deposed. The confusion which necessarily attended the election, on account of the great number of princes, states, and sovereigns, who had a right to vote, induced them to transfer that power to seven chiefs, whom they denominated electors, and who were afterwards confirmed as such in the reign of Charles IV. by an ordinance called the Golden Bull, which regulates the form of the election, and the power of those electors, which is now hereditarily annexed to certain states of the empire.

The nature of the election of the emperor.

Before Charlemagne, and a long time after his reign, the empire was altogether monarchical, through the whole extent of its dominions, both in Germany and Italy; but since Frederic II. the electors and princes have insensibly acquired certain rights, to which they did not formerly pretend; so that the government is become partly monarchical, and partly aristocratical: for there are certain prerogatives which the emperor enjoys by his sole power and imperial authority; while in other affairs he must have recourse to the voice, and solicit the consent, of the princes and electors, and even of all the states of the empire, in consequence of a solemn capitulation which he signs at his election. He assumes all the marks of the ancient emperors of the West, with the titles of Semper Augustus, Cæsar, and Sacred Majesty. His crown is closed above, and surmounted with a globe, which is the symbol of universal monarchy; and the Christian princes allow him the first rank, on account of his dignity. He convokes and dismisses the diets and other imperial assemblies, having a right to authorise their resolutions, which are afterwards published and executed in his name: he confirms the alliances and treaties which have been made by their predecessors for the welfare of the empire: he alone enjoys the benefit of what is called the first prayers, that is, the right of filling up the first canonship, or any other dignity, in the cathedral and collegiate churches, as well as in the abbies, of the empire, that shall be vacant after his coronation: he creates and confers all the other secular dignities, such as king, prince, archduke, duke, marquis, landgrave, count, and baron. To him alone belongs the power of bestowing the great fiefs of the empire, the investiture of which he gives to the ecclesiastical princes by the sceptre, and to the secular

His dignity and prerogatives.

secular by the standard or sword : he receives the oath of allegiance from the electors, princes, and all the members of the empire ; and all the dominions which devolve to the empire, by forfeiture or otherwise, are entirely at his disposal : he grants pardons and remissions, institutes or confirms universities and academies, and possesses other prerogatives, which are marks of sovereignty. But he is obliged to consult the electors before he can alienate or mortgage the effects of the empire, grant the privilege of coining money, or confiscate the estates of rebels. The general consent of all the estates is necessary in regulating the affairs of religion, in making or annulling laws, fixing the value of money, proclaiming war within or without the empire, imposing subsidies or general contributions, raising troops, building new fortresses, or putting garrisons in the old, and in making treaties and alliances. Nevertheless, if the affair is pressing, no more than the consent of the electors is required ; and in truces or cessation of arms, the authority of the emperor is sufficient. To these restrictions he subjects himself by a capitulation made at his election, which is a contract between him and the electors and princes introduced since the reign of Charles V. before which time, the ordinary constitutions of the empire served in lieu of this capitulation. In the absence of the emperor, the sovereign power devolves to the king of the Romans, as perpetual vicar of the empire ; but in default of the emperor and king of the Romans, the authority is transferred to the two vicars of the empire in Germany, namely, the elector of Bavaria, and palatine of the Rhine (for the right is contested), and the elector of Saxony, who each, in his own extent of principality, exercise the same functions in all things, except the grand siefs, called the siefs of the sceptre and the sword, which can be bestowed by none but the emperor.

His restrictions.

His substitutes.

Revenue.

The domain possessed as emperor, and the revenues which he draws from the empire for the support of his imperial dignity, have been formerly very considerable ; but at present are so much reduced, as to be altogether insufficient to maintain the posts of the empire ; so far are they from being able to support his dignity, or contribute to the subsistence of his troops. There is not one town belonging to him as emperor ; and in case the Germans should elect a prince destitute of hereditary dominions, the city of Bamberg would be assigned to him as the place of his habitation, and the bishop in that case be obliged to retire to Villach. The emperor's revenue consists in aids, which are called Roman months, paid by the states and members of the empire,

pire, in some other subsidies from the imperial towns, which amount to about forty thousand livres a year, in taxes of the chancery, and exactions from the Jews, distinguished by the name of Oblation Money.

Besides the Aulic council, which shall afterwards be mentioned, there are three others established for dispatching the affairs of the empire. The first is the council of state, composed of a president and four and twenty counsellors, who are princes or counts of the empire, and other considerable noblemen, and ten secretaries for expediting letters and decrees. The second is that of the finances, composed of two presidents, one director, with fourteen assessors, and six secretaries. The third is the imperial council of war, consisting of two presidents, who are generals, and seven counsellors, who are camp-majors, major-generals, and colonels, with an auditor-general, registers, and secretaries. The title of the king of the Romans, as it is at present understood, was altogether unknown in the time of the first emperors, who were actually sovereign princes of the city of Rome. Charlemagne having destined the succession of the empire to his eldest son, bestowed upon him the quality of king of Italy, a title which Lewis the Debonair and Lotharius I. likewise conferred upon their presumptive heirs; an appellation equivalent to that of Cæsar among the ancient emperors, and to that of king of the Romans in its present signification. This last title began to be in use about the tenth century, when it was supposed that the pope had the sole right of creating the emperor. Accordingly many emperors contented themselves with this appellation, until they were actually crowned at Rome; and in this sense we must understand the second chapter of the Golden Bull, which, speaking of the election of a king of the Romans, mentions him only as a successor in the empire, who could not be qualified as emperor till after his coronation by the pope.

The councils.

At present, the king of the Romans is he who is chosen by the princes electors, during the emperor's life, to conduct the affairs of Germany in the emperor's absence, as vicar-general of the empire, and to succeed him on the imperial throne at his death, without any other election or confirmation. This is an expedient used by the emperor, when he wants to see the succession secured during his own life, or is no longer in a condition to manage the reins of government. The king of the Romans is not crowned with an imperial, but with an open crown; nor does he receive the oath of allegiance till after the death of the emperor; nor is he honoured with the epithet of Semper Augustus;

The quality of king of the Romans.

nor

nor does he bear the spread eagle with two heads ; nor does he exercise any power in the empire while the emperor is there in person, but, in his absence, commands by virtue of his dignity.

The electoral college.

We have already observed that there are three colleges in the empire ; a distinction which was established in the diet of Francfort, in the year 1580. Of these, the chief is the electoral, which originally consisted of seven electors ; an eighth was afterwards added ; and is at present composed of nine, in each of whom are united the two qualities of prince of the empire and elector. As the first, he is sovereign in the extent of his own dominions, with certain restrictions, which render him dependent upon the emperor and empire. As elector, he has a right to elect the emperor and king of the Romans, and precedes all other princes of the empire, not excepting cardinals and kings. This college comprehends three archbishops and five secular princes ; the first are those of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, who, according to the golden bull, are great chancellors of the empire ; the secular princes are, the king of Bohemia, great cup-bearer ; the duke of Bavaria, great master of the palace ; the duke of Saxony, great marshal ; the margrave of Brandenburg, great chamberlain ; and the count palatine of the Rhine, high treasurer. The number of electors was augmented by the emperor Leopold, who erected the house of Brunswick into a ninth electorate, under the title of elector of Hanover, on pretence of giving satisfaction to the Protestants, who complained that their authority was diminished, by the Palatine electorate's passing into a Catholick branch of that family. The secular electors have both an active and a passive voice, each having a right to chuse and to be chosen emperor ; whereas the ecclesiastic electors can only chuse without having any right to be chosen. The three archbishops must have attained the age of thirty years before they can obtain that dignity ; but the secular elector is at age at eighteen. During his minority, his nearest relation is appointed as his tutor or administrator, and exercises the electoral dignity, maintaining the rank, and wearing the habit, of an elector. We have already observed, that two of these electors are vicars general of the empire, which they govern upon the death or resignation of the emperor, when there is no king of the Romans. Each exercises a separate power in the provinces of his jurisdiction ; except in the chamber of Spire, the acts of which are signed by the names of both, because there justice is administered by all the states of the empire. Each of these secular electors has a vicar, who performs his office

see in his absence; and these vicariates are hereditary. The ecclesiastics acquire their electorate in the manner by which prelaties are obtained; but the seculars acquire it by collation or succession. Collation takes place in default of male issue legitimate and laic, and is sanctioned by the emperor; who is obliged to complete the number of electors, and confer the vacant place upon a German prince. The succession subsists conformable to the Salic law, according to the right of seniority, being independent of all transactions, testaments, and other civil acts, which are used in other cases for changing the order of succession.

The electors have the right of possessing salt-works, and all sorts of mines, in their own electorates; to coin gold and silver money; to levy the ancient taxes; to acquire the greatest fiefs, in preference to all others, and to be invested gratis; to refuse compliance with any privilege contrary to their own; to exercise a superior and sovereign jurisdiction in their dominions; though the vassals of all the electors, except those of Saxony and Brandenburg, have a right to appeal to the imperial chamber: but the most characterizing distinction of the electors is their right of choosing and deposing the emperor.

The privileges of electors.

The next college comprehends all the other princes; either secular, as dukes, margraves, landgraves, burgraves, counts, &c. or ecclesiastic, such as archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. that immediately hold of the empire. Those, who compose this college, have the right of sitting in the diets or general assemblies with a deliberative and decisive voice, and contribute to the necessities of the empire according to the tax established by the matricular book or register of the states. The archbishop of Saltzburg and the archduke of Austria are alternately directors of the college of the princes of the empire; and this alternative is not regulated by the different sittings, but by the different subjects that are proposed and discussed. Besides these princes, there is a number of counts in the empire who hold of the empire alone, and are divided into four classes; namely, those of Wetteraw, Suabia, Franconia, and Westphalia, together with a great number of free noblesse, distinguished by that of Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhine. The princes of both orders hold immediately of the emperor and the empire, and generally receive their investiture by the sword, from the hand of the sovereign seated on his throne; though the counts and barons of the chamber of Spire are invested with the standard or ensign, representing the arms of their respective countries. They have power to appoint judges for the administration of justice; which some of

The college of the princes.

them exercise as sovereigns, while others are limited to certain sums, above which, all causes depending must be decided by appeal to the chamber of Spire. They are allowed to establish new laws, create magistrates, grant letters of grace, respite, safe-conduct, majority, and legitimation. They have the right to succeed to bastards, to raise and quarter soldiers, erect universities, coin money, make arms, and cast artillery; to increase the number of their fortresses, and secure them with garrisons; make alliances among themselves, as well as with strangers, for their common defence; and, in a word, to reign in their own territories, as the emperor reigns in the empire.

*The college
of the im-
perial
towns.*

The third college is that of the imperial towns, which, like the other two, assemble apart, in order to deliberate upon the proposals that are made for the occasions of the empire; and the cities, which compose it, are called imperial, because they hold immediately of the emperor and empire. They, as well as the other colleges, have a right to sit in the diets with a deliberative and decisive voice. They regulate the form of government in their own jurisdiction, creating magistrates and officers of justice, and enacting laws, regulations, and statutes, by their own proper authority. They have a right to coin money, to fortify their towns, to levy soldiers, and to exercise every act of sovereignty, which is exercised by the princes of the empire in their different principalities. Formerly the number of the imperial towns amounted to eighty-four or eighty-five; but is at present reduced to fifty-eight, separated into two benches in the assemblies; namely, that of the Rhine, and that of Suabia. The first comprehends the cities of Cologne, Aix la Chapelle, Lubeck, Worms, Spire, Franckfort upon the Maine, Wetzlar, Gellenhausen, Dortmund, Friedberg, &c. while Ratisbon, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, and thirty-two other cities, are comprehended in that of Suabia.

*Of the
Hans
towns.*

The appellation of Hans or Anse, which, in all probability, comes from the German word *anzee*, signifying *near the sea*, is given to a confederacy of towns, that engaged in an alliance for the mutual support and improvement of commerce. About the year 1164 the city of Bremen formed the first scheme of this society, with several other sea-port towns in Livonia; though the number that first entered into the association is uncertain. Be that as it will, it afterwards increased to such a point of importance, as to comprehend fourscore principal trading towns; among which were many foreign places, that desired admission into the confederacy: accordingly we see in the old list Antwerp, Dort, Amsterdam,

Am, Rotterdam, Bruges, Ostend, Dunkirk, Calais, Rouen, St. Maloe, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, Marseilles, Barcelona, Seville, Cadiz, Lisbon, Leghorn, Messina, Naples, and London.

In the flourishing times of the society, they chose four towns, where they established free staples, or general factories, for the convenience of their shipping and the sale of their merchandize; for the trade was chiefly carried on by barter or exchange. These were London, in England; Bergues, in Norway; Novogorod, in Russia; and Bruges, in Flanders. This Anseatic alliance, which at first had no other aim than the security of commerce against pirates, and the mutual advantage of extending it among the towns concerned, by peaceable and friendly communication, became strong enough to maintain an offensive war against Waldemar III. king of Denmark; whom they obliged to sue for peace, and cede to them, for a term of years, the isle of Schonen, in order to indemnify them for the expence of their equipment. They afterwards fitted out a powerful fleet against Eric X. and gave him great disturbance. In 1615 they obliged the duke of Brunswick to raise the siege of that town, which he had invested, and next year entered into a general alliance with the states of the United Provinces. In the same manner they often engaged in treaties with other princes and states, and particularly with different kings of France, who granted them several advantageous privileges in trade.

After the kings of France, Spain, Italy, and Denmark, had forbid their towns to continue members of this society, the Teutonic Hans restricted their alliance to Germany, or, at least, to the towns depending upon the empire, and distributed them under four metropolitans; namely, Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzick. The first comprehended the towns of Hamburgh, Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund, Lunenburg, Stetin, Anclam, Golnau, Gnepswald, Colberg, Stargard, Stolpen, and Rugensbald. Under that of Cologne, were Wetsel, Emmeric, Drusburg, Osnabrug, Dortmund, Soest, Herworden, Paderborn, Northausen, Nimeguen, Zutphen, Ruremonde, and several others of Westphalia, and the Low Countries. The metropolitan of Brunswick included Bremen, Magdeburgh, Hildesheim, Goslar, Minden, Erimbeck, and others: and in the division of Dantzick were all the Hans towns situated upon the Baltick, from the Vistula as far as Russia, comprehending Colm, Thorn, Elbing, Konigsberg, Riga, &c.

Lubeck is the chief of all the Hans Towns, from a pre-eminence which it enjoys, not only on account of its central
C c 2 situation,

situation, but also of its privileges and power. It convokes the general assembly, is the depository of the money contributed to defray the common expence; preserves all the titles, acts, and archives of the alliance; uses its own seal to the letters sent in the name of the community to foreign princes and states, as well as to all their resolutions and treaties: from its citizens are generally chosen the ambassadors and deputies appointed by the society, and here the syndic of the alliances commonly resides.

In their assembly, the deputy of Lubeck, as president, sits by himself, the rest being seated on two benches, to the right and left, and votes before all others: their affairs are determined by a majority; nevertheless, when there is a great opposition, the question is generally thrown out: their ordinary assemblies are held every three years, about Whitsuntide, and the extraordinary as often as the emergency of affairs requires^a.

*The diet of
the empire.*

The imperial diets are composed of these three colleges, which comprehend all the estates and immediate members of the empire. The diet is convoked by the emperor, after he has agreed with the electors upon the necessity of assembling it, and the place proper for the session. In this assembly, the emperor is seated upon a throne; the electors of Mentz, Bavaria, and Brandenburg, being on his right-hand, those of Cologne, Saxony, and Palatine, upon his left, and the elector of Triers opposite to his person. The ecclesiastic princes are seated on benches to the right, the secular princes sit upon the left, and the deputies of the imperial towns occupy others that cross from the right to the left. The emperor's proposal being made in the general assembly, the three colleges deliberate apart upon the subject; then, assembling together in one place, communicate their sentiments, and concur in a resolution, which is sent to the emperor; with whose approbation it passes into a law, and is received as an imperial constitution.

*The methods of
administering
justice.*

There are two methods of administering justice in the empire; one is exercised in general, and the other in particular tribunals. All the princes, states, and members of the empire, have a right to administer justice in their own fiefs; except in particular cases, where an appeal lies to the imperial chamber of Spire, or the Aulic council. In the particular jurisdictions, they follow the laws of the empire; which are the ancient constitutions, the golden bull, the pacification of Passaw, the treaties of Westphalia, the Saxon law established by Charlemagne, and the Roman law esta-

^a Heiss, lit. vi. p. 357.

blished,

R E F E R E N C E S:

9.

g Hanover.

- (a) The emperor's throne is always empty, except when he is personally present.
- (b) Formerly precedence was regulated by age; and the ecclesiastical princes, when they were of the imperial blood, had a raised seat.
- (c) The bishop of Bamberg protests against his precedence.
- (d) In 1674, the diet suspended his vote, which was again admitted in 1714.
- (e) The bishops of Trent and Brixen are subjected to Austria: Carinthia and Styria alternatively, under whom all the rest were comprehended. At the diet of Frankfort, in 1641, the counts of Franconia obtained a third suffrage; and at the diet of Ratisbon the counts of Westphalia obtained another. Twenty-one counts sit upon the bench of Suabia.
- (u) Eleven counts sit on the bench of Wetteravia.
- (w) Ten counts sit on the bench of Franconia.
- (x) Fourteen counts sit on the bench of Westphalia.
- (y) The town of Aix la Chapelle protests against the precedence of Cologne.
- (z) These three towns are now dependent upon France.
- (aa) The liberty of this town is disputed.
- (bb) They are of the number of the ten towns of Alsace, the liberty of which was secured by the peace of Munster. The king of France having seized upon them in 1672, the restitution of them was treated of, though ineffectually, at the congress of Ryswick.
- (cc) This town recovered its liberty in 1705; yet, by the treaty of Baden, it has fallen again to the elector of Bavaria.

g.

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blished by the emperor Justinian, which is observed in all places, where the other is not received. The general tribunals are those of the imperial chamber of Spire and the Aulic council of the emperor, which exercise an universal and sovereign jurisdiction over all the subjects of the empire. The first was heretofore ambulatory, and established at Ausburg by Frederick IV. It was afterwards held successively at Franckfort, Worms, Nuremberg, Ratibon, and Eissengen, till Charles V. fixed it at Spire. In consequence of the treaties of Westphalia, it ought to be composed of a Catholic judge, and four presidents, named by the emperor, two of each religion, and fifty counsellors, twenty-six of which are Catholics, and the rest Protestants. The judge must be a prince, count, or baron; two of the presidents being of the sword, and two of the gown. The counsellors are named and presented in this manner; two Catholics by the emperor, as many by each of the four Catholic electors; two Protestants by each of the three Protestant electors; and the rest by each of the circles of the empire. This is the regulation according to the treaties of Westphalia; but the imperial chamber is at present reduced to a much smaller number of officers, being composed of the elector of Triers, who is judge as bishop of Spire, of one Catholic and one Protestant president, and eight Catholic and seven Protestant counsellors.

The imperial chamber at Spire.

The Aulic council is composed of one Catholic president, one vice-chancellor, presented by the elector of Mentz, and nine counsellors of each religion; who, with the president, are nominated by the emperor. They are divided into two benches; one of which is occupied by the nobles, and the other by the lawyers. They hold their assemblies near the person of the emperor, whence it is called aulic, or the council of the imperial court.

The aulic council.

Although the sentences of these councils are final, there are nevertheless some cases in which the parties may appeal to the emperor, and demand a revision of the process; particularly in those causes which regard the duchies, principalities, counties, and other immediate fiefs of the empire. In both these tribunals, the emperor presides as sovereign judge, and, when he is present, pronounces sentence; and, in his absence, he, who represents his person as judge, has a right to wear an imperial sceptre as a badge of his dignity^b.

Their decisions not final in all cases.

In Germany are two sorts of nobility: one free and immediate, holding only of the emperor and empire; the other mediate, which, though owning the emperor as chief of

Of the nobility.

^b Vide Puffend. Heiss. Morer.

the empire, is likewise subjected to the jurisdiction of another prince. This last, though not in possession of such liberties as those that are peculiar to the first, is nevertheless very considerable in Germany: for there is a great number of those gentlemen of the second rank, whose families pretend to be as ancient and illustrious as those of the immediate nobles, and who, in marrying, prefer the poorest gentlewoman to the richest plebeian. As for the gentlemen of the first rank, many of them are descended from those heroes who accompanied Charlemagne and his successors in all the victories they obtained over the Saxons and other nations which they subjected to their empire. Many others, coming from the neighbouring states to settle in Germany, were afterwards united with this body of nobility, because they were of noble extraction: while others again, whose fathers had merited that rank by their personal virtue and exploits, were in the sequel immatriculated among the ancient nobility by patents obtained from the emperor; but these cannot be admitted into the chapters, from which are chosen the archbishops, electors of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, together with the other bishops and prelates who are princes of Germany; because, before a person can be received into this chapter, he must prove his nobility in thirty-two descents both by father and mother.

The immediate nobility possess fiefs, which they hold only of the emperor and empire, and are intailed on heirs male; because, by an express clause in their charter, they are obliged to serve the emperor in person, upon all occasions, with a certain number of servants, according to the strength and revenue of the fief. Almost all their fiefs are situated in Suabia, Franconia, and along the Rhine, comprehending Lower Alsace: a disposition made on purpose, that the nobility, being less dispersed, might be the more ready on all emergencies, and more conveniently defend the frontiers on that side against foreign invasion.

The emperor has bestowed upon the immediate nobility the same privileges enjoyed by the other immediate states of the empire, with power to raise taxes through the whole extent of their respective fiefs, and to exercise a civil and criminal jurisdiction, the last of which is without appeal; but from the civil, there lies an appeal to the aulic council, or imperial chamber of Spire.

Heretofore this nobility was admitted to the imperial diets, where they even pretended to take the rank of the cities; but on account of the extraordinary expences incurred by their sitting, the calling of them was gradually neglected,

lected, though they are left at liberty to assess themselves in contributing to the public necessities of the empire.

This nobility forms a kind of aristocratical republic; for though they are divided into three classes, they never fail, on important occasions, to join their counsels and their strength for the preservation of the whole. They have divided the circle of Suabia into five departments called quarters; that of Franconia into six; and that of the Rhine into four. All these quarters have their chiefs, which, in Suabia and Lower Alsace, are called directors; but in Franconia and the Upper and Lower Rhine they are distinguished by the name of captains, being chosen sometimes from one family, and sometimes from another. A chief can regulate nothing without the advice of two or three other gentlemen, who are nominated as his coadjutors, and a lawyer to be consulted in such affairs as depend upon the interpretation of the law. With these counsellors, the director or captain examines the differences that are brought before them, and exerts himself for the preservation of the privileges of the whole body. If it is necessary to repress the injustice or violence of any nobleman, the director or captain convenes the whole circle, or even all the three circles, to support and give sanction to his determination; and as to public affairs, the quarters usually assemble once a year.

Having thus given a succinct idea of the present constitution and government of Germany, it will not be amiss to mention the present character of the people, as we find it described by modern authors of credit.

The Germans of these days are said to be laborious, simple, faithful, valiant, and well adapted for war; but at the same time cruel, mercenary, and addicted to pillage. They are staunch to the religion they embrace, slow in council, and trusty in their friendships; but withal disguised in their enmity, distrustful, suspicious, and more given to excess in eating and drinking than any other nation in the world. Heretofore they were barbarous, and grossly ignorant; but they have been civilized and polished by their assiduous application to the study of arts and sciences, in which they have made considerable progress. Yet their improvement is rather owing to indefatigable toil and industry than to their natural vivacity, genius, and penetration, in which they are counted inferior to almost all their neighbours. Indeed this allegation seems to be justified by their works, which are not at all remarkable for spirit or imagination; but commonly composed of tedious citations, compiled by dint of toil and perseverance; so that they

The character of the Germans.

have incurred the imputation of carrying their genius not in the brain but in the back. They have nevertheless acquired some reputation in philosophy and the belles lettres, and made very ingenious improvements in mechanics; but their histories are not much to be depended upon, because of their excessive credulity. This may have likewise contributed to that spirit of alchemy which hath engaged so many of their nation in search of the philosopher's stone. They are extremely fond of hunting, and so ridiculously vain, that every petty prince in the empire thinks his own family better than that of the king of France. The language is a dialect of the Teutonic; some of them profess the Roman Catholic, and some the Protestant religion; but all others are tolerated for the convenience of commerce and the advantage of the country.

S E C T. I.

Containing the History of Germany, from the Election of Conrad to the Succession of Ottho.

C O N R A D I.

AS the affairs of Germany are interwoven with those of France, during the reign of Charlemagne and his successors, who are therefore naturally comprehended in the modern history of that kingdom, we shall begin with Conrad, the first German who ruled the empire, when it became a distinct sovereignty. We have seen in the French history, that Lewis, the son of Charlemagne, divided the empire among his sons; in consequence of which division, various troubles arose, and these were terminated by an accommodation at Verdun, when Germany was assigned to Lewis as an independent kingdom. This prince subdued one half of the Lotharingian kingdom; and the other half was reduced by his son of the same name, who shared his dominions with both his brothers; a partition by which Carloman became king of Bavaria, Lewis of East Franconia, and Charles the Fat of Alemannia: but this last surviving all his brothers, inherited their several kingdoms, and reigned as emperor over all Germany, France, and Italy. Nevertheless, his government was so weak and contemptible, that the Germans deposed him, and raised his elder brother Arnulph, the natural son of Carloman, to the throne of Ger-

A. D. 887.

c Vide Bodin. P. Bouhours. Scaliger.

many,

many. This prince defeated the Normans, who had invaded his dominions; and afterwards, by the assistance of the Huns, subdued the Bohemians. He was succeeded by his son Lewis the Infant, by whose death the Carlovingian line became extinct in Germany. A.D. 911.

Some, indeed, are of opinion, that the commencement of the German empire does not properly take place till the reign of Otho the Great, when Italy was re-united to the imperial dominions^d; but, in order to maintain the connexion between this and the Ancient History, it was necessary to take notice of Conrad and his successor, who, though they were not in possession of the kingdom of Lombardy, deserve, without all question, to be ranked among the German emperors (A.)

Besides, the extinction of the Carlovingian race, when the empire was wholly detached from France, and the imperial dignity became elective, is surely as proper a period for an historian to begin with as the reign of Otho, in which the Italian dominions were recovered to the empire.

Although the successors of Charlemagne had really possessed the empire by right of hereditary succession devolved from father to son, these princes usually procured the consent of their grandees, as a sanction to their last wills, that no disputes might attend the dispositions they had made. What was at first no more than a political condescension in the emperors, was in time interpreted into a privilege of those nobles; and hence is derived the right of those electors, by whom the emperor is invested with the imperial dignity and power^e.

Thus authorized by custom, the German noblemen assembling at Worms, upon the death of Lewis IV. made a proffer of the imperial crown to Otho, duke of Saxony, who declined the honour on account of his great age, and

^d Gob. Perf. ex Meib. p. 246.

^e Heifs, lib. ii. p. 153.

(A) At the death of Lewis IV. the empire of Germany comprehended Franconia, the province of Bamberg, Suabia, Constans, Basil, Bern, Lausanne, Burgundy, Besançon, Lorraine, Metz, Liege, Cambray, Arras, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Cologne, Treves, Mentz, Worms, Spire, Strasbourg, Friesland, Saxony, Hesse, Westphalia, Thuringia, Wetteravia, Misnia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Rugen, Steutin, Holstein, Austria, Carinthia, Stiria, the Tyrolese, Bavaria, the Grisons, and in general all the countries situated among these provinces and their dependencies (1).

(1) Barre. Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. iii. p. 285.

with

*Conrad is
elected em-
peror.*

with a generosity peculiar to himself, recommended Conrad, duke of Franconia and Hesse, whom (though his own enemy) he knew to be a prince of merit and capacity. In consequence of this recommendation, the assembly elected Conrad, whom some writers pretend to have been son-in-law to Lewis IV. a circumstance highly improbable, as Lewis died very young ^f.

A. D. 912.

Be that as it will, he no sooner received the imperial diadem than he took all the precautions necessary to support his authority, in the midst of a great many powerful princes, who envied his promotion. Several noblemen of Lorrain, who acknowledged Charles the Simple as their sovereign, resolved to put him in possession of the dominions which had belonged to Lewis of Germany, on this side the Rhine; but the count des Retz, being desirous that Lorrain should fall into the hands of Conrad, engaged those of Namur and Limbourg in behalf of that prince; who, understanding that his presence was necessary, marched into Lorrain, where, being well received by the lords of his party, he endeavoured to conciliate the affection of the natives, by conferring new titles, and other acts of liberality, in favour of the nobility and clergy ^g.

*Henry duke
of Saxony
revolts.*

His stay in Lorrain was shortened by the revolt of Henry duke of Saxony, who was incensed against him, because he had refused to give him the investiture of Thuringia and Westphalia; though this refusal was entirely owing to Conrad's apprehension, that the duke would become too powerful by such an addition to his dominions. Henry, by the assistance of Burchard, duke of Suabia, Arnold, duke of Bavaria, and several other noblemen, saw himself at the head of an army, which Conrad durst not venture to encounter. He, therefore, had recourse to other arts, by which he found means to detach Burchard from the Saxon party; and Henry's forces being at the same time weakened by the retreat of Arnold, whose country was threatened with an invasion by the Hungarians, he agreed to a suspension of arms; in consequence of which Conrad returned to Franconia.

*Arnold
duke of Ba-
varia de-
feats the
Hungari-
ans.*

The Hungarians having advanced with a great body of horse as far as the river Inn, demanding tribute of the Bavarians, Arnold assembled his troops, which were reinforced by those of Erchanger, administrator of the treasury, and Berthold, count Walric. Dividing them into two bodies, he placed the most considerable part in ambuscade, and with the other retired before them into a marshy place:

^f Gob. Pers. p. 246.

^g Chron. Worm.

where

where, their horse being unable to act, they were charged with great impetuosity, and utterly overthrown ^h.

This success inflamed the ambition of Erchanger and Berthold; who, on pretence of being descended from Charlemagne, aspired to the highest dignities, and actually turned their arms against Conrad; though, finding themselves unequal to the enterprize they had undertaken, they soon implored his clemency; but he was resolved to inflict an exemplary punishment, and they were, after a fair trial in the assembly of Altheim, convicted of treason, and executed at Aldeingen.

Erchanger is executed at Aldeingen.

This rebellion was succeeded by that of Arnold, duke of Bavaria, who took the field, and entered Suabia with a strong army; upon which the emperor forthwith marched against him at the head of such troops as he could raise for the occasion, and overthrew him in a pitched battle, in which Arnold was mortally wounded ⁱ.

A. D. 914.

Arnold is defeated by Conrad.

Geselbert, duke of Lorrain, and Burchard, duke of Suabia, having received considerable succours from Charles the Simple, were likewise resolved to try their fortune against the emperor; but, engaging him in a disadvantageous place, their army was cut in pieces, and Eringer and Berthold, the sons of Geselbert, being taken prisoners, were beheaded by order of the conqueror.

A. D. 916.

The Hungarians too, taking advantage of the troubles of the empire, after having compelled Berenger, king of Italy, to sue for peace, in their return made irruptions into Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Lorrain, and Alsace, which they desolated with fire and sword, and obliged the emperor to purchase peace upon the most shameful conditions ^k.

A. D. 917.

The Hungarians compel Conrad to purchase a peace.

After a reign of about seven years, Conrad, perceiving his end approaching, recommended to the princes and states of the empire, even when his own brother Everard, count of Franconia, was present, Henry, duke of Saxony, and son of Otho, as the most proper person to succeed him on the imperial throne ^l; though this very Henry had been one of his most inveterate enemies (B). The princes having approved

The emperor recommends the duke of Saxony as heir to the throne, and dies.

of

^h Ann. Boicæ Gent. part i. lib. xiii.

ⁱ Gob. Perf. æt. vi.

cap. 46.

^k Ann. Hildesh. Herm. Contra. ad ann. 916.

^l Hen.

Bod. Syntag. ex Meib. p. 490. Heiss, p. 155.

(B) He had even attempted to poison Conrad by means of a golden bracelet which Hatton, bishop of Wurtzburgh,

was to have presented to him in Henry's name in token of reconciliation; but this attempt was discovered by some friends whom

of his choice, he, before his death, sent to him, by the hands of his brother Everard, the crown, scepter, lance, sword, and other regalia; thus nobly sacrificing his resentment to the advantage of the empire, and treating the son with the same generosity which he himself had experienced from the father.

HENRY I. Surnamed the Fowler.

A. D. 919.

*Henry is
elected em-
peror.*

THE emperor being dead, the dukes of Bavaria, Franconia, and Suabia, together with all the other states of Germany, assembled the following year at Fritzlar; where Henry, duke of Saxony, being present, was elected, and confirmed in the imperial dignity with universal applause. He was distinguished by the epithet of the Fowler, because he was much addicted to that amusement, and was actually engaged in it when he received the intimation of his being recommended by Conrad as his successor in the empire^m.

A. D. 920.

*Declines an
invitation
from the
pope.*

The pope, disturbed by the factions of several petty princes, who assumed the title in Rome, proffered to declare Henry emperor of the Romans; but this honour he declined, either because he would not give himself the trouble of marching into Italy to subdue his competitors, or was resolved to re-establish the tranquility of his own empire before he would engage in that enterprize. With this view he had, in the beginning of his reign, endeavoured to promote a mutual reconciliation among all the princes, counts, and noblemen, of Germany, as the only sure basis of universal prosperity; nor was he disappointed in his aim. Concord and harmony were diffused through the whole empire, and the affection of his subjects so happily conciliated, that when the Hungarians, according to custom, invaded his territories with a powerful army, they unanimously took up arms in his de-

*Establishes
peace a-
mong the
princes of
the empire.*

*Defeats the
Hungari-
ans near
Mersbourg.*

^m Heiss, lib. ii. p. 156. Gob. Pers. p. 246. Hen. Bod. p. 490. tom. ii. & iii.

whom Conrad had at Henry's court; so that their enmity increasing, acts of hostility were committed on both sides. The emperor undertook the siege of Mersbourg; but Henry forced his lines, and routed his whole army; of which the

carnage was so great, that the Saxons said, by way of derision, they could scarce believe hell was large enough to hold the infinite number of Franks, which they sent thither in one day (1)

(1) Remarq. sur Heiss, lib. ii. p. 155.

fence,

fence, and drove the enemy out of the empire, with the loss of eighty thousand men left upon the field of battle, which was fought near the city of Mersbourg. He afterwards defeated the Vandals, who had made an irruption into Saxony, and pursued them as far as the city of Brandenburg, which he besieged and took in the middle of winter. The same people again having attempted to invade the empire, Henry attacked them upon the coast of the Baltic; where they were utterly exterminated, about one hundred and twenty thousand being killed upon the spot. Gonnem, king of Denmark, met with the same fate. The Slavonians and Dalmatians were subdued, as well as the Bohemians, whose king, Wincefflaus, he took prisoner; and, after long captivity, released, and generously reinstated in his dominions. In fine, he reduced the Abotrites, who had revolted; and was successful against all the enemies of the empire. Among others, he repulsed Charles the Simple from the banks of the Rhine, whither he had come to ravage Lorrain, and the cities of Mentz, Spire, and Worms.

Exterminates the Vandals.

Overcomes the Danes. Subdues the Dalmatians, Bohemians, and Abotrites.

At length the two princes, after they had twice conferred with each other at Bonn, entered into a treaty called *Pactum Bonnense*, which is a famous epocha in history; and this is the only attempt that ever was made by Charles, or his successors, in favour of their pretensions upon the empireⁿ.

A. D. 921.

Surmounts all opposition.

Soon after this accommodation, he held an assembly at Coblentz, composed of several French and German bishops, where the treaty was confirmed; and, among other regulations, it was decreed, that there should be no marriage between relations within the sixth degree of consanguinity; and that no layman should receive tythes, which were wholly ecclesiastic^o.

About this time, Conrad, at the solicitation of some French noblemen, advised Charles of France to dismiss his favourite Haganon, who abused his confidence, and was odious to the whole kingdom; but this advice being rejected, duke Robert, to whose son, Hugh, Charles refused the abbey of Chelles, assembled a body of forces, took the town of Laon, in which he found the treasures of Haganon, was crowned at Rheims by the archbishop Hervé, and, in order to support his new dignity with the friendship of Henry the Fowler, demanded an interview with that prince. They accordingly met on the banks of the river

ⁿ *Pact. Coral. & Hen. Reg. ap. Duch. tom. ii.* ^o *Concil. tom. ix.*
P. 579.

Roer, that runs by Juliers, where they engaged in a league offensive and defensive, and made considerable presents to each other.

A. D. 923.

Charles is defeated by Hugh, surnamed the Abbot.

Henry espouses the cause of Charles.

Charles, alarmed at this alliance, extracted courage from necessity, and, assembling his troops, marched directly to Attigni, and attacked the army of his rival. The battle was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides; and, even after Robert was slain, his son Hugh, taking the command, exerted himself with such valour, that Charles was worsted, and obliged to quit the field^m. The malecontents afterwards elected Raoul, duke of Burgundy, their king; and Charles, seeing himself abandoned by many noblemen who had hitherto been attached to his interest, had recourse to Henry the Fowler, in whose favour he promised to cede all his possessions in Lorrain. In consequence of this engagement, Henry began to levy troops; and the malecontents of France being terrified at his preparations, Herbert, count de Vermandois, one of their chiefs, amused Charles with protestations of fidelity, and, on pretence of concerting measures for suppressing the rebellion, seduced him to Peronne, where he was apprehended, and committed close prisoner to Chateau Thierry.

Henry, being informed of this event, passed the Rhine with his army, and ravaged the country between that river and the Moselle; but understanding that Raoul was advancing with a superior force, he repassed the Rhine, and took possession of an advantageous post, where he remained until he had the pleasure of seeing almost all the noblemen of Lorrain forsake the banners of Raoul, who began to treat them with insolence and contempt. This defection might have been very advantageous to Henry, had not he been prevented from turning it to account by a severe distemper that reduced him to extremity; during which the Lorrainers, despairing of his recovery, reconciled themselves to Raoul, by the mediation of Herbert de Vermandois and Hugh the Abbot.

Subdues Lorrain.

Henry no sooner recovered his health, than, resolved to punish them for their inconstancy, he marched into Lorrain, retook several strong places, pursued duke Geselbert from town to town, and, in a little time, subdued the whole country. With regard to the laymen of Raoul's party, he banished some, kept others in confinement, and deposed Hugh the Abbot from the bishoprick of Verdun, which he bestowed on one of his own adherents. The Lorrainers, exasperated at this arbitrary method of proceeding, formed a

^m Mabill. tom. xiii. A. Benedict. p. 374.

conspiracy against the Fowler, and raised an army with such secrecy and dispatch, that he was fain to pacify them by redressing their grievances, and restoring the province to Geselbert, who took the oath of allegiance, and did him homage accordingly.

A. D. 926.

Is reconciled to duke Geselbert.

The duke, however, not contented with such a dependent situation, began to form new projects and cabals against Henry, who obliged him to appear at the diet of Worms, where he was deprived of his duchy, which was given to Everhard, a Saxon nobleman. Geselbert, enraged at this event, had recourse to arms; but, before he could commit any acts of hostility, he was seized and delivered to the emperor; yet so pliant was his disposition, that, even during his captivity, he insinuated himself into the good graces of Henry, who not only re-established him in the duchy of Lorrain, but also gave him his own daughter in marriage ^a.

Henry, in order to clear his dominions of thieves and banditti, published a general amnesty in their favour, provided they would enlist in his service; and actually formed them into a regiment. He ordered that all his cities should be garrisoned with a ninth part of the peasants who inhabited the boroughs and villages, and that the other eight should cultivate the lands, on condition of contributing towards the subsistence of the rest, and of furnishing yearly the third part of all their grain, for the magazines established in every city, that there might never be any want either of soldiers or provision ^o.

He regulates the police of his dominions.

Such was the zeal of this prince for the propagation of the Christian faith, that he undertook, and actually effected the conversion of the king of the Abotrites (C), and appointed the first bishop in Holstein to preach the gospel among the Vandals, whom he had subdued ^p. He created a marquis in the city of Brandenburg to defend his frontiers against the Abotrites, as he had done before in Misnia and Lusatia, for security against the incursions of the Bohemians, in imitation of Charlemagne, who had taken the same precautions in Austria and Moravia against the Sarmatians, Poles, and Hungarians. He likewise ordered his towns to be surrounded with walls, bastions, and ditches,

A. D. 927.

Converts the king of the Abotrites.

^a Wittich. lib. i. p. 639.

^o Annal. Saxon. ad ann. 927.

^p Annal. Gern. Hoppenrod ex Meib. tom. ii. p. 417.

(C) Abotrites, a people bordering upon Bulgaria, in that part of Dacia contiguous to the Danube (1).

(1) Mafcou.

for the advantage of commerce, as well as for the security of the inhabitants; and that the nobility might be inured to the exercise of arms, even in time of peace, he appointed tournaments, in which they vied with each other in displaying their dexterity and address. But he expressly excluded from these lists of honour, all those who did not profess the true religion, as well as those who had been guilty of perjury, treason, rape, sacrilege, or murder.

*Marches to
the assistance
of the
duke of Bo-
hemia.*

After having taken these precautions for the security of his dominions, he marched to the assistance of Winceslaus, duke of Bohemia, whose dominions were invaded by Ladislaus, a Polish prince, who was obliged to retire at his approach: and he stayed some time at Prague, in order to establish the young duke in his dominions, and protect the Christian religion, which had greatly suffered by the efforts of Draghomire, the mother of Winceslaus, a bigoted pagan ^q.

*Enters
Lorrain.*

Henry's next expedition was into Lorrain, where he besieged the castle of Durefort, belonging to count Boson, brother of king Raoul, who had seized by force several abbeys of Lorrain; but this nobleman was persuaded to restore the lands, make a submission, and swear allegiance to the emperor ^r.

A. D. 929.

*The Slaves
are defeat-
ed.*

While Henry was thus employed in appeasing the troubles of Bohemia and Lorrain, the Slaves, who inhabited Pomerania, made an irruption into Saxony, ravaged the province of Lunenburg, and taking the capital, put the inhabitants to the sword. Being afterwards joined by the Abotrites, Wilses, and Vandals, they found their army augmented to a very great number; and becoming more and more formidable, Henry ordered Bernard, duke of Lunenburg, and the count Theutmare, to march against them with a powerful body of forces. These two generals undertook the siege of Lunden in Scania, and the barbarians marching to its relief, a battle ensued, in which they were utterly overthrown; so that of course this town of Lunden fell into the hands of the conquerors ^s.

The truce with the Hungarians being expired, Henry assembled the states of the empire, and after having recapitulated the victories he had obtained over the barbarians, which seemed to presage his future success, expatiated upon the disgrace that would be entailed upon Germany, provided they should commence tributaries to the Hungarians. His speech had such an effect upon the assembly, that they

^q Hist. Bohem. tom. iv. p. 58.
^s Witichind. lib. i. p. 639.

^r Barre, tom. iii. p. 327.

unanimously declared for war; but before he would undertake any thing against the enemy, he resolved to take cognizance of some abuses which had crept in among the clergy, and which were accordingly reformed in a council held at Erfort in Thuringia.

These measures being taken for the repose of the church and state, he began to make preparations for the war against the Hungarians; who having sent deputies to demand the annual tribute, Henry refused to pay it with marks of disdain, and in lieu of it sent a mangy dog, with a message, importing, that if they expected any other tribute, they must come and look for it themselves.' This haughty reply exasperated them to such a degree, that they joined the Slaves, and entering Germany with an army of three hundred thousand men, desolated the empire with fire and sword. They separated into two distinct bodies; one of which crossed the Rhine in boats, and having pillaged Alsace, fell upon Lorrain, where they were defeated by the count de Sunderhausen, and obliged to return to their second army in Saxony, which was at that time employed in besieging Mersbourg. Henry had marched against another body that ravaged Thuringia, which having surprised and utterly defeated, he resolved to go to the relief of Mersbourg, where he found the enemy drawn up in order of battle. Although he was at that time very much indisposed, and infinitely inferior to the Hungarians in number, he resolutely attacked them without hesitation, and they being immediately put into disorder, a terrible carnage ensued, insomuch that they left above forty thousand men dead upon the field of battle, and a very considerable booty, by which the soldiers of the emperor were enriched.

A. D. 932.

The Hungarians invade the Empire.

Henry having subdued all his enemies, restored peace and concord to his subjects, and subjected the empire to proper regulations, began to taste the fruits of his wisdom and success, when the pope and citizens of Rome, tired of the civil wars that had raged so long in Italy, implored the assistance of his arms, to deliver them from oppression; and, in order to facilitate his compliance, invited him to come and receive at Rome the unction and imperial crown. Far from neglecting an occasion so favourable to his views upon Italy, he forthwith set out at the head of his troops; but being seized with an apoplexy by the way, he was obliged to return to Mansleben, where, believing himself near his end, he convoked the princes of the empire,

He is invited to Italy.

* Engelhusius, p. 174.

A D. 936.

Appoints
his succes-
sor.

who, in his presence, complied with his desire, and settled the succession on his son Otho. Soon after this nomination he died at Mansleben, in the sixtieth year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign; upon which occasion it was said, that the ablest statesman^u, and the greatest king of Europe, was dead: and really no prince surpassed him in the qualities either of the heart and head, or in any personal accomplishment. He was extremely munificent to the church, and had the interest of religion very much at heart (D). He married Mathilda, daughter of Theodoric, count of Aldenburg, by whom he had three sons, Otho, Henry, and Bruno, and enjoyed the satisfaction of leaving to the eldest of these, who was already of age, the empire, much more powerful, and the authority better established, than he had received them from his predecessor^w.

S E C T. II.

The Reign of Otho I. including the Transactions of the Western Empire under this Prince and his Descendents.

THOUGH the princes of Germany had not been very well disposed towards Otho, the great power he had derived from his hereditary succession, together with his enterprising spirit and personal qualifications, would have obliged them to adhere to the promise which they had already made in his favour (E). He was accordingly elected emperor

^u Ann. Wittichind. ex Meib. p. 642. tom. i.
tag. ex Meib. p. 490.

^w Bod. Syn-

(D) Henricus Bodo relates, that Rudolphus, king of the Burgundians, being possessed of a lance, formerly belonging to Constantine the Great, who had fixed upon it a cross made of the nails of that cross on which Christ suffered, the emperor Henry obtained it from him, partly by threats and partly by intreaties; and, by virtue of this holy weapon, triumphed over all his enemies; that a vein of superstition ran through his character may be

also gathered from the transports of joy and adoration with which he received a hand of St. Dennis, sent to him in a present by Charles the Simple.

(E) He inherited from his father the duchy of Saxony, Westphalia, Angria, Thuringia, Hesse, Wetteravia, the countries on the Weser in the neighbourhood of Minden, and those upon the Elbe, towards the confines of Lunenburg, comprehending the city of Wittenberg, Misnia, Lusatia, the country

emperor at Aix la Chapelle, by the unanimous consent of all the princes then present, among which number were the archbishops of Mentz, Magdebourg, Triers, and Befançon; the bishops of Ratibon, Trefingen, Augsbourg, Constance, Eichstet, Worms, Spire, Brixen, and Hildesheim; this last being the emperor's chancellor; the abbots of Fulde, Herchfelt, and Erbach, together with the king of Bohemia, and the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, Austria, Moravia, and Lorrain *. All these took the oath of allegiance, and did homage to the new emperor, whom they promised to serve and assist against all his enemies. Then they accompanied him to the great church, where he was met by the archbishop of Mentz and the diocesan, in their pontificals, assisted by other bishops and all the clergy, who having saluted him with the usual ceremonies, he proceeded into the middle of the church, where he stood in sight of the people, to whom the prelate addressed himself in words to this effect: "I here present to you, Otho, chosen of God, formerly destined to the empire by his father Henry, and now elected into that supreme station by all the princes here assembled. If this election is agreeable to you, hold up your hands in token of your approbation." This address being received with universal applause, and a thousand acclamations, Otho was conducted to the great altar on which the regalia were placed, when the archbishop girding on his sword, "Receive (said he) that sword, and use it against the enemies of Jesus Christ, as well as those who unworthily profess his name; and employ the authority and power of the empire, which God hath put into your hands, to confirm and preserve the peace of the church." Then putting on the mantle of state, "Remember (continued he) with what fortitude and fidelity you are obliged to maintain peace and tranquillity to the end of your life." Lastly, presenting him with the scepter and mace, he added, "Warned by these emblems, inflict upon your subjects no other than paternal chastisement: extend your mercy and compassion to the ministers of God, to the widow and the orphan; and let the balm of your pity never cease to flow, that you may acquire a never fading crown

*Otho is
elected and
crowned at
Aix la
Chapelle.*

*The cere-
mony of his
coronation.*

* Witt. Ann. lib. ii.

country on the east side of tract in which the city of Magdebourg is situated (1).
of Norheim, and that whole

(1) Heiss, book ii.

D d 2

both

both in this life and that which is to come." After this exhortation he was anointed by the bishops with the sacred oil, and the archbishop set the crown upon his head. Then he ascended the throne, on which he sat during the service; after which he was re-conducted to the palace, where he dined in public, and was served by the dukes and other noblemen, while the bishops had the honour of sitting at his own table.

He began his reign with the most upright administration. Being an implacable enemy to all cruelty and baseness, for a little time, he ruled in tranquillity and peace; but this calm was not of long duration. The Hungarians, according to custom, invaded Franconia, and ravaged the provinces of Upper and Lower Saxony, where they put a number of people to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. However, their progress was soon checked by Otho, who coming up with them in the plain of Dortmund in Westphalia, attacked and defeated them with great slaughter; then marching into Lower Saxony, he fortified Magdebourg, and passed the Elbe, to restrain the slaves and other barbarians of the North, who were meditating a fresh irruption. After this expedition, being informed that Wincelaus, who was invested with the dukedom of Bohemia by the emperor his father, had been murdered by Boleslaus his own brother, who afterwards took possession of the duchy by force, he was so incensed at the inhumanity of the usurper, that he sent an army against him, under the command of Ælric, count of Ascania, who engaged, and at first defeated Boleslaus, and believed that, by this victory, he had put an end to the war; but the usurper having, in a few days, rallied and reinforced his troops, and making a sudden assault upon the victors, cut in pieces the whole imperial army^z.

Otho was greatly chagrined at this misfortune, which, however, he endeavoured to repair, by levying a new army with all possible expedition. He accordingly carried on the war, for the space of fourteen years, with great vigour and perseverance, till at last he gained a complete victory over Boleslaus, who was fain to submit, and own him for his sovereign. But this was not the only war which at that time engrossed the attention of the emperor.

The death of Arnold, duke of Bavaria, produced a general revolution in that province. He left three sons, Everhard, Arnold, and Herman, with a daughter called Judith,

*He sends an
army a-
gainst Bo-
leslaus.*

A. D. 937.

*The sons
of Arnold
refuse to do
homage to
Otho,*

y Heifs, lib. ii. Wittichind, ann. lib. ii.
Hist. Bohem.

z Drubarvius

who

who was married to Henry of Saxony, brother of Otho. Everhard, as eldest, seized the whole duchy, and refused to do homage to the emperor, on pretence that he was not his vassal, but ally: and although Arnold and Herman disputed the duchy with Everhard, all three agreed to consider Bavaria as altogether independent of Germany; a circumstance which incensed Otho to such a degree, that he divested them of the duchy, and bestowed the investiture upon Arnold's brother, Bertolf, who willingly did homage for such a present. Each pretender was supported by his own party. Pope Leo VII. owned Everhard as duke of Bavaria, in a letter addressed to the bishops and noblemen of Germany; and Otho, alarmed at this decision, set on foot a negotiation to engage the three brothers to resign their pretensions: but they refusing to comply with his desire, he entered Bavaria with a powerful army, and having seized Everhard, sent him into exile. Arnold and Herman were obliged to follow his court, and their uncle Bertolf remained in quiet possession of Bavaria^a. As for the eldest, he was obliged to pass the rest of his days in the allodial territories depending on Bavaria, situated in Voigtland and Franconia; but each of his brothers afterwards obtained a palatinate. Arnold was put in possession of the lordship of Scheyern, and became count palatine in Bavaria, and Herman acquired the same dignity in one of the provinces upon the Rhine.

A. D. 938.

*who enters
Bavaria,
and banishes the
eldest.*

Everhard, duke of Franconia, was likewise invested with the same quality, by which he maintained a jurisdiction over the magistrates and receivers, and bestowed those places, and many others, upon his own friends and adherents. The Saxons grew jealous of his credit and power; and Henry, duke of Brunswick, the emperor's brother, not only refused to submit to his authority, but also inspired the Saxons with the same sentiments, which entailed upon them the resentment of Everhard, who declared war against Henry, and burnt the town of Elmen upon the Weser. Otho no sooner heard of these proceedings, than he assembled the noblemen of his court; and bringing Everhard and his accomplices to a trial, condemned each of them to carry a dog upon his shoulders, from the place of his habitation as far as Magdeburg. In this manner did the ancient nations of the North punish the seditious, who had disturbed the public tranquillity. Everhard, however, was pardoned at the intercession of his friends; though the enmity still subsisted between him and the duke of Brunswick, and in a little time broke forth in preparations of war:

*Dissension
between
Everhard,
duke of
Franconia,
and Henry,
duke of
Brunswick.*

^a Sigeb. ad ann. 936.

Henry, brother of Otho, joins Everhard and Sigebert, duke of Austrasia, and takes the field against the emperor.

A. D. 941.

Henry retires to France.

The emperor makes himself master of Brisac, Mentz, and Chevrement.

then Otho summoned both to appear at the diet of Arensburg (F), which was at that time convened, but they did not think proper to obey the citation; and Henry was afterwards surprised by his antagonist in the town of Baudewic, and committed close prisoner to a castle in Alsace; from whence, however, he was soon released, after having entered into a league against his brother with Everhard, and Sigebert, duke of Austrasia. These, who were themselves pretenders to the throne, took great pains to persuade Henry, brother to Otho, that he had the best title to the imperial dignity, because he was born after the elevation of his father to the throne; whereas the birth of Otho was not attended with such advantage. He listened to these idle insinuations; and an association being formed, they began to levy troops, and in a little time brought a considerable army into the field, but were entirely routed by the emperor; duke Everhard, who was general, being killed in the battle, which was fought upon the banks of the Rhine, and Sigebert drowned in that river, in attempting to make his escape. Mean while Henry taking refuge in the city of Merfbourg, and finding himself unable to defend it against his brother, was fain to submit by capitulation; in consequence of which he retired to the dominions of Lewis, king of France, who had declared war against the emperor in support of his pretensions. Peace was soon after concluded between that prince and the emperor, who was reconciled to his brother, and bestowed upon him the duchy of Lorrain, which did not long remain in his possession ^b.

Sigebert, or Giselbert, duke of Austrasia or Lorrain, had prevailed upon the noblemen of that province to make a tender of it to Lewis, king of France, who received their homage accordingly; and Otho hearing of this revolt, marched thither with an army, and defeated the rebels. After this victory he undertook the siege of Chevrement, in the diocese of Liege, which, however, he was obliged to quit, in order to oppose the progress of the count pala-

^b Ann. Trever.

(F) In this diet it was debated, whether children could inherit the effects of their fathers, while their grandfathers were still alive; and as this point could not be determined any other way, it was agreed that it should be decided by

duel. Accordingly an equal number of combatants being chosen on both sides, they entered the lists; and the champions of the children having obtained the victory, the process was determined in their favour (1).

tine and the king of France, who had entered Lorrain, and compelled his friends to retire to the other side of the Rhine. But Lewis being informed of a contract which the bishop of Laon had made with his enemy Herbert, count of Vermandois, quitted Alsace, to prevent the effect of this treason; and Otho invested the city of Brisac, during the siege of which he was abandoned by a number of noblemen, and, among the rest, by Frederick, archbishop of Mentz, and Ruthard, bishop of Strasbourg; nevertheless, he continued his operations until the place was taken, and, then marching into Lorrain, made himself master of Mentz, where he found Frederick and Ruthard, whom he sent into exile to the abbeys of Fulde and Corbie.

After this success, he ordered his general, Immot, to re-invest Chevremont, which was defended by Anfred and Arnold with such valour, that the besiegers were fain to have recourse to fraud; and having apprehended these two officers, whom he had invited to a conference, he sent them to the emperor, and the town immediately surrendered ^c.

Though Conrad, the son of Everhard, inherited from his father the duchy of Franconia, with the counties of Hesse and Alsace, he could not succeed him in the dignity of count palatine, because Otho had taken it from his father, and conferred it on Herman, third son of Arnold, duke of Bavaria: but as this honour was unattended with any solid advantage, the emperor began to annex to it the lands and castles situated on the Rhine, whence he acquired the title of Count Palatine of the Rhine: and, in process of time, these counts made great acquisitions by marriages, purchases, mortgages, and imperial donations, so as to form a very considerable province ^d.

Origin of the Palatinate of the Rhine.

About this time the Slaves, being joined by Bolelaus, made an irruption into Bohemia, and surprised the city of Prague, from which, however, they were expelled by the valour of the inhabitants: nor did they meet with more success in their attempts upon the margraviate of Brandenburg, where they were routed by count Geron, who, having got their chiefs into his power, put them all to death, without exception ^e.

The Slaves make an irruption into Bohemia and Brandenburg.

Lewis, king of France, having lost the esteem of his subjects by his pride and indiscretion, sought to prevent the bad consequences of disaffection, by an alliance with the emperor, which he endeavoured to strengthen by mar-

^c Barre, tom. iii. p. 362. Sclavic.

^d Hist. Palatinat,

^e Chron.

A. D. 942.

*Otho
marches
into France.**Is recalled
to quell a
new con-
spiracy
formed by
his brother
Henry.*

rying his sister Gerberge, who was widow of Giselbert, duke of Lorrain. But his hopes were not of long duration; for Otho, persuaded by the insinuations of Hugh the Great, and Herbert, count de Vermandois, entered France with a powerful army, obliged Lewis to retire from Champagne into Burgundy, and received the oath of allegiance from Hugh and his confederates. Yet their ardour was soon cooled by the death of Herbert; and Otho was recalled to Saxony, to oppose the designs of his brother Henry, who, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, quitted Lorrain, and, by dint of presents and promises, formed a very formidable conspiracy among the Saxon officers and soldiers. His cause was espoused by the counts Bacco, Herman, Reenward, Wirende Werle, and Lothaire; and measures were taken to assassinate the emperor at Quidlembourg, where he intended to celebrate the festival of Easter: but Otho being informed of their design, marched against them without loss of time, and defeated their purpose in a moment. The count de Werle, in order to avoid the punishment he deserved, made away with himself; the rest of the conspirators were beheaded, and Henry confined to the castle of Ingelheim; yet he found means to escape, and repairing to Francfort, where the emperor passed his Christmas, prostrated himself at his feet in a mourning habit, and implored his pardon, which was immediately granted^f.

Otho having recompensed the services of those who had never forfeited their fidelity, established a tribunal at Bonn, to take cognizance of the injustice and oppression which had been committed during the troubles, and made a progress from town to town, in order to determine differences, and regulate the policy of his dominions. He afterwards repaired to Duesbourg, in the duchy of Cleves, where having assembled the noblemen of Lorrain, Franconia, and Saxony, he ordered Rutbert, archbishop of Triers, and Richard, bishop of Tongre, to be tried for felony, of which they were accused by Conrad, the new duke of Lorrain; but they justified themselves by oath, and were acquitted. Rutbert was afterwards in great favour with the emperor, who erected his see into a principality, by an authentic act, which raises the archbishops of Triers to an equality with sovereigns, and invests them with the rights of regality through the whole extent of the diocese^g.

About this time Bertholf, duke of Bavaria, dying, Otho, at the solicitation of his mother, bestowed that duchy on his brother Henry, who thenceforward behaved as a peaceable

A. D. 943.

*He ere this
the see of
Triers into
a principa-
lity.**Marches
into France
to the assist-
ance of**Lewis and
the count of
Flanders,*^f Hist. Lorr.^g Ann. Trever. Flodoard. lib. iv.

and

and loyal subject : and the tranquillity of his reign was not again interrupted, until he marched with an army into France, to support Lewis against his powerful adversary, Hugh the Great. He was joined by that king and the count of Flanders near Cambray, which they resolved to attack ; but understanding it was too well fortified to leave them any hope of success, they turned aside to Rheims, which surrendered in three days after it was invested. From thence they advanced to Paris, and ravaged the duchy of France, belonging to Hugh the Great ; but, instead of besieging the capital, they marched to Rouen, by the advice of the count of Flanders. Having passed the river of Andelle, Otho, at the desire of Lewis, sent a detachment of his best troops, under the command of his nephew, to reconnoitre ; and this young captain happening to meet a body of Normans, attacked them with such fury, that they fled to the very gate of Rouen : but this flight was no other than a stratagem, to decoy the Saxons into an ambuscade ; for the walls and adjacent fields were filled with archers, who immediately appeared, and the Normans made a vigorous sally at the same time ; so that the troops of Otho being charged on all hands, were routed after an obstinate dispute : their commander was killed upon the draw-bridge, and almost all the Saxons were either taken or slain. Notwithstanding this misfortune, Otho resolved to besiege the town, and continued his operations, without effect, until his army was greatly diminished by famine and distemper : then he formed the design of betraying the count of Flanders to the enemy, because he had been involved in this dangerous situation by his misrepresentations ; but the count being informed of his intention, withdrew his whole forces in the night, and the Imperialists and French perceiving the commotion, mistook them for an army coming to the relief of Rouen. This apprehension filled the camp with disorder : the soldiers immediately betook themselves to flight ; and the inhabitants of Rouen observing their confusion, made a general sally, in which a great number of the Saxons perished. Not contented with this success, part of the garrison, consisting of horse, harassed them in their retreat as far as Amiens, where Otho and Lewis passed the Somme with their army ^h. The emperor returned to Saxony, leaving his allies still embarrassed with the war ; but at length, through his mediation, they agreed to a truce, during which he received such a dangerous fall in the chace, that his life was

A. D 945.

The allies undertake the siege of Rouen,

which they are obliged to abandon.

^h Hist. de Normandie.

despaired

despaired of, and he nominated his son Ludolphus as his successor, in the presence of the principal noblemen of his court assembled for that purpose; but when he recovered his health, he revoked this designation.

A. D. 947.

Dispute between Artaud and Hugh about the archbishopric of Rheims.

Otho being at Aix-la-Chapelle, was visited by Lewis of France; and in the following autumn they met upon the Chier, to concert measures for appeasing the troubles which agitated that kingdom, as well as for terminating the scandalous quarrel subsisting between Artaud and Hugh, who disputed with each other the archbishopric of Rheims. These two prelates being summoned to appear at the council of Verdun, Artaud obeyed the citation; and, as Hugh refused to come, was provisionally confirmed in the see: but that his competitor might have no cause to complain, another assembly was convoked for the following year, in the church of St Peter, near Monson; and Hugh still continuing obstinate, was excluded from the communion of the other bishops, and suspended from all acts of jurisdiction, until other measures should be taken by a national synod, to be held next year at Ingelheim, near Metz.

Proceedings of the assembly at Ingelheim.

A. D. 948.

At this assembly, where the emperor and king of France assisted in person, the sentence was confirmed in favour of Artaud, who was acknowledged as lawful archbishop of Rheims, and his adversary was anathematized. Several canons were made to prevent simony, and the tythes from being received by laymen; and Lewis, in a set speech, complained of Hugh the Great, who had raised a rebellion against him, and even deprived him of liberty. In consequence of these complaints, Otho ordered Conrad, duke of Lorrain, to assemble some troops, and accompany Lewis into the Lyonois; where, being joined by Robert, archbishop of Triers, and Adalberton, bishop of Metz, after they had expelled Hugh from the see of Rheims, they besieged and took Montaign, and then marched against Laon, which was defended by Threbaud, count de Chartres, whom they excommunicated: they likewise summoned Hugh the Great to come and give an account of what he had done to the prejudice of Lewis his sovereign. As for Conrad, without waiting for the issue of that citation, he quitted Laon, and returned to Lorrain, after having re-united the city of Monson to the dominions of the empire; and Hugh the Great was excommunicated by the pope's legate, in a council held at Triers¹.

A. D. 949.

Otho makes war with the Danes.

The Danes having taken up arms, and murdered the margrave, appointed by Henry the Fowler, in the town of

¹ Flodoard. lib. iv.

Sleefwic, and put to the sword part of the Saxon colony settled in that place, Otho marched into Denmark, in the absence of king Harold, who had gone to the assistance of Sturbcon, king of Sweden; and having defeated some troops that attempted to oppose his passage, penetrated into Jutland, without farther resistance. Harold no sooner heard of this irruption, than he returned to his dominions, and a battle ensued, the particulars of which are variously related: but, certain it is, the campaign ended in an accommodation, by which the king of Denmark agreed, that Otho should keep a garrison in Sleefwic, to defend the frontiers of the empire, and that the Christian religion should be preached in the dominions of Harold^k.

After this expedition, the emperor repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, to regulate the affairs of the empire; and there he was visited by Lewis, and his wife Gerberge, who intreated him to employ his good offices in terminating the troubles of France. He accordingly sent Conrad, duke of Lorraine, with some bishops and counts, to Hugh the Great, who, being likewise tired of war, willingly listened to his propositions, and peace was soon concluded by virtue of his mediation.

A. D. 950.

Mediates a peace between Lewis and Hugh.

In the course of the same year, the emperor's son, Ludolphus, was married to Idda, daughter of Herman, duke of Suabia, a prince of great power and rich possessions, which at his death devolved to his son-in-law. But, in the midst of these rejoicings, Otho resolved to chastise Boleslaus, who, notwithstanding his former defeats, was still engaged in new enterprizes against Germany. Otho therefore took the field; and having invested the town of Boleslaw, into which Boleslaus had retired, carried it by assault. Yet he granted him peace, upon condition that he should repair the churches, recal the exiled Christians, expiate by canonical penance the crime of fratricide, which he had committed upon the person of his brother Wincesslaus, and hold his dominions as fiefs of the empire^l.

A. D. 951.

Reduces Boleslaus.

In the midst of these successes, his assistance was implored by Alix, widow of Lotharius, king of Italy, who was persecuted and stripped of her dominions by Beranger the younger; and her intreaties were reinforced by the solicitations of pope Agapetus II. who was afraid of being oppressed by the same power. In consequence of these importunities, the emperor marched into Italy, at the head of a powerful army, married Alix (Editha; his first queen, who was a princess of England, being dead,) made himself

A. D. 950.

A. D. 950.

The emperor espouses Alix.

^k Ann. Saxon.

^l Ditmar. lib. i & ii.

master of Pavia, in which Alix had been kept prisoner, and, in fine, compelled Beranger to submit; but he was so generous as to give him back a good part of his dominions, and to bestow upon his brothers the marquisate of Friuli, Verona, and some lands in Bavaria, reserving to himself no more than the glory of his conquest. Yet, notwithstanding these favours, Beranger abused his confidence, broke his word, and renounced his friendship.

His son Ludolphus rebels.

Ludolphus, son of Otho by Editha, though he had already been declared successor to the empire, being chagrined at his father's second marriage, engaged in a confederacy against him with Conrad, duke of Franconia, who was his own brother-in-law, and several other German noblemen; by whose assistance he took possession of divers cities, and fixed his head-quarters at Mentz. The emperor, apprized of this revolt, marched directly against him, surrounded that city; and, understanding that his son was fled, pursued him to Ratisbon, the siege of which he undertook^m. After a blockade of six weeks, the inhabitants, being reduced to extremity, began to treat about a capitulation; but before the articles were settled, Ludolph, by the intercession of the nobles, was permitted to retire with his followers, and almost the whole city was burned to the ground. Some time after this retreat, Ludolph took the opportunity, when his father was hunting, to throw himself bare-headed at his feet, which he bathed with his tears; and, after a pathetic pause, "Have pity," said he, "upon your child, who returns like the prodigal son to his father. If you permit him to live, who hath so often deserved to die, he will be faithful and obedient for the future, and have time to repent of his folly and ingratitude." The father, equally surprised and affected with this moving spectacle, raised him from the ground, while the tears trickled from his eyes, took him into favour, and forgave all his followers.

A. D. 955.

Is reduced, pardoned, and dies.

Otho marches against the Hungarians, whom he cuts in pieces.

Otho, after having put an end to the civil wars of Germany, was, in his return to Saxony, met by ambassadors from Hungary, who came on pretence of congratulating him on his victories; but, in effect, were spies sent to obtain information of the state of the empire. For, in a little time, he was informed by his brother Henry, that these barbarians had entered Bavaria with such a numerous army as seemed to have left their own country quite unpeopled; and that they had destroyed a great number of churches and other edifices, and slain all the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they passed. The emperor no

^m Annal, Germ. ex Meib. Witt. Annal. lib. iii.

fooner received this information than he marched to the relief of that province, while the Hungarians were employed in the siege of Augsburg; and notwithstanding the inferiority of his number, attacked their army with such vigour, that, after a very obstinate engagement, which lasted a whole day, the Barbarians were defeated, and cut in pieces with incredible slaughter ⁿ.

Next year he turned his arms against the slaves, who had made an irruption into the empire, under the command of Stornefer, and found them entrenched with their booty on the other side of the river Ratz; which having passed upon a bridge of boats, he defeated them in a pitched battle, in which their king lost his life, and next day put to death seventy prisoners, in order to intimidate the Barbarians by this example of severity. Nevertheless they revolted again the following year, and, being again defeated, implored the clemency of Otho; who pardoned them, on condition that they should enjoy nothing but the effects belonging to their wives.

During this war with the Barbarians, he received an embassy from Abderame, king of the Arabs of Cordova, to congratulate him upon his victories, and another from Helen, queen of the Russians, with compliments of the same kind, and a request, that he would send missionaries to instruct her subjects in the Christian religion^o. In the midst of these felicitations, came deputies from the Italians to demand succour against the tyranny of Beranger, and Otho

sent to their assistance an army under the command of his son Ludolphus; who, after having defeated the tyrant, made himself master of several places, and in a great measure delivered that country from oppression; but, instead of applause, he met with nothing but ingratitude from the Italians, which rose to such a pitch of insolence, that they even reproached him with his past conduct, and in particular with his revolt against his father. These severe sarcasms overwhelmed him with grief and mortification, which soon brought him to his grave. His death, which was bitterly lamented by Otho, gave Beranger time to breathe, and take the field with Peter Caudren, son of the duke of Venice, who had been exiled for having embarked in some enterprize against the interest of that republic. These associates began to pillage the country, and even besieged pope John XII. in the city of Spoleto; so that the Italians implored again the assistance of the emperor; as a recompence for which, they promised that Valpert, archbishop of Mi-

A. D. 956.

He obtains a victory over the slaves.

Receives embassies from the Arabs and Russians.

Sends an army into Italy under the command of Ludolphus, who dies of grief.

A. D. 959.

* Ann. Boicæ Gent.

* Adl. p. i. lib. iv.

A. D. 960.

*The pope
implores
again the
assistance of
Otho;*

lan, should consecrate him king of Lombardy, and the pope bestow upon him the imperial crown. Otho, flattered by these proposals, promised to march into Italy, as soon as he should have regulated the affairs of Germany; which in order to discuss, he assembled a diet at Worms, where his young son Otho, by his second wife, was elected king of Germany, and afterwards crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, though he had not yet attained the eighth year of his age ^p. Then he appointed Herman Biling generalissimo of the troops destined to act against the Danes and slaves in his absence, and left young Otho under the tutorage of the archbishops of Mentz and Cologn ^q.

Having taken these precautions, and made suitable preparations for his march, he set out for Italy at the head of a powerful army, accompanied by his wife Alix and a great number of prelates; and, taking his route through Bavaria, passed the Alps without resistance.

A. D. 963.

*who re-
turns to
Italy, is
consecrated,
and elected
emperor of
the Ro-
mans.*

*It acknow-
ledged su-
preme
head of the
church.*

On his arrival at Rome, he was consecrated by the pope, crowned emperor of the Romans, dignified with the appellation of Augustus, and received the oath of allegiance from the senate and the people; who swore to obey him as their sovereign lord ^r (H). Upon this occasion, he distributed immense largesses in jewels, gold, and silver, restored to the church all the demesnes formerly granted by Pepin and Charlemagne: which had been wrested from it by the petty tyrants of Italy: at the same time letters patent were expedited and signed by himself, the bishops and nobles, importing, among other things, that, according to the agreement formerly made with Eugenius and his successor, the Roman clergy and nobility should oblige themselves, by oath, to hold no election canonical, and to consecrate no pope until he should, in the presence of the emperor's son, or ambassador, make the same promise which had been voluntarily made by Leo III. on the same subject.

^p Sigon. de Reg. Ital.
Bod. Synt. ex Meib p. 493.

^q Ditmar. lib. ii.

^r Fr. Hen.

(H) The same author relates the particulars of the expedition into France, which the emperor undertook in favour of Lewis his brother-in-law, who had been deposed by Hugh, surnamed the Great, father of Hugh Capet. Lewis was restored by the arms of

Otho, who besieged Paris, took Rheims, and made himself master of Lyons. Mezeray and other French historians take notice of this invasion; though Heiss is wholly silent on the subject, in all probability, through fear of disobliging the French among whom he lived.

Beranger

Beranger and his wife having retired to Monteleone, Otho marched thither; upon which they surrendered themselves, were tried, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment at Bamberg, where they ended their days.

The emperor had no sooner withdrawn his army from Rome, than pope John, on pretence that Otho intended to dispossess the church of the lands which had been granted it by his predecessors, introduced into the city Albert, the son of Beranger, who, with his father, had been his most outrageous enemy, and indeed the occasion of his imploring the assistance of Otho.

This intelligence no sooner reached the ears of the emperor, than he returned to Rome (the pope and his new patron having fled at his approach,) obliged the senate and people to renew the oath and promise they had formerly made, and, in order to be revenged on John, convoked a council to try him for the scandalous life he was accused of having led; for it was not his piety that had raised him to the papal chair, into which he was thrust at the age of eighteen, by the intrigues and bribery of his father Alberic, whose influence and power were at that time excessive (1). The council being assembled, heavy complaints were preferred against him for the space of three days by the archbishops and bishops of Italy, as well as by the people of Rome. Otho, who assisted in person, ordered him to be summoned to appear and answer to these accusations; and he, refusing to obey, was declared unworthy of the papacy, and deposed: though many authors affirm, that, as this council could not be œcumenical, the deposition was of no validity. Be that as it will, Leo VIII. was elected by the una-

Calls a council, deposes John XII. and elects Leo VIII. to the papal chair

(1) The deposition of the witnesses, publicly read in council, contained the following particulars: that, in celebrating the mass, he had not communicated; that he had ordained a deacon in a stable, without minding the canonical hours; that he had sold divers bishopricks, and one to a boy not more than ten years of age; that he had violated the widow of Rainerus; lain with his own father's concubine, converted the holy palace into a brothel,

and caused John the cardinal and subdean to be assassinated: that he was guilty of setting fire to houses; that he had been seen exciting tumults in the streets, with a helmet on his head, and a sword by his side; that, in the course of his debauches, he had drank the health of the devil; and that, in playing at hazard, he had been several times heard invoking the names of Jupiter and Venus (1).

(1) Gob. Pers. æt. vi. cap. 51.

nimous suffrages of all present, took the chair in that very assembly, and executed the decree by which Otho was recognized as emperor of the Romans, sovereign and king of Italy, with all the rights and prerogatives for him and his successors, which pope Adrian I. had granted to Charlemagne, including the right of investiture of bishopricks, and the election and confirmation of popes. This decree was confirmed by the oaths of all the clergy and people; so that, from this date, we may justly style Otho emperor of the Romans, as he now acquired the same title by which it had been conferred on Charlemagne. Having settled these affairs at Rome, he set out to appease some disturbances at Spoleto and Camerina, which he erected into principalities; but in his absence, several prelates and noblemen at Rome, at the instigation of Albert, favoured the return of John; who deposed Leo, and declared his election void. In a few days after his having thus reassumed the papal chair, he was found in bed with a woman, and miserably slain by a rival. Nevertheless his adherents still persisted in refusing to own Leo for pope, and proceeded to the election of Benedict V. who was accordingly promoted to the chair of St. Peter.

A. D. 964.

John resumes the papacy, annuls the election of Leo, and is murdered

He is succeeded by Benedict.

Is deposed by the emperor.

The emperor, being informed of these transactions, marched back to Rome; which having besieged and taken, he cited Benedict to appear before another council, which he convened for that purpose. This pontiff obeying the summons, presented himself in his pontificals, and was questioned for his presumption in usurping the apostolic dignity, during the life of pope Leo, contrary to the oath which he had taken. Benedict owned his error, implored the compassion of the council, and humbled himself before Leo; who, at the desire of Otho, pardoned his crime, permitted him to keep the deacon's orders, and sent him into exile at Hamburg^s. Then Otho, having obliged the Romans to promise upon oath, that they would never choose a native of any other country than Germany for their emperor, and regulate the affairs of Italy, he returned to his own country, and held a diet at Cologne, in which was confirmed the division of Lorrain into two provinces; the one, bounded by Luxemburgh and Franche Compté, being given to Frederic, count de Bar, brother of Adalberon, bishop of Mentz; and Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, reserving the other, which comprehended the duchies of Brabant, Juliers, and Guelderland, together with the pro-

^s Hem. Wolt. Cron. Brem.

vinces contiguous to the mouths of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Schelde † (K).

Pope Leo VIII. dying in the course of this year, the Romans sent deputies to know the pleasure of Otho, who supplied his place with John XIII. who was imprisoned by the Romans; but soon released, and re-established by the emperor, who returned to Rome for that purpose.

John XIII. is raised to the papacy by Otho.

Not content with the re-establishment of John, he resolved to punish the Romans for their inconstancy. The consuls were exiled, the tribunes of the people were hanged, to the number of a dozen; the body of Jetroi, who had been ring-leader of the revolt, was dug up, dragged through the streets, and thrown into the common-sewer; his successor, as prefect, was exposed upon an ass, with his head to the tail, and, after having been publicly scourged, confined in a dungeon.

Otho punishes the Romans.

Having made these examples, the emperor established a well-regulated policy in Rome, visited the cities of Italy, and confirmed the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne †. Then he caused his son Otho to be crowned at Rome, as his associate in the empire; and this ceremony being performed, he repaired to Capua, where he was visited by ambassadors from Nicephorus Phocas, emperor of the Greeks, who came to renew the alliance that formerly subsisted between the eastern and western empires. This negotiation did not immediately succeed; for Nicephorus, who still possessed some towns in Calabria and Apulia, demanded that Otho would relinquish some cities that he occupied in the same country, and assist him in expelling the Saracens from others which they had reduced. Otho, whose aim was to make himself master of Apulia and Calabria, in order to unite Italy and Germany into one empire, did not relish the demand of Nicephorus; but nevertheless took that opportunity of sending a favourable answer to the Greek emperor, and of signifying his assent to

His son crowned emperor at Rome.

Receives an embassy from Nicephorus Phocas, emperor of Constantinople.

† Barre. tom. iii. p. 427.

‡ Sigon. de Reg. Ital.

(K) While the emperor was in Italy, count Sigefroi purchased the castle of Luxembourg from Vigger, abbot of St. Maximin of Triers, to whom he gave in exchange the fief of Vicelne, situated in the country of Ardennes. The contract was executed at Triers, in presence of Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, and many other noblemen, of the clergy as well as laity. And this is the origin of the fortress, duchy, and illustrious house, of Luxembourg (1).

(1) Ann. Trev. lib. ix. p. 467.

A. D. 966.

*Treacher-
ously used by
the Greeks.*

a proposal which Phocas had made, of a match between young Otho and his daughter Theophania. Notwithstanding these advances to friendship and alliance, Nicephorus was so much incensed at the refusal of his other demand, and the presumption of Otho in assuming the title of emperor, that he formed an execrable plan of revenge, which he was enabled to execute by his craft and dissimulation. Ambassadors were sent to Constantinople, to regulate the conditions and ceremony of the nuptials, and a place appointed at which the princess was to be received by the Germans; who repairing to this rendezvous with a magnificent train, were all massacred or carried prisoners to Constantinople, except one or two who escaped with the news of this horrible treachery^w.

A. D. 968.

*Otho sends
an army in-
to Calabria.*

Otho, incensed at this enormous perfidy, ordered the counts Gonther and Sigifrid, who were brothers, to march with the flower of his army into Calabria, where they defeated the Greeks, commanded the noses of their prisoners to be cut off, and ravaged the whole country.

Nicephorus being soon after put to death by his subjects, John Zemises, his successor, not only released the Germans, who were prisoners at Constantinople, but also sent Theophania, with a magnificent train and rich presents, into Italy, where her marriage with young Otho was happily consummated (L). The emperor, seeing his son married to his wish, and of age and capacity to govern his dominions, enjoyed in peace the prosperous state of his affairs for two years; at the end of which he died apoplectic at the city of Minleben, in Saxony, after a reign of thirty years, during which he gave extraordinary proofs of uncommon generosity, piety, and courage, and justly acquired the appellation of Great^x. While his father was alive, he married Editah (M), daughter of Edmund, king of England,

A. D. 972.

*Dies at
Minleben.*

^w Luitprand. Witichind. de Corb. Ann. lib. iii.
Saxon. p. 324.

^x Annales.

(L) About this time Magdebourg was erected into the metropolis of all Vandalia. The archbishops of this see have since been primates of Germany; but now, that it is in the possession of protestants, it is considered as a secular principality (1).

(M) The continuator of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, says, that Henry the Fowler sent to Athelstan, king of England, for his two sisters, Adgetta and Egitta, the last of whom he gave in marriage to his son Otho, and the other to a certain duke, whose territo-

(1) Barre. Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. iii. p. 445. Annales de l'Emp. tom. i, p. 143.

rics

gland, who founded the city of Magdeburg (N) ; and afterwards took to wife Alix, who, at his death, retired into a convent (O).

OTHO. II.

OTHO II. surnamed the Sanguinary, on account of the great quantities of blood which he spilt, had been elected and crowned during the life of his father, whom he now succeeded in the empire, though he was at first opposed by Henry, duke of Bavaria, his own cousin-german ; who, being supported by some bishops, caused himself to be proclaimed at Ratibon : however, he was soon reduced, and not only obliged to renounce his title, but also to relinquish his duchy, which was given by the victor to Otho, duke of Suabia. This competitor being quelled, the emperor turned his arms towards the river Elbe, to oppose Harold, king of Denmark, who had espoused the interests of Henry, and advanced with a large body of troops to support his cause : but he was so hampered by Otho, that he sued for peace, adding considerable presents to his request, and solemnly promising to pay an annual tribute ; for which he gave his own son as a hostage.

A. D. 975.

Otho II. succeeds his father, and is opposed by Henry duke of Bavaria.

Thus satisfied, Otho marched against the duke of Bohemia, who had been one of the confederates of his competitor ; and, having ravaged his country, returned to make head against Henry himself and the duke of Carinthia, with the bishop of Frevingen ; whom having defeated and taken, he regained the city of Passaw, and concluded an advantageous peace with the duke of Bohemia. As for Henry,

A. D. 977.

He defeats Henry, with the duke of Carinthia, and makes peace with the king of Bohemia.

Barre, tom. iii. p. 453.

ries lay near the Alps. The lady whom Otho espoused, is variously named by various authors, being sometimes called Adiva, sometimes Eadittia ; by Witchindus, Edidis ; by Ditmarus, Edit ; and by Matthew of Westminster, Eadgeva.

(N) His body was transported to Magdebourg, and buried in the cathedral church ; where his tomb is still to be seen, distinguished by this inscription :

Tres luctus causæ sunt, hoc
sub marmore clausæ.

Rex, decus ecclesiæ, summus
honor patriæ (1).

(O) The annals of this reign are written by the famous Wit-tichind, who was a monk of Corbie, and lived in this age. His work is entitled, *Annales de Gestis Ottonum*, and published in the collection of Meibomius.

(1) *Annal. Sax. ubi supra.*

E c 2

he

he was tried by an assembly convoked at Quidlembourg; and, being convicted of treason, was together with the bishop of Augsbourg, exiled to Utrecht, where they were kept as prisoners of state^z.

Otho had scarce disengaged himself from these troubles, when he was involved in a war with Lotharius, king of France, about the superiority of Lorrain, to which the French monarch revived his pretensions; though the immediate cause of the quarrel was the countenance and support which France gave to the two sons of Ranier, count of Hainault, who had been stripped of his dominions in the reign of the late emperor. These two noblemen, looking upon the death of Otho I. as a favourable conjuncture, assembled some forces, marched towards their hereditary dominions, and, in a pitched battle near Peronne, defeated Garnier and Rainaud, the two noblemen to whom Hainault had been given: then they entered Low Lorrain, which they ravaged without opposition; and being seconded by Charles, brother of Lotharius, and Hugh Capet, at the head of a good army, they took possession of their father's country, after having expelled counts Godfrey and Arnold, who had endeavoured to obstruct their progress^a.

The emperor being intimidated by such a powerful association, headed by the king of France, who took this opportunity to claim the superiority of those and many other countries, endeavoured to appease that monarch by bestowing, in fief, the duchy of Lorrain upon his brother Charles. The king of France, however, was not satisfied with this condescension, which he did not consider as a sufficient atonement for the loss he had sustained by Otho's encroaching upon the right he had to certain parts of that duchy. He therefore resolved to do himself justice; and suddenly raising an army, marched directly to Aix la Chapelle, in order to take the emperor by surprize. Otho escaped with difficulty, and, inflamed with a desire of revenge, assembled his forces to the number of sixty thousand men, with which he made an irruption into the territories of Lotharius, ravaged all Champagne and the Isle of France; and, having granted peace to the French on his own terms, evacuated the country, though not without sustaining a considerable loss by an inundation of the river Aisne, in consequence of which a great part of his army was destroyed^b (P).

Geoffroy,

^z Annal. de l'Emp. tom. i. p. 145.

^a Barre, ubi supra.

^b Idem, tom. iii. p. 459.

(P) Some authors affirm, French, who pursued his army that Otho was defeated by the for three days and three nights

Geoffroy, count of Anjou, surnamed Grifegonelle, or Grey Coat, who commanded the French army on this occasion, proposed to decide the quarrel by single combat with Otho^c; but this expedient was rejected by the imperialists, who would not suffer their sovereign to expose his life to such unnecessary hazard. Be this as it may, certain it is, he concluded a peace with the king of France, and bestowed the whole of Low Lorrain, with part of the other, upon Charles, brother of Lotharius, who did him homage on his knees for that country^d.

Having adjusted the affairs of Germany, his next expedition was into Italy, in order to chastise the Romans, and recover Calabria and Apulia, of which the Greeks had taken possession, by the assistance of the Saracens, contrary to the treaty made by the two emperors, by which these two provinces were given to Otho as the dowry of Theophania his wife. Immediately after the death of Otho I. the Romans resolved to free themselves from the German yoke, while his successor was involved in domestic troubles. They raised one Cencius to the consulate^e, elected a new pope called Boniface VII. who had gone to Constantinople to invite the Greek emperors Basilus and Constantine to come and take possession of Rome; and their fleet, being joined by the Arabians of Africa, had invaded and subdued the coast of Naples and Calabria.

Otho, in consequence of these ravages, marched into Italy, entered Rome without opposition, and from thence going in quest of the enemy, hazarded a battle, in which his enemies were at first put in disorder; but the Roman troops and those of Beneventum giving ground, and the Saracens rallying, his army was so totally defeated, that, being divested of all hope, he fled to the sea-side, and finding a vessel, embarked, and committed himself to the mercy of the waves. The ship being taken by corsairs, who did not know his quality, he was carried into Sicily,

A. D. 979,

Marches into Italy, and hazards a battle.

^c Annal. de l'Emp. tom. i. p. 146.
ann. 979.

^e Baron. Onuph.

^d Chronogr. Sax. ad

as far as the river Meuse; and that Lotharius afterwards made peace with him against the inclination of his nobles (1). Others allege the emperor retired without loss, and passed

the river in a miraculous manner, following St. Wolfgang, who divided the waters, so that they marched over on dry ground (2).

(1) Guil. de Nang. ad ann. 978. Léon d'Osie.
Annal. Boior. part. ii. lib. iii. p. 158.

(2) Brun.

where he ransomed himself for a large sum of money, having deceived his captors by the facility with which he spoke the Greek language (Q).

A. D. 980. It was not long before he levied new forces, and renewed the war; during which the Saracens into Italy were totally exterminated. Then he not only chastized the cowards who had abandoned him in the first engagement, but, having discovered that the inhabitants of Beneventum had favoured his enemies, and even furnished them with provisions, he allowed his army to plunder the town for three whole days, and then ordered it to be set on fire. Nor did the Romans, who had likewise deserted him, escape with impunity. Having invited the principal persons of that city to an entertainment, he, in the midst of their festivity, commanded the authors of his overthrow to be selected, and put to death in the presence of the whole company^f; a punishment, which, though perhaps just in the main, was inflicted in a manner unworthy of a Christian prince, or a sound politician. This, in all probability, was the origin of the epithet Sanguinary; though he was likewise distinguished by the appellations of Rufus and Terror Sarazinorum.

Orders the Saxons and Thuringians to make head against the Slavonians.

Being informed that the Slavonians, taking advantage of his absence, had invaded Saxony, and ravaged the bishopricks of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Merzburg, he ordered the Saxons and Thuringians to make head against them; and they, in obedience to his command, charged the enemy with such valour and success, in different encounters, that they were obliged to retreat with the loss of thirty-seven thousand men (R).

A. D. 983.

Dies at Rome.

Soon after this invasion, he died at Rome of a bloody flux^g, occasioned by a wound which he had received from a poisoned javelin, in the battle with the Greeks; and his

^f Barre, tom. iii. p. 462.

^g Annal. Sax. lib. iv.

(Q) Gobelius Persona alleges, that it was a Grecian ship in which Ortho embarked; and that the master being prevailed upon, by the promise of a great reward, to carry him to the city of Rossario, where the empress then was, he took the opportunity, while the ship was at an-

chor in the road, and the master hesitating, to throw himself into the sea, and swim ashore, where he was received by his wife and adherents (1).

(R) About this time Ham-
burgh and Bremen were erected into an archbishop's see (2).

(1) Gobel. Pers. Cosmad. æt. vi. cap. 49.
l'Emp. tom. ii. p. 147.

(2) Annal. de

death is said to have been hastened by his grief for the behaviour of the empress Theophania, who had in public expressed her joy at the victory of her countrymen, though it was obtained over her own husband (S).

O T H O III.

OTHO III. when he succeeded his father, was no more than twelve years of age (T), for which reason he was surnamed the Infant; but that appellation being soon laid aside, he acquired the epithet of Rufus, and, at length, was dignified with the title of Wonder of the World. His election produced great disputes among the Italians and German princes, who had accompanied his father to Rome; some of whom openly declared in favour of Henry, duke of Bavaria, and nephew to Otho I. This prince, who aspired to the empire, claimed the tutelage of young Otho, as his nearest relation, and the government of the empire during his minority; on this pretence he assembled a body of troops, with which he entered Cologne; and, seizing the person of the emperor, who was in that city, under the care of archbishop Warin, conducted him, with a numerous train, to Corbie, and from thence to Magdeburg, where they were received amidst the acclamations of the people^b. The Italians, who wanted to shake off the German yoke, and have an emperor of their own country, set up a Roman nobleman, called Crescentius, who was at that time consul, and governor of the city. But the greatest part of the German princes espousing the cause of Otho, who, though young, had already given marks of a fine genius, delivered him from the hand of Henry, and conveyed him to Weissenstadt, where he was proclaimed with the usual solemnity¹; his title being acknowledged through Germany, Lombardy, and all the other dominions of the empire, except the city of Rome, which had swerved from its duty, in favour of the consul Crescentius. As for his education, it was com-

Otho III. succeeds his father, but is opposed by Henry duke of Bavaria.

By Crescentius in Italy.

A. D. 984.

^b Barre, tom. iii. p. 474.
p. 151.

¹ Annal. de l'Emp. tom. i.

(S) Otho made a law forbidding his subjects to believe an Italian upon his oath; and decreed, that, when a cause could not be determined by evidence, it should be decided by single combat (1).

(T) According to Gobelinus Persona, he was but two years of age when his father died; but we have, with Heiss, followed the authority of Dittmar, Baronius, and other historians.

(1) Meant. Hist. part. iii. p. 2 cap. 5.

mitted to the care of the archbishop of Mentz, and the bishop of Hildesheim.

A. D. 987.

He vanquishes the Slavonians and Danes.

During the first years of his reign, Lotharius, king of France, invaded High Lorrain, and made himself master of Verdun^k, which however was, after his death, restored to Germany. The Slavonians too, assisted by the Danes, followed the example of the Romans, and revolted; but Otho had scarce attained the age of fourteen, when he began to exercise his courage and capacity against these rebels, whom he vanquished, in divers expeditions; and at length wholly subdued.

Contest in France between Charles duke of Lorrain and Hugh Capet.

Lewis V. of France dying about this period, the contest began between Charles, duke of Lorrain, uncle to the deceased, and Hugh Capet, a nobleman of great talents and influence, who found means to render his competitor odious to his countrymen, to obtain a neutrality of the emperor, and, lastly, to ascend the throne of France, after having taken prisoner the unhappy Charles, who did not long survive his misfortune^l.

A. D. 988.

War with the Danes.

Otho, having now attained the years of discretion, visited the towns upon the Rhine, confirmed the privileges of the bishops and abbots, and displayed his liberality among the monasteries: from thence he made a progress into the northern provinces, and tarried some time at Wildefhusen, where he made several regulations for the establishment of good order and the reformation of the people, who were still in a state of savage ignorance and barbarity^m.

The Danes, under their king Sueno, pillaged Lower Saxony without opposition, divided their fleet into two squadrons, one of which entered the Weser, with a view to send out detachments, and lay the country under contribution; while the other, anchoring before Staden, took the city after a faint resistance, and then defeated the emperor's lieutenant, count Thierr, who had assembled the militia in order to stop their career: but Sigefroi, who had commanded in Staden, and made shift to escape, rallied and reinforced the imperial troops, and attacking the enemy, who, by this time, were thinned by distempers, and incumbered in their booty, compelled them to retire on board their ships with the utmost precipitation. The other detachment met with a worse fate; for, being bewildered in their excursions, they forced one Hurbert to be their guide, and he, having led them into the midst of a number of morasses, gave notice to the Saxons, who fell upon them with great

A. D. 989.

^k Spicel. tom. xii. p. 265.
lib. xiv. Sax. Chron. 23.

^l Nang. ad ann. 990.

^m Krantz.

fury, and retook the booty they had gained; so that Sueno returned to his own country with great discomfiture and disgrace^a.

Immediately after this expedition war broke out between him and Eric, king of Sweden, who fitted out a powerful navy; and, giving battle to the Danish fleet, obtained a complete victory, in consequence of which he united Denmark to his dominions. Otho, unwilling to be at variance with such a powerful neighbour, made him tenders of friendship, which were immediately embraced, and they engaged in a treaty, by which it was stipulated, that German missionaries should be allowed to preach the gospel in the dominions of Eric, and that none of the subjects of Sweden, Denmark, or Norway, should, for the future, make incursions into the territories of the empire^c.

Treaty with Sweden.

While the emperor was thus employed in these transactions, Crescentius neglected nothing to establish his power in Rome, where he even imprisoned pope John XIV. because he favoured Otho's party; who, dying in confinement, was succeeded by John XV. This new pope was so persecuted by the same tyrant, that he fled into Tuscany, from whence he sent legates to implore the emperor's protection. The Romans, remembering what they had suffered under the two former Othos for their cruelty to their popes, were so terrified at this appeal, that they immediately deputed some citizens of the first rank to wait upon John, and intreat him to return, with the most solemn assurances that they would, for the future, behave to him with all due reverence and respect. Though John, confiding in these protestations, returned to Rome, where he was honourably received, the emperor, who knew the caballing genius of the Romans, sent the empress Theophania, his mother, into Italy, with a body of troops, commanded by Hugh, marquis of Brandenburg; and she, being a woman of spirit and discernment, restrained the Romans and the rest of the Italians within the bounds of their duty, for the space of two years; at the expiration of which she set out for Germany, leaving the marquis, whom she had created governor of Florence, to observe the motions of that unsteady people. In her journey to Frankfort she was taken ill, and died at Nimeguen; and, her body being transported to Cologne, was interred with great funeral pomp, at which Otho assisted in person.

A. D. 990.

The empress Theophania goes to Italy.

After this ceremony he marched against the Slaves, who had revolted, and taken the city of Brandenburg; and,

A. D. 993.

War with the Slaves.

^a Annal. Paderb. ad. ann. 939.

^c Chron. Magdeburg.

having

having expelled them from that place, obliged them to sue for peace, which he granted upon reasonable terms; but it was not long before they were spirited up to another revolt by one Chiezo, an outlaw, under whose conduct they surprised Brandenburg, and made themselves masters of several other places, which, however, were privately betrayed to the emperor by Chiezo, on condition that he should be pardoned, and restored to the possession of his effects. The Slaves, incensed at his perfidy, continued the war with various success, until, after having suffered divers repulses, they again humbled themselves before the emperor, who granted them peace, in consideration of their releasing all their prisoners without ransom, and surrendering the places which they still possessed on the frontiers of the March of Brandenburg ^P.

A. D. 995.

*Die' of
Magde-
burg.*

Otho, having thus triumphed over the Slaves, repaired to Halberstadt, to assist at the dedication of a new church, built by bishop Hildebrand; from thence he made a circuit through the different provinces of the empire, where he enacted new laws, and made regulations for the preservation of order and the public peace. These wise measures being taken, he assembled a diet at Magdeburg, in order to demand supplies of troops and money for his expedition into Italy, where his presence was necessary to punish Crescentius for a fresh revolt, and quell the seditions which had risen in the cities of Milan, Capua, and Beneventum. These demands were backed by the remonstrances of the nuncios, whom pope John sent thither to invite him to come with a powerful army, in order to punish the rebels, quiet the troubles in Italy, and receive the imperial crown; and his departure was, moreover, earnestly solicited by Landulphus, archbishop of Milan, who had been expelled from his diocese, and come to Magdeburg to implore the emperor's protection.

*Otho enters
Milan, and
is crowned
at Rome.*

Otho, having raised a considerable army in consequence of the supplies he received from the diet, began his march for Italy, and invested Milan; which being surrendered in a few days, he entered the city in triumph, and re-established the archbishop, by whom he was crowned king of Lombardy. Thence he proceeded to Pavia, where he celebrated the festival of Easter, and afterwards repaired to Ravenna, where, hearing of the pope's death, he caused Bruno, a relation of his own, to be elevated to the papal chair; and this Saxon prelate, who assumed the name of Gregory V. soon after his elevation, crowned his patron emperor of

the Romans, with the same solemnity and pomp which had attended the coronation of his father and grandfather ⁹.

This ceremony being performed, the consul Crescentius pardoned by the intercession of the new pope, and the troubles appeased at Capua and Beneventum, Otho set out on his return to Germany; and visiting in his route the principal places of Lombardy, staid some time at Modena, where he did a very signal piece of justice upon the person of his empress Mary, daughter of the king of Arragon. That princess, incensed at the repulse she had met from an Italian count, of whom she was enamoured, accused him to the emperor of having made an attempt upon her honour; in consequence of which charge he was tried, condemned, and beheaded; but, a few days after his execution, the countess found means to prove his innocence, and undeceive the emperor, who being extremely shocked at the discovery of the truth, ordered the empress to be burned alive, and fined himself, for his over hasty judgment against the count, in a large sum for the benefit of the widow ^r (U).

A. D. 996.

He does a signal piece of justice at Modena.

The emperor, at his return to Germany, found the Slaves in possession of Bernbourg; from whence having expelled them with great slaughter, he repaired to Magdeburg, and deprived the archbishop Giselerius of the government of that country, because he had allowed himself to be surpris'd by the barbarians ^s. This expedition was scarce finished when he understood that Crescentius, having been again elected consul in Rome, had expelled pope Gregory, and elevated another to the papal chair, under the name of John XVI. Enraged at this insult, the emperor returned with a powerful army to Rome; which having besieged and taken, he ordered the anti-pope to be thrown from the top of the castle of St. Angelo, after his eyes had been put out and his nose cut off. Crescentius being also apprehend-

A. D. 997.

A. D. 998.

Besieges Rome, and puts to death John XVI. and Crescentius.

⁹ Chron. Hildesh. tom. iii. iii. p. 506.

^r Barre. Hist. d'Allétagne. tom. i. p. 155.

(U) Several authors, in giving a detail of this transaction, introduce a miracle in favour of the deceased count; who, they say, laid injunctions on his wife to go and manifest his innocence to the emperor, by handling a red hot plate of

iron in his presence. She accordingly underwent this ordeal to the astonishment and conviction of Otho; and it was great pity she had not tried the experiment before the death of her husband (1).

(1) Annal. de l'Emp. tom. i. p. 155.

ed, was mounted upon a sorry mule, and conducted through the city with his face towards the tail. Then being put to the torture, together with twelve of his accomplices, they were all hanged in a cluster upon the highest tree that could be found, as an example to the rest, who had supported or connived at their rebellion^t (Y). The two usurpers being punished in this manner, and Gregory restored, the emperor, to prevent such seditions and revolts for the future, published a decree, importing, that the Germans should have the sole right and power of electing a Roman emperor among their own countrymen, exclusive of all other nations; and that the pope should have no other authority on such occasions than that of proclaiming the election at Rome, and of performing the ceremony of coronation, when the emperor should think proper to go thither. This decree was ratified and confirmed by Gregory; and several historians affirm, that Otho and this pope, in order to secure the empire to the German nation, afterwards reduced the electors to the number of seven^u.

A. D. 999.

Then he returned to Pavia, where he made several constitutions and regulations for restoring and establishing the peace of Italy. The new pope dying in the second year of his papacy, he supplied his place with Gerbert, formerly archbishop of Rheims, who took the appellation of Sylvester II. and prevailed upon Otho to renew and confirm the privileges which had been bestowed upon the Roman church by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Lewis the Debonnaire.

Having settled the affairs of Italy, he set out for Germany by the way of Bologna, halted at Ratibon, entered Thuringia, and visited some towns in Upper Saxony; from thence he proceeded to Poland, which he erected into a kingdom at the solicitation of duke Boleslaus, who did him homage, and agreed to hold his dominions as a fief of the empire^x (Z).

A. D. 1000.

*Poland
erected into
a kingdom.*

Soon

^t Heifs, Hist. de l'Emp. tom. i. p. 190.
^x Baron. Ann. tom. v. p. 962.

^u Barr. ut supra,

(Y) The manner of this consul's death is variously related. Some authors allege he was killed by treachery, and others affirm, he fell valiantly fighting in defence of the castle, after having sued in vain for

the emperor's forgiveness: we are likewise told that Otho took his widow for his mistress, and afterwards did penance for his cruelty to the anti-pope (2).

(Z) Otho is said to have opened the tomb of Charle-

(1) Annal. del'Emp. tom. i. p. 156. Bar. tom. iii. p. 510. Glab. lib. i. magne

Soon after this excursion, being informed that the Saracens had taken the advantage of his absence to make an irruption into the Campania of Rome, surprise Capua, and ravage the neighbouring country, he hastened into Italy, assembled his army at Ravenna, retook the city of Capua, expelled the barbarians, re-established peace, and repaired to Rome with a small number of troops. While he resided in the capital, the Tiburtines, whom he had formerly chastised for sedition, revolted again; so that he was obliged to go and besiege the place, which surrendered at discretion. At his return, he found the gates of Rome shut against him; and although he was next day admitted, with a few noblemen and officers, a conspiracy, formed by Gregorio, of the house of Toscanella, had well nigh deprived him of his life: the Roman people openly rebelled against his authority, and it was with great difficulty he made his escape by the assistance of the marquis of Tuscany, who had in vain attempted to effect an accommodation ¹. While he was busied in assembling forces to revenge this indignity, he was poisoned by a pair of gloves, sent him in a present by the widow of Crescentius, whom he is said to have debauched under promise of marriage ².

Marches into Italy.

A.D. 1001.

A.D. 1002.

Is poisoned by a pair of gloves.

The empire lost a great prince by the death of Otho, who was equally brave, resolute, and just; and, after the example of his father and grand-father, remarkably liberal to the church; insomuch that two-thirds of the ecclesiastical benefices in Germany are said to have been granted by these three emperors. He died at Paterno, in the thirtieth year of his age, after a glorious reign of eighteen years; his body was carried to Aix la Chapelle, at his own request, and his bowels interred at Augsbourg ³.

Dies at Paterno.

¹ Ditmar, lib. iv. p. 44. Prelat.

² Hist. del'Eglise, par Bened.

³ Gob. Perf. Cosmod. æt. vi. cap. 51. Chron. Magdeb. ex Meib. p. 280. Hen. Bod. p. 487. Ditmar Chron.

magne at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he found the body of that emperor seated on a throne of gold, in his imperial robes, with a golden sceptre in his hand, and a crown, adorned with rich jewels, upon his head (1).

Had Charlemagne been interred in this manner, the Normans, who destroyed Aix la Chapelle before this period, would hardly have left him sitting upon a throne of gold.

(1) Ditmar. lib. iv. p. 44.

HENRY

H E N R Y II.

A.D. 1002.

*Henry, duke
of Bava-
ria, is
elected.*

OTHO being dead without issue, three competitors started up, supposed equally qualified to wear the imperial crown; Henry, duke of Bavaria, Herman, duke of Suabia and Alface, and Ekkard, marquis of Saxony. The first of these, being grandson to Otho II. by his daughter, was, by means of his superior power, elected, confirmed, and consecrated, at Mentz, by the archbishop Wilgifius, under the name of Henry II. and he is said to have been the first who was raised to that dignity by the votes of the seven electors; but this success he did not attain, until his competitor Ekkard was assassinated by the counts de Northien, who were Henry's partisans ^b.

*Herman
declared an
enemy of
the empire.*

He began his reign, by causing Herman, duke of Suabia, to be declared an enemy to the empire, in an assembly at Mentz; and, in consequence of that declaration, he ravaged his dominions with the forces of Germany raised for that purpose: while his rival, resolving to support his pretensions by force of arms, and being furnished with troops by the bishops of Constance and Coire, advanced into Alface, and took by assault the city of Strasburg; which, though part of his own dominions, had declared against his interest. He likewise proposed to decide the contest by single combat with Henry, who accepted the challenge; but Herman's courage failed him, and he was in a little time obliged to yield to the superior fortune of his adversary ^c.

A.D. 1003.

The new emperor, having laid Suabia under contribution, marched into Saxony; and at Mersburg received the oath of fidelity from duke Bernard, the archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen, the counts palatine, Boleslaus, king of Poland, and the deputies of the Slaves, who inhabited Pomerania.

Being thus acknowledged through all the dominions and fiefs of the empire, he, in compliance with the repeated request of his nobles, married Cunegunda, daughter of the first count of Luxembourg, and their nuptials were celebrated at Paderborn with great magnificence. Then he made a circuit among the provinces, where he exercised the virtues of equity and benevolence, deciding vexatious processes, restoring the peace of families, and re-establishing union among the nobility, which were divided by feud or faction. After having taken these wise steps for the advantage of his country, he repaired to Aix la Chapelle,

^b Annal. Sax. p. 382.^c Vita Henrici auct. Adelb.

where

where he was crowned a second time for the satisfaction of several noblemen, and, in particular, of Herbert, archbishop of Cologne, who alleged, that the first coronation had not been performed with due formality.

Henry is crowned again at Aixla Chapelle. Herman submits.

Mean while Herman, though he made shift to surprise Brisac, and gained some other petty advantages, found great difficulty in keeping his partisans together; at length, despairing of being able to cope with the power and authority of Henry, he made him a tender of his submission, by the canal of his friends. This being accepted, he came in person to Bruchsal, and on his knees asked pardon of the emperor, who received him courteously, and granted him every thing he desired, on condition that he should repair the damage he had done to Strasburg^d.

Notwithstanding this accommodation, he renewed his intrigues, in conjunction with Theodoric, duke of Lorraine, and publicly committed cruel outrages against some of the emperor's adherents in that duchy; so that Henry, in order to put a stop to these disorders, assembled a diet of the Lorraine noblemen at Thionville, where it was resolved to raze the castle of Mulsberg on the Rhine, and other precautions were taken to interrupt the junction and correspondence of two such powerful opposers.

In the midst of these deliberations, the emperor was informed of the commotions by which Italy was agitated. The people of Lombardy, determined to shake off the German yoke, had chosen Hardouin, marquis of Ivrea, king of Italy; but this election was declared null and void by Arnold, archbishop of Milan, who intended that no king of Lombardy should be chosen without his consent; and, in an assembly of bishops and abbots, decreed the crown to Henry, to whom he instantly sent deputies with an account of the transaction, conjuring him to come without delay, and deliver the Italians from the tyranny of the usurper. In consequence of these solicitations, Henry sent a body of troops, under the command of Otho, duke of Carinthia; but Hardouin, having secured the passes of the Alps, attacked them with fifteen thousand men, in a confined place, where they could not be extended or drawn up in line of battle; and, after a very obstinate engagement, obtained a complete victory^e.

Commutations in Italy.

The emperor, though very much mortified at this misfortune, could not quit Germany, where he was detained by fresh disturbances. Boleslaus, duke of Bohemia, being a weak and worthless prince, the king of Poland resolved

A.D. 1004.

Conquests of the king of Poland.

^d Guillim. de Epif. Argent. p. 50.

^e Sigon. de Reg. Ital.

to seize this favourable conjuncture of retrieving Cracovia, of which his dominions had been dismembered by the father of Boleslaus. With this view he besieged and took the town by assault; then pillaged Silesia, and penetrated to the heart of Moravia, destroying the whole country with fire and sword. He afterwards invaded Lusatia, and made himself master of Meissen; while Boleslaus, instead of taking measures to oppose his progress, wallowed in riot and debauchery, and committed such acts of oppression, that his subjects revolted. They chose in his room Wladowic, a prince of the ducal house of Bohemia, who actually received the investiture of the duchy from the emperor; but he dying soon after his election, the Bohemians supplied his place with Jaromir, brother of Boleslaus, without the consent or approbation of the Polish king, who was so much incensed at their presumption, that he re-established the banished duke by force of arms. This worthless prince, being now again in quiet possession of his dominions, invited his principal noblemen to a banquet, where they were cruelly murdered: his subjects, exasperated at this act of barbarity, complained to the king of Poland; who, on pretence of adjusting the difference between him and his people, proposed a conference, in the midst of which all the duke's attendants were assassinated, his own eyes were put out, and he was sent prisoner to the frontiers of Poland, while the king repaired to Prague, where he was joyfully received by the Bohemians, as their deliverer and protector.

*An association
against
Henry.*

Although Henry was not a little chagrined at these revolutions, he did not pretend to treat the king of Poland as an usurper, but demanded that he would do him homage for Bohemia, and the other conquests he had made of the fiefs of the empire. To this demand he sent no definitive answer. The emperor being informed that he had entered into a secret association against him, with Hezelo de Schewinfurt, marquis of Franconia, Ernest, duke of Suabia, and Henry's own brother, Bruno, bishop of Augsburg, he convoked a diet at Mersbourg, and in consequence of the deliberations of that assembly, raised an army of Bavarians, Lorrainers, and Franks, with which he entered Franconia, took the town of Martelau, and other strong places, which were dismantled, compelled Hezelo to fly for protection to the Polish king, and ordered Ernest, who was taken prisoner in the course of the campaign, to be beheaded ^f.

^f Barre, tom. iii. p. 546.

These disturbances being quelled, Henry ordered the Saxon and Thuringian troops to march against the Slaves of Holstein, who had revolted at the instigation of the king of Poland, pillaged the country between the Oder and the Elbe, and threatened Saxony with fire and sword; while their allies, the Polish troops, made frequent irruptions into Bavaria. The emperor having repelled these barbarians, ravaged Holstein, secured the frontiers with proper garrisons, and, at his return to Mersebourg, was reconciled to his brother Bruno; at the same time he pardoned Hezelo, at the intercession of the archbishop of Mentz and the duke of Saxony; but, in order to prevent the bad consequences of such a turbulent genius, he ordered him to be confined in the citadel of Givinkenstein, under the care of the archbishop of Magdeburg ².

The Slaves revolt.

In the course of this year, Stephen, duke of Hungary, who had married the emperor's sister Gisella, and converted a great part of his subjects to the Christian religion, received from pope John XIX. the title of king and apostle; and his dominions were divided into ten bishopricks, of which Strigonia was appointed metropolitan, though, as yet, the idolaters of that country were much more numerous than the Christians.

Henry being strongly solicited, by the archbishop of Milan, to march against Hardouin, set out for Italy by the way of Bavaria, where he had the satisfaction of seeing Henry of Luxemburg, his brother-in-law, elected duke by the states or parliament of that province: then, leaving his wife Cunegunda to the care of the archbishop of Magdeburg, he passed the Alps, and marched towards Verona. Hardouin retired at his approach, while he proceeding to Pavia, was there crowned king of Lombardy by the archbishop of Milan; but Hardouin having some partizans in the town, they inflamed the populace to such a degree, with artful insinuations, that the whole city was involved in tumult. One party ran to the palace, in order to destroy the emperor, whom they loudly reviled as a tyrant and usurper; while another secured the gates against the imperial troops, which were encamped without the walls. The Germans, who were within the city, assembled for the defence of their sovereign, repulsed the seditious Pavians from the palace, while the soldiers in the camp, understanding the nature of the commotion, scaled the walls in great numbers, and committed a terrible slaughter in the streets, until the emperor commanded them

A.D. 1005.

Henry passes the Alps, and is crowned at Pavia.

² Annal. Sax. p. 639.

to desist, and retired to the fortress of St. Peter. Thither the principal inhabitants repaired in a body, to implore his clemency, and lay the blame of the sedition on a few partizans of Hardouin, who had practised upon the ignorance of the vulgar. He generously accepted of their apology, observing that mercy was his favourite virtue, and that he would much rather find their obedience the result of affection than the consequence of fear ^h.

*He returns
to Ger-
many.*

Having quelled the commotion, and received the submission of the other towns of Lombardy by their deputies, he repaired to Milan, where he found the inhabitants quiet, and in appearance devoted to his service; and from thence he returned to Germany, by the country of the Grisons, punishing delinquents, and enacting salutary laws and regulations in the countries through which he passed. In his progress through the provinces, he convened an assembly of bishops and nobility at Dortmund, in Westphalia, for the reformation of abuses both in church and state; and acquired such a character for generosity, justice, and moderation, that people came from all the neighbouring nations to settle in the empire. As Boleslaus, king of Poland, still continued in possession of Bohemia, and set Henry at defiance, the emperor, having declared war against that prince, by the advice of an assembly convoked at Mersebourg, marched against the usurper, whom he expelled from that duchy, and entered Prague in triumph, where he established Jaromir, brother of their former duke Boleslaus; and gave orders for releasing Hezelo, marquis of Franconia, at the desire of a minister, who solicited his liberty in a pathetic address from the pulpit. Then he assembled his nobles at Magdeburg, where it was resolved to prosecute the war, with the utmost vigour, against the king of Poland, who continued to make incursions as far as the river Sala, in Misnia; and, in consequence of that resolution, he passed the Elbe with an army of Saxons. After a fatiguing march, he found the enemy encamped between the rivers Tober and Oder, and crossing the first of these in the night, fell upon them with such fury, that they were entirely defeated ⁱ. Boleslaus, being no longer able to keep the field, sued for peace; which being granted, Henry returned to Saxony, and severely punished some Selaves, who had interrupted the public peace in his absence.

*Establishes
Jaromir in
Prague.*

A.D. 1006.

*Pursues the
Poles into
their own
country.*

It was now that he put in execution the scheme he had formed of erecting Bamberg into a bishoprick; which was confirmed by the pope, on condition that the bishop should

^h Barre, ubi supra.

ⁱ Annal. Boic. p 375.

hold it of the holy see, and pay a yearly acknowledgement of a hundred silver marks, and a horse completely caparisoned: but the bishop of Wurtzburg opposing the erection, as an establishment that would dismember his diocese, Henry assembled a council at Frankfort upon the Main, where he prostrated himself before the bishops and prelates, who, to the number of thirty-five, subscribed the confirmation of his holiness^k.

*Council at
Frankfort.*

Boleslaus, weary of the peace, endeavoured, by false insinuations, to decoy Stephen, king of Hungary, into an alliance against the emperor; but that project miscarrying, he fell upon the Prussians, or Borussians, a savage people, who, migrating from the source of the Tanais, had settled in the deserts between Poland and the Baltic, where they lived in the utmost barbarity, feeding on horse-flesh, and worshipping serpents: yet they must have possessed something worth having, as the Poles found their account in plundering the country.

A. D. 1007.

*The Poles
invade
Prussia.*

About this period, Otho, duke of Low Lorrain, and last known descendent of Charlemagne, being dead, Henry bestowed the duchy upon Godfrey, count of the Ardennes. This donation gave umbrage to Albert, count of Namur, and Lambert, brother of the count of Mons, who had married sisters of the late duke, and were now patronized by the king of France, who wanted to revive his pretensions upon Lorrain. They were likewise supported by Baldwin, count of Flanders, who began hostilities in their favour, and took Valenciennes, and other places upon the Scheld, belonging to Low Lorrain. Henry, incensed at these outrages, assembled an army, and marched into Flanders, where he made a fruitless attempt upon Ghent; but he ravaged the country, and carried off a number of the nobility; so that Baldwin was fain to submit, and was pardoned on condition that he would restore Valenciennes, defray the expences of the war, and give hostages for his future fidelity^l.

A. D. 1008.

*Troubles of
Low and
High Lorrain.*

At the same time High Lorrain was involved in trouble and confusion, on account of the bishoprick of Metz, which was usurped by Theodoric, brother of the empress Cunegunda; while another brother, called Adalberon, ambitious of obtaining the archbishoprick of Triers, opposed Meringaude, who was nominated to that see by the emperor. But these usurpers were furnished with troops by Frederic, count de Luxemburg, and chiefly supported by

^k Concil. tom. ix. p. 784.

^l Annal. Flandric. lib. ii.

their own brother Henry, duke of Bavaria, who was, for his rebellious behaviour, put to the ban of the empire.

A.D. 1010.

*Commutations
in Saxony.*

While the emperor was employed in appeasing the troubles of Lorraine, Saxony was violently agitated by new commotions, excited by a quarrel between Herman, son of Ek-kard, count of Thuringia, and Guncelin, marquis of Misnia, which last, in an assembly of the Saxon noblemen, being convicted of having begun the hostilities, and of having engaged in secret connections with Boleslaus, king of Poland, the declared enemy of the empire, Henry divested him of his dominions, which were given to his rival, and committed him as a prisoner to the care of Arnold, bishop of Halberstadt. His brother Bruno promised to deliver the town of Meisen to Boleslaus, who sent his troops thither for that purpose; but they were repulsed by the garrison, whom their commander could not corrupt, and next day Herman entered and took possession ^m.

A.D. 1011.

*The impe-
rial troops
ravage
Silesia.*

The emperor resolving to chastise Boleslaus for his clandestine practices, sent an army against him, under the command of Jaromir, duke of Bohemia, who advanced into Silesia, besieged Glogaw, and ravaged the open country; while Henry fortified Lebus, on the frontiers of Brandenburg and Poland, by which means he was master of the Oder, and in a condition to hinder Boleslaus from making irruptions into Lusatia and Brandenburg.

Then he assembled a diet at Coblentz, in order to do justice upon the rebellious bishops of Metz and Triers, and their brother the duke of Bavaria, who some time after came in person to Aix la Chapelle, where they threw themselves at his feet, implored his clemency, and were taken into favour ⁿ.

A.D. 1012.

*Henry
wants to
abdicate
the throne.*

The emperor, fatigued with these incessant troubles, cloyed with success, sick of human grandeur, and charmed with the tranquillity of a monkish life, entertained thoughts of abdicating the empire, and becoming a canon of Strasburgh; but these sentiments were combated by the princes of the empire, who represented the necessity of his continuing upon the throne for the common good of Germany, in such eager remonstrances, that he acquiesced, and contented himself with founding a rich prebend, the possessor of which was called King of the Choir. By this time Boleslaus had surprised and destroyed the town of Lebus, so that Henry was obliged to march against him; but the Pole leaving part of his troops with his son Meceslaus,

^m Chron. Sax. p. 416.
1012.

ⁿ Chron. Sax. apud Leibnitz, ad ann.

whom the emperor defeated, retired with the rest to make himself master of Bohemia, from whence Jaromir had been expelled by his subjects, on account of his cruelty and oppressive reign. Accordingly the Pole pillaged the country, and besieged Prague, which surrendered to his arms; while Jaromir fled for protection to Henry, by whose assistance Othalic, the son of Jaromir, was put in possession of the duchy, at the desire of the Bohemians, who detested the father, whom the emperor sent into exile at Utrecht. As for Boleslaus, having interested himself in a quarrel between the duke of Russia and his son, he resolved to support the latter by force of arms; but being afraid of leaving his kingdom unfurnished, while at variance with the emperor, he solicited Henry for peace, which was granted, after he had done homage for his dominions °.

Othalic is created duke of Bohemia.

A.D. 1013.

Boleslaus sues for peace.

During these transactions the Slaves revolted, and ravaged the northern banks of the Oder with fire and sword, under their prince Mestiwoi, who had been affronted by Theodoric, marquis of Eastern Saxony; but Henry was obliged to leave the care of this war to the diet convened at Gruningen, because his own presence was become necessary in Italy, in order to repress the insolence of Hardouin, who had reassumed the authority in his absence, and reigned without control. He therefore assembled an army, repassed the Alps of the Tyrol, defeated Hardouin on the frontiers of the Veronese, and, proceeding to Rome, was crowned with his wife Cunegunda, by pope Benedict VIII. who asked him on the steps of St. Peter's, if he would always preserve his fidelity to him and his successors; and was answered in the affirmative °.

A.D. 1014.

Henry is crowned at Rome.

Immediately after this ceremony he founded a bishoprick at Bobio, where St. Columban died, made some regulations at Pavia, and having appeased the troubles of Lombardy, set out on his return to Germany. In passing through Burgundy he visited the abbey of Clugni, where he was received as an associate, and afterwards desired he might be entered as a monk in the abbey of St. Vall, at Verdun; upon which occasion the abbot received him as a brother, on condition he should obey him in all things, and then very prudently commanded him to continue at the helm of government.

Returns to Germany.

In obedience to this order he determined to bear the toils of empire. He quelled some disturbances in Suabia, and afterwards convoked a diet at Merisburg, where Boleslaus, being accused of having violated the treaty, and favoured

° Barre, tom. iii. p. 582.

° Murat. Anecd. tom. ii. p. 204.

A.D. 1017. the revolt of Hardouin, was summoned to appear before the states of the empire. Instead of obeying this call, the king of Poland began to levy troops, and endeavoured to engage the duke of Bohemia in his interest; and the emperor passing the Elbe with an army, attacked and defeated the son of Boleslaus. This war continued some time with various success; and, at length, was terminated by a treaty of peace, concluded at Bautzen, at the earnest supplication of Boleslaus, who obliged himself to pay an annual tribute to the emperor for Poland and Moravia.

The king of Poland violates the treaty.

Rodolphus III. implores the emperor's protection.

After the ratification of this treaty, Henry repaired to Basil, where he was visited by Rodolphus III. king of Transjurane Burgundy, who, being insulted by his own subjects, on account of his effeminacy, came to implore the emperor's protection, and even ceded to him all his dominions. In consequence of this deed, Henry made a progress through the kingdom which he had thus obtained; but the people were so exasperated at the condescension of Rodolphus, that he was extremely ill received, and had the mortification to be refused admittance into several towns; so that, being provoked at these insults, he permitted his troops to ravage the country, and set the villages on fire. His vengeance was afterwards completed by Werner, bishop of Strasburgh, who, with a body of imperial troops, advanced as far as Geneva against the noblemen who had revolted, over whom he obtained a complete victory^a. While the bishop was thus employed, Henry marched into Lower Saxony against duke Bernard, who harassed that province with his tyranny and exactions; but finding himself unable to cope with the emperor, he submitted to his power and correction, and gave sureties for his future behaviour. Henry, having quieted Saxony, repaired to Francfort upon the Main, in the utmost tribulation for the calumnies which began to be circulated against the empress Cunegunda, who, conscious of her innocence, is said to have demanded the trial, and to have undergone the fiery ordeal unhurt^a (A).

The empress Cunegunda passes the fiery ordeal.

A.D. 1019. Although the towns of Lombardy enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity under the emperor's lieutenants; Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria were still exposed to the invasions of the Saracens, who at length fell upon Tuscany, took Euna,

Commotions in Italy.

^a Herman. Contract. ad ann. 1018. ^r Barre, tom. iii. p. 613.

(A) This year is remarkable for the death of Ditmar, bishop of Mersbourg, the famous hi-

storian, who was a Saxon nobleman of the first rank.

and expelled the bishop; but, by the diligence of the pope, who levied forces by land, and armed barks to cut off their retreat, they were defeated and cut in pieces, and their prince, who was taken prisoner, afterwards beheaded, for insulting his holiness. But the occasional invasions of those pirates were not of such consequence to Italy as the troubles occasioned by the domination of the Greeks, who still possessed part of Apulia and Calabria, which were governed by an officer called Catapan, appointed by the emperors of Constantinople. The people, harrassed by the exactions of this lieutenant, took to their arms, under the command of Mello, prince of Bari, with a view to expel the Greeks; who having received a strong reinforcement from Constantinople, threatened the revoltors with death and destruction. Mello finding himself incapable of op-

The pope repairs to Bamberg.

posing such a formidable power, had recourse to the assistance of the Normans, who now began to appear in this part of the world, and who served him so effectually, that he defeated the Greeks in a pitched battle; but these being again reinforced, were victors in their turn, so that Mello, and even pope Benedict fled to Germany, in order to implore the protection of the emperor, who then resided at Bamberg^s.

Henry II. though extremely well disposed to succour Italy, was for some time detained, by certain feuds which had broke out between the princes of the empire; but, in the mean time, at the desire of his holiness, he, by a fresh edict, confirmed the laws which he had formerly enacted at Pavia, and convoked an assembly at Aix la Chapelle, to adjust the measures for the expedition. All the troubles of Germany being appeased, and the necessary preparations made for the occasion, he set out for Italy, marching along the coast of the Adriatic, and sent a detachment of eleven thousand men, under the command of Poppo, archbishop of Triers, who penetrated into the country of the Marses, now called Abruzzo, while Pelegrin of Cologne marched directly to Rome, to secure the persons of Pandolphus, prince of Capua, and Athenulphus, abbot of Monte Cassino, who had joined the Greeks in the pope's absence. The abbot hearing of their approach, embarked at Otranto for Constantinople, and perished by shipwreck: Pandolphus surrendering himself, was brought to the emperor's camp, tried, condemned, and pardoned, at the intercession of Pelegrin. Henry was then employed in besieging the town of Troja in Apulia, which surrendered at discretion, after having been reduced to extremity; he

Henry marches into Italy.

A D. 1021.

A D. 1023.

^s Annal. de l'Empire, tom. ii. p. 169.

*He reduces
Apulia
and Calabria.*

afterwards reconquered all the places which the Greeks had taken in his absence, subdued the provinces of Calabria and Apulia, which were obliged to give hostages for their fidelity, bestowed the principality of Capua on the count de Feana, furnished the nephews of Mello with troops to drive the Greeks from Bari; gratified his own followers with considerable rewards; appointed a new abbot of Monte Cassino; and, his army being considerably diminished by sickness, returned to Germany, leaving Italy to the enjoyment of that peace which he had established^t.

*Has an interview
with Robert, king
of France,*

Although Henry's reign had been generally prosperous, the incessant troubles of Germany had kept him in such continual agitation, that, till this period, he never could enjoy that tranquillity which seems to have been the constant object of his wish: but now that he had appeased all the disturbances in his dominions, he resolved to reap the fruits of his labours in quiet. Being desirous of living on an amicable footing with his neighbours, he had an interview with Robert, king of France, in which these two princes contracted a particular friendship for each other, and concerted measures for reforming the abuses which had crept into their dominions. This conference, at that time called the meeting of the two saints, was the last remarkable transaction of Henry's life; for, soon after his return, he died at Grone, in the month of July, after a prosperous reign of twenty-two years^u (B). He was surnamed the *Lame*, the *Holy*, and the *Hungarian Apostle*, having derived the first of these appellations from an impediment in walking, and the other two from his devotion and liberality to the church.

A.D. 1024.

^t Glaber, lib. iii. cap. 1. Chron. Cassin. cap. 42. ^u Barre, tom. iii p. 627. Hen. Bod. Syntag. ex Meibom. p. 499. Gob. Perf. Cosmod æt. 6. cap. 52. p. 229.

(B) Finding his end approaching, he sent for the parents of the empress, and, in the presence of many bishops and abbots, addressed himself to them in these words. "I restore your daughter a virgin, as I received her from your hands." A very strange declaration from the mouth of a husband; but, it seems, both had made a vow of chastity, which, by-the bye, was extremely ridiculous (1).

(1) Annal. de l'Empire, tom. i. p. 170.

S E C T. III.

Containing a Detail of the German Affairs, continued to the Accession of Frederic Barbarossa.

CONRAD II. surnamed the Salic.

GREAT disputes ensued upon the death of Henry of Bavaria, about the nomination of a successor to the empire : at length the princes and states assembling in the open fields, between the cities of Mentz and Worms, elected Conrad, duke of Franconia, surnamed the Salic, because he was born on the banks of the river Sala (D). The chief care of this new emperor was employed in re-establishing justice, chastising vice, and rewarding virtue.

Conrad II. chosen emperor.

The Lombards revolting in the third year of his reign, he marched into Italy, and having reduced the rebels by force of arms, went to Rome, where, on Easter-day, he was consecrated, and crowned emperor by pope John XX. with great solemnity, being accompanied by Canute, king of Denmark and England, and Rodolphus III. king of Transjurane Burgundy^a. He had not been many days at Rome, when he was obliged to return into Germany, on account of some insurrections ; but before he attempted to quell them, he took care that his son Henry, at that time about twelve years of age, should be declared his successor, and solemnly crowned at Aix la Chapelle. Then he took the field against the authors of the rebellion, who were Ernest, duke of Suabia, Albert, duke of Carinthia, and his own cousin Conradin, duke of Worms. Having defeated them in several engagements, in one of which Ernest was slain, after having been put to the ban of the empire (E), he made the rest prisoners, and brought them to

A.D. 1027.

Causes his son Henry to be declared his successor, and crowned at Aix la Chapelle.

^a Barre, tom. iii. p. 643. Sigon. lib. viii. p. 194.

a trial

(D) At this election, besides and Zealand ; Enno, duke of Franconia ; and Ulric, duke of Bohemia (1).

(E) Ban originally signified banner, afterwards an edict, and, lastly, a declaration of outlawry, the form of which was this ; " We declare thy

(1) Heiss, liv. ii. chap. vii.

wife

a trial before a general assembly of all the princes and members of the empire, who, by a solemn decree, deprived them of their dominions.

*Marches
against Mi-
sico, king of
Poland,
who sur-
renders at
discretion.*

This war being happily concluded, he turned his arms against Misico, king of Poland, who had, without his consent, assumed the name and quality of king, and by severe usage compelled his own brother Otho to fly into Germany, and implore the emperor's protection. Conrad complied with his request, and put him at the head of an army, which he himself afterwards reinforced in person: then marching against Misico, they drove him to such extremity, that he was fain to take shelter with Othalric, duke of Bohemia. This prince, in defiance of all the rights of hospitality, offered to deliver up his guest to the emperor, who rejected the proposal with disdain, and conveyed the letter to Misico, whom he advised to choose another asylum. The unfortunate prince, sensibly touched with this instance of generosity, repaired to the camp of the emperor, laid aside his robes and ensigns of royalty, threw himself at his feet, and surrendered at discretion. Conrad accepted of his submission, and restored his dominions, on the same terms on which his father Boleslaus had possessed them; while Othalric, struck with his magnanimity, laid down his arms and sued for peace ^b.

A.D. 1030.

*Poland is
dismember-
ed.*

As for Otho, he was reconciled to his brother, and honoured with the title of duke; but being afterwards assassinated, the emperor, who suspected Misico of the murder, divided Poland into three provinces, one of which he left in the king's possession, and the other two were put under the care of Polish governors, who were attached to the interests of the empire. This division was the source of new revolutions that happened to Poland; for the governors, taking advantage of Misico's weakness and want of popularity, began to act as sovereigns, and at length declared themselves independent; so that Silesia was dismembered from the Polish dominions; and Moravia was retrieved by Othalric, duke of Bohemia.

A.D. 1032.

But this prince, notwithstanding such an accession to his dominions, had well nigh been ruined by the indiscretion of his son Brztilaus, who had carried off and married Judith, the daughter of count Albert Otho, surnamed the Sincere. The father, exasperated at this outrage, complained in a

^b Heise, lib. ii.

wife a widow, thy children orphans, and send thee, in the name of the devil, to the four corners of the earth."

most

most pathetic manner to the emperor, who forthwith entered Bohemia with an army, to take vengeance upon the ravisher; and an obstinate battle would have ensued, had not Judith, like one of the Sabine women, interposed between the two hosts, and by her charms and intreaties effected a peace, which was concluded in the tent of Conrad, at whose feet Brztilaus threw himself, and was immediately forgiven^c.

War in Bohemia.

This treaty being concluded, the emperor marched into Saxony against the Lutizians, a people inhabiting the duchy of Mecklenbourg, who lived in Pagan ignorance, and made incursions into the territories of the empire. As they had committed flagrant outrages in Saxony, he pursued them to their own country, which he laid waste with fire and sword; put a great number of them to death, in revenge for the sacrilege and barbarities they had been guilty of, and imposed a considerable tribute upon their nation^d.

Incursions of the Lutizians.

This war was succeeded by another with Stephen, king of Hungary, who, having demanded the duchy of Bavaria in right of his wife, sister and heiress of Henry II. and met with a refusal from Conrad, attempted to do himself justice by force of arms. The emperor, without waiting for an invasion, entered Hungary with a powerful army, desolating the country with fire and sword; and Stephen, finding himself unable to withstand him, made his submission, and subscribed to the terms of peace which Conrad was pleased to impose. Nor was the emperor less fortunate in the termination of his difference with Eudes, count of Champagne. Rodolphus, king of Transjurane Burgundy, had left Conrad his heir, in consideration of his having married Gisela his younger sister: but Eudes, count of Champagne, and son of Bertha, who was the eldest sister of Rodolphus, resolved to have his share in the succession. With that view he maintained a bloody war against the emperor, who at length gained a battle near Bar-le-duc, in which the count was slain^e.

His expedition against Stephen, king of Hungary, and Eudes, count of Champagne.

By his death Conrad obtained peaceable possession of all Transjurane Burgundy, and at Soleurre held an assembly of the bishops and noblemen, who took the oath of allegiance, and acknowledged his son Henry III. as his successor in that kingdom.

A.D. 1034.

While the emperor was employed in taking possession of this fair inheritance, Misico, king of Poland, died, and his son Casimir being too young to manage the reins of govern-

Rebellion in Poland, which is invaded by the duke of Bohemia.

^c Epitom. Rer. Bohem. tom. iii. cap. i.
^e Chron. Slav. lib. i. cap. xviii.

^d Helmold. in
^e Sigebert. ad ann. 1033.

ment, his mother Rieliza assumed the regency. She governed with such indiscretion, that the subjects revolted, and she and her son were obliged to fly to Magdeburg in Lower Saxony, with all the jewels and treasure which had been amassed by the two preceding kings.

Brztislaus, duke of Bohemia, profiting by these intestine disturbances, entered Poland, ravaged the country, made himself master of Breslau, Posen, Uladislaw, and even of the capital Gesna, from which he carried off an immense booty.

A.D. 1035.

Conrad, who had received queen Rieliza with great hospitality, pretended to dispose of the treasure which his vassal, the duke of Bohemia, had got; and his demand being rejected, he advanced into Bohemia with a body of troops, at sight of which Brztislaus submitted. As for young Casimir, he took the habit of a monk at Cluny; but the Poles, tired of living in anarchy, sent deputies to the pope, who granted a dispensation; in consequence of which he was released of his vows, and ascended the throne of his ancestors f.

A.D. 1038.

He is recalled into Italy by a revolt of the bishop of Milan.

Having thus adjusted his affairs on this side the Alps, and seen his son Henry married to Gonilda, daughter of Canute, king of England, he was recalled into Italy, by a new revolt of several cities and noblemen, headed by Herbert, bishop of Milan, whom he had loaded with favours. His march was so sudden and unexpected, that Milan was in a manner retaken by surprize, and the bishop falling into his hands, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But, besides this rebellion, he had another errand into Italy, which was to comply with a decree of the electors, importing, that every emperor should go and be crowned at Milan and Modena, in order to make a distinction between the kingdoms of Lombardy and Italy.

A.D. 1039.

Is seized with the gout and dies at Utrecht.

After all these expeditions he repaired to Rome, where he received the benediction of pope Benedict IX. who had succeeded John XXI. Then he returned into Germany, where he was seized with the gout in his legs, and died suddenly at Utrecht, in the fifteenth year of his reign, after having approved himself a generous, just, able, and magnanimous prince (G). His body was deposited in the

f Du Glas, Hist. Polon. n. 191.

(G) All those who distinguished themselves in his service, received marks of his generosity: among others, a gentleman who had the misfortune to lose a leg, was gratified with

cathedral church of Spire, which he himself had built, together with a superb palace for his ordinary residence ^g.

H E N R Y III.

HENRY III. surnamed the Black, son of Conrad and Gisella of Suabia, was elected in consequence of his father's recommendation, and crowned at Aix la Chapelle by Philigrino, archbishop of Cologne.

A.D. 1040.

Is succeeded by his son Henry III.

A D. 1043.

Brztislaus, duke of Bohemia, refusing to pay him the tribute which was due, he invaded his dominions, and obliged him to submit. Then he turned his arms against Ovo, who had usurped the crown of Hungary, and having driven him out of the kingdom, restored it to Peter, from whom it had been unjustly taken: but finding him extremely odious to his subjects, who declared, they would rather die than yield obedience to such a cruel tyrant, he bestowed the crown upon a nephew of king Stephen, who had retired to the court of Bohemia. This young prince was likewise expelled by the people, who were strongly attached to Ovo, and who, not content with his expulsion, entered Austria and Bavaria, pillaging and destroying the whole country.

who reduces Brztislaus and Ovo.

The emperor, incensed at their presumption, marched into Hungary with a considerable army; and Ovo being unable to withstand his power, sued for peace, which he obtained on the following conditions: that he should pay forty talents of gold to the empire, indemnify Austria and Bavaria for the damage they had sustained by the irruption of the Hungarians, and release all the prisoners^h. Next year, however, Henry received such complaints of Ovo's cruelty and rapacity, that he again entered Hungary, defeated him in a pitched battle on the river Raab, took possession of Alba Regalis, where he was acknowledged as sovereign of the kingdom by the states, assembled for that purpose, and afterwards reconciled them to their old prince Peter, who, being re-established in his kingdom, did homage for it to the emperor. As for Ovo, he endeavoured to excite fresh commotions after Henry's departure; but being abandoned by his adherents, he retired to Transylvania, where he was apprehended and brought to Peter, who, by

^g Gob. Perf. Cosmod. æt. vi. Glab. Rodolph. lib. iv. Hen. Bod. Syntag. ex Meib. pag. 500. ^h Adlzreitter, Annal. Boi. Gent. pag. 411.

as many pieces of gold as one of his boots would contain, were given to defray the expence of his cure (1). which the emperor told him

(1) Heiss, lib. ii. cap. viii.

the advice of his noblemen, condemned him to be beheaded.

Rome had been some time distracted by different factions, particularly those of the counts of Tusculum and the Ptolemei. The first of which had thrust Benedict IX. into the papacy, who, having continued some time in the chair, was deposed by the Ptolemei and the people, who had substituted in his place Silvester III. but, in three months, this antipope was deposed in his turn by the Tusculti, and his rival re-established. Benedict, however, finding himself universally hated, voluntarily resigned in favour of John, archpriest of the Roman church; and soon after, repenting of his resignation, wanted to re-assume his former dignity. These three popes, supported by their several partisans, maintained themselves, each upon a different branch of the revenues belonging to the holy see, one residing at St Peter's, another at Santa Maria Maggiore, and the third in the palace of the Lateran, and all of them living in the most profligate and scandalous manner. During this triumvirate, a certain priest called Gratian, partly by artifice, and partly by presents, prevailed upon all three to renounce their pretensions to the papacy; and the Romans, out of gratitude to the man who had delivered the church from such a terrible schism, chose him pope under the name of Gregory VI¹.

A.D. 1046.

Quiets the troubles of Rome, which had been distracted by the factions of these pretenders to the papacy.

The emperor taking umbrage at this election, in which he had not been consulted, marched with an army into Italy, was crowned at Milan by the archbishop; then repaired to Placentia, where he was visited by pope Gregory VI. and afterwards convened a council at Sutri, in which the resignation of the three popes was confirmed, Gregory VI. deposed, and, by consent of the Romans as well as Germans, the papal chair was filled with Heideger, bishop of Bamberg, who assumed the name of Clement II. and afterwards put the imperial crowns on the heads of Henry, and Agnes, his empress (H).

This ceremony being performed, and the Romans having sworn they would never for the future choose a pope without having sent previous notice to the reigning emperor, Henry went to visit the monastery of Monte Cassino, which received valuable marks of his favour: from thence he pro-

¹ Othon. Frisingen. lib. ii. cap. xxxii.

(H) Agnes was daughter of William, duke of Poitou (1).

(1) Glab.

ceeded to Capua, where he was visited by the Norman princes, whom he confirmed in the possession of Apulia and Calabria, which they had conquered from the Greeks; but when he expressed a desire of seeing Beneventum, he was refused admittance; nor could he at that time punish the inhabitants for the insult, as he had already sent the best part of his troops to Germany with the empress. However, he prevailed upon the pope, who was along with him, to excommunicate the Beneventines, and bestowed the city and its dependencies, as fiefs of the empire, upon the Norman princes, in case they should subdue them by force of arms^k.

Scarce was he returned to Germany from this expedition, when he received the news of Clement's death; and soon after was informed, that a certain bishop of Bavaria, called Stephen, had intruded himself into the chair, under the name of Damasus II. who was also dead, in twenty-three days after his elevation. He learned at the same time, that the Romans, imagining that he would leave to them the care of choosing another pope, had dispatched ambassadors to him for that purpose; but being resolved to preserve his right, he, without waiting for their arrival, nominated one Bruno, a German bishop, who immediately assumed the vestments of the sovereign pontiff. This new pope, who was a modest man, and did not much relish the dignity that had been conferred on him, was, on his journey to Rome, persuaded by one Hildebrand (I), a monk, belonging to the abbey of Cluny, that he ought not to wear his pontificals until he should be elected at Rome, the emperor alone having no right to create a pope. Accordingly Bruno went thither as a private man, being ac-

A.D 1048.

*Nominates
Bruno to
the pope-
dom.*

^k Hist. de Conquetes des Normans, pag. 32.

(I) Hildebrand is said to have been a carpenter's son, who in amusing himself with little pieces of wood, formed, by supernatural instinct, these words. *Dominabor a mari usque ad mare*; which being perceived by a priest, he looked upon the child as a chosen vessel, and persuaded his father to bestow learning upon him. He was afterwards employed as a scribe, or secretary, by the emperor, before whom he appeared in a dream, having two horns that reached up to heaven, with which he overturned his son Henry in the mud. The father shocked at this apparition, sent Hildebrand to prison; from whence he was released by the intercession of the empress, and afterwards became a monk (1).

(1) Gob. Pers. Cosmodi, æt. vi.

companied

A.D. 1054.

Is prevailed upon by Hildebrand to confirm the election of Victor II. whom the Romans had chosen without his privacy or consent.

Subdues Hungary.

accompanied by this same Hildebrand, who had art and influence enough to raise underhand an opposition against him at first, and afterwards to dispose the Romans to favour his election, that he himself might have the sole merit of having raised him to the papal chair. This scheme succeeded to his wish: Bruno, who took the name of Leo IX. believing himself indebted to Hildebrand for his exaltation, favoured him with his confidence and affection; and thus began the intrigues of that famous monk, who managed the Romans with such address, that afterwards, upon the death of Leo, they, at his instigation, chose another pope of their own accord, with a view to detach the right of nomination from the emperor. The person he proposed was Gebhard, bishop of Eichstet, who took the appellation of Victor II. and Hildebrand, foreseeing that Henry would be offended at their presumption, went to him in person as their deputy, when, by his insinuation and address, he prevailed upon him to confirm what they had done¹. Perhaps he would not have found this task so easy, had not Henry been involved in a quarrel with the Hungarians, who had again rebelled against Peter, and set upon the throne his kinsman Andrew, after he had defeated the other, put out his eyes, and sent him to prison, where he died. For these reasons the emperor sent an army against him; and after having worsted him in several engagements, compelled him to sue for peace. This treaty, however, was violated by the usurper, who insulted Henry's ambassadors, and by a sudden irruption ravaged the whole duchy of Bavaria; upon which the emperor took the field again, defeated him in a bloody battle, deprived him of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to accept of peace, on condition that he should pay a large yearly tribute in money, and furnish him with a certain number of fighting men (K).

At this period, Bavaria was agitated by fresh troubles. Conrad, the young duke, governed his subjects with such tyranny and violence, that Gebhard, bishop of Ratisbon, made representations to him on the subject of his miscon-

¹ Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. ix.

(K). Heiss, from I know not what authority, says Henry was unsuccessful in this war, and obliged to abandon the crown of Hungary to the usurper Andrew: but we have followed

the Saxon chronicles in this particular, which are not contradicted by any other history of credit that hath fallen into our hands.

duſt; and the duke being incenſed at the freedom of his remonſtrances, pillaged and ſet on fire the town of Packſtein, which was under the prelate's jurifdiction. Gebelhard complained of this outrage to the emperor, who ſummoned Conrad to appear at Merſbourg, and anſwer to the charge; and he being found guilty, was diveſted of his dominions, which were given to the emperor's ſon Henry, who, in an aſſembly held at Tribur, in the dioceſe of Mentz, was about this time declared king of the Romans and future emperor, though no more than three years of age.

The duke of Bavaria is diveſted of his dominions.

Conrad, thus expelled from his dominions, took ſhelter with the king of Hungary; and being furniſhed with ſome troops, marched into Carinthia, where joining ſome male-content noblemen, who were diſſatisfied with the emperor's deciſion, he made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of that province; but he was ſoon reduced by the forces of the emperor, who compelled him to retreat again into Hungary.

The revolt of Conrad was ſucceeded by the war of Flanders, kindled by count Baldwin, who ſeized the county of Hainault, invaded Lorrain, and plundered Triers, and other towns, ſituated upon the Moſelle. The emperor being empowered by the diet at Aix la Chapelle to retort theſe violences, marched into Flanders, and laid the whole country under contribution: in conſequence of this diversion Baldwin quitted Lorrain, to defend his own territories; and being ſupported by the king of France, protracted the war to the third campaign, when peace was reſtored to Flanders^m.

A.D. 1055.

War of Flanders.

The emperor having taken proper meaſures for the proſecution of this war, followed pope Victor into Italy, and aſſiſted at a council in Florence, where he complained that Ferdinand, ſovereign of Caſtile, Leon, Galicia, Portugal, and Gaſcony, had aſſumed the title of emperor, and reſuſed to do him homage for part of his dominions which he held of the empire. In conſequence of theſe complaints, the pope ſent ambaſſadors to Ferdinand, who, inſtead of complying with his deſire of laying aſide the title of emperor, and doing homage to Henry, raiſed a conſiderable army, which paſſed the Pyrenees, under the command of the celebrated Rodrigo, ſurnamed the Cid, and penetrating as far as Thoulouſe, where the difference was compromiſed by commiſſaries appointed to inveſtigate the pretenſions of both. The king of Caſtile reſigned the title

The emperor repairs to Italy.

^m Sigebert ad an. 1054.

of emperor, and Henry relinquished his right of superiority to the provinces in question ^a.

Henry's sister, Beatrice, widow of Boniface, marquis of Etruria, married Godfrey, a German nobleman, and agreed that her daughter Mathilda, when marriageable, should espouse her husband's son by a former venter. This match, concluded without the consent or knowledge of the emperor, gave such umbrage to that prince, that he resolved to expel Godfrey by force of arms from the dominions of Tuscany; and this last, finding himself unable to cope with such an antagonist, fled to Baldwin, count of Flanders, while his wife, going to justify herself to the emperor, was arrested upon the road, and sent prisoner into Germany.

Henry having made a progress through the different provinces of Italy, concluded an alliance with Contarini, duke of Venice. Then repassing the Alps, he marched into Bavaria, reduced a rebellion which had been raised by the noblemen of that country in favour of Conrad, who was lately dead, and summoned his own uncle Gebehard, bishop of Ratisbon, to the diet, where he was convicted of treason, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment; from which, however, he was soon released.

A. D. 1056.

*The Slaves
make an ir-
ruption into
Saxony.*

Great part of Europe being afflicted with a cruel famine, Henry eased the suffering provinces of their taxes, and ordered corn to be imported from other countries for their relief: but hunger was not the only misfortune his people derived from this calamity. The Slaves of Lusatia, famished in their own country, made an irruption into Saxony, where they obtained a complete victory over the imperial general; and having pillaged the whole province without resistance, returned with a considerable booty: a misfortune which, being aggravated by several public calamities, such as earthquakes, famine, and plague, made a very deep impression upon Henry's mind, overwhelming him with chagrin, and, in all probability, abridging the term of his life.

*His son de-
clared king
of the Ro-
mans.*

About this time he convoked a diet at Goslar, where pope Victor II. was present, and recommending his son, who was about five years of age, to their good offices, they received him as king of the Romans, and his father's successor in the empire ^a.

A. D. 1056.

*Dies at
Burfelt.*

In a few days after this important point was settled to his satisfaction, he fell sick and died at Burfelt, in Saxony, in

^a Orderic Vitalis, lib. iv.

^o Glab. Rad. lib. v. Gob. Pers. æt. vi. Bernard. Cor. Baron. Chron. Magdebürgens. Bremens. An- nal. Paderborn, p. 547.

the thirty-ninth year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign. His body was carried to Spire, and magnificently deposited in the cathedral, whither it was attended by a great number of persons of the first quality (L).

HENRY IV.

HENRY IV. surnamed the Great, succeeded his father when he was no more than five years of age, his education being committed to the care of his mother the empress, who discharged that trust with equal diligence and capacity. He was acknowledged emperor at a diet of the princes convoked at Cologne, where, by the mediation of pope Victor II. who was present at this assembly, Baldwin, count of Flanders, and Godfrey, marquis of Etruria, were reconciled to the empress.

*Henry IV.
succeeds to
the imperial crown.*

During the first years of this reign, Germany was harassed by intestine troubles, occasioned by the quarrels and feuds of private noblemen. The duchy of Suabia being vacant, by the death of Otho de Schweenfurt, the regent bestowed it upon Rodolphus de Rhinfeld, although the late emperor had promised to confer it upon count Berthold; who loudly complained of this unjust preference, and interested his friends in his resentment against the empress queen-mother. The duke of Bohemia was attacked by the king of Poland, who renounced his dependence on the empire: even the Hungarians, who had been so formidable to Germany, were obliged to demand succour against the Poles, and, notwithstanding a reinforcement of imperialists, were defeated; so that king Andrew, with his queen, fled for refuge to Ratibon.

Those wars were not the effects of political views, but generally produced from the effects of petty causes of resentment; insomuch that Thierri, count of Holland, took the field against the bishops of Cologne and Liege, because he had been personally insulted at Liege, for having slain by accident a brother of the archbishop of Cologne, in a tournament P.

*State of
the empire.*

P Chronique de Hollande, &c. p. 150.

(L) Henry III. was first married to Gonilda, or Cunegonda, daughter of Canute, king of England and Denmark; and, after her death to Agnes, by whom he had Henry IV. Conrad, who died in his infancy;

Sophia, married to Solomon, king of Hungary; Mathilda, wife to Rodolphus, count de Rhinfeld, duke of Suabia; and Itho, married to Leopold IV. marquis of Austria (1).

(1) Barre, tom. iv. p. 61.

As for the other nations of Europe, they had no connection with the affairs of Germany; nor was the empire embroiled in any external war; so that those troublesome spirits, which might have been evaporated in defence of the community, were now employed in fomenting divisions at home, and it was not without great difficulty that the regent maintained her authority.

*The em-
press dow-
ager is de-
prived of
the regency.*

At length the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, uncles of the young emperor, together with the archbishop of Cologne, and other princes, carried him off by stratagem from his mother, who was taxed with having sacrificed the welfare of the nation to the will of the bishop of Augsburg, her minister and supposed gallant; and she, being thus divested of the regency, fled to Rome, where she took the veil^a. As for the emperor, he was put under the tuition of the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen; and these two prelates were very assiduous in this employment, which, however, each exercised in a very different manner. Hanno, the archbishop of Cologne, endeavoured to inspire him with the love of learning, and to season his mind with the principles of virtue; but Albert, his colleague, in order to acquire an influence over his passions, and render himself necessary to him in his affairs, indulged him in all his pleasures, and gave full scope to the licence of youth; during which he contracted bad habits, which he could not afterwards restrain^r.

A.D. 1062.

While he remained under the tutelage of his mother, Alexander II. had been raised to the papal chair, without the privity or consent of the emperor, in consequence of a decree of council, called by the sole authority of Nicholas his predecessor, in which it was ordained, that, for the future, the popes should be elected by the curates (now called cardinals) of Rome. The queen-regent, in order to maintain the right of the imperial crown, convoked a diet, in which Alexander was deposed, and another pope elected under the name of Honorius II. This schism gave rise to new troubles in Germany as well as in Italy, where Alexander was supported by Godfrey of Lorrain, who had married Mathilda, heiress of Tuscany, and by that match became one of the most powerful of the Italian princes^s.

A.D. 1072.

*Henry
takes the
reins of go-
vernment
in his own
hands.*

The emperor, at the age of twenty-two, began his administration by restraining the thefts, robberies, and extortions, which his subjects of the duchy of Saxony exercised upon strangers as well as upon one another, in contempt of

^a Annal. de l'Emp. tom. i. p. 185.
Bremenf. ex Meib. p. 233.

^r Chron. Magdeb.
^s Othon. Frising. lib. vi. cap. 44.

his authority, and to the prejudice of the public peace. With a view to facilitate this reformation, he took up his residence among them at Goslar, and ordered several castles to be built and garrisoned, as a check upon the delinquents, and to protect the innocent from insolence and rapine. But as these forts could not be raised without imposing taxes upon the subject, the rich, among the clergy as well as laity, began to murmur, and traverse his design on pretence of defending their liberty; which, they affirmed, he intended to invade. They were besides irritated against him, on account of his debauches, and encouraged to rebellion by pope Alexander II. who, at the earnest sollicitation of Hildebrand, his confident and successor, actually summoned the emperor to appear at Rome, to give an account of his loose life, and answer to the charge of having exposed the investiture of benefices to sale^t.

The emperor having rejected this citation with disdain, the states of Saxony engaged in an association, under the pretext of defending their liberties, and were so bold as to present him with a memorial, containing the following demands: that he should order his new forts and castles in Saxony and Thuringia to be demolished; that he should restore to the owners the lands and moveables, which he had unjustly and forcibly taken away; that he should reinstate Otho, duke of Saxony, in the duchy of Bavaria, from which he had been expelled (M); that he should confirm to the Saxons their ancient laws and immunities; that he should not always reside in one place, but make a progress through different parts of his dominions, to do justice every where, and provide for the necessities of the church, the widow, and the orphan; that he should dismiss the evil counsellors, and govern by the advice of the states and princes, whose interest was inseparably connected with the prosperity of the empire; and that he should dismiss his concubine, and

Is summoned by the pope, and controuled by the states of Saxony.

^t Annal. de l'Emp. tom. i. p. 188.

(M) This Otho had been accused of a design against the emperor's life, and, by a decree of the diet, ordered to appear at Goslar, to maintain his innocence against the accuser in single combat; but he declined the duel, alleging, that his antagonist was his inferior in birth

and quality (1). The author of the Chronic. Magdeburgens. affirms, that Otho was dissuaded from the combat, by his friends, upon information that he was doomed to lose his life at Goslar, whatever might be the issue of the duel.

(1) Heiss, lib. xi. cap. 9.

cohabit with his queen (N). They concluded with assuring him, he should be respected, obeyed, and supported, with their lives and fortunes, provided he would comply with these requests; but, should he persist in his design to oppress them, they were resolved to defend themselves against violence and despotic power".

A.D. 1073.

*They besiege
Goslar.*

To this remonstrance the emperor answered with great coolness, that he would take an opportunity of convoking the diet, which should deliberate and decide upon the subject of their complaints. This reply was so disagreeable to the Saxons, who were not at all disposed to refer themselves to such a tribunal, that they forthwith levied a strong body of forces, with which they invested Goslar; from whence Henry retired in the night, in order to assemble the other states and princes of the empire, who readily assisted him with their troops in this emergency (O). Notwithstanding these succours, which were considerable, he sent a deputation to the Saxons, with proposals of peace; which, while the states assembled at Wurtzburg, were negociated at Gerstingen, upon certain conditions which he promised to fulfil.

Though he was, on this occasion, very much indebted to the good advice and offices of the princes of the empire, he neglected them in points which were no less important, and allowed himself to be swayed by the evil counsels of some particular persons, who had insinuated themselves into his favour. He was a young prince of violent passions, which often hurried him into indiscretions, to the prejudice of his moral character; particularly, his incontinence was so great, that he seldom or never set eyes upon a beautiful young woman without endeavouring to sacrifice her

^u Chron. Magdeb. ex Meib. p. 296. Heifs, Hist. de l'Emp. lib. xi. cap. 9.

(N) He married Bertha, daughter of Otho, marquis of Italy (1).

(O) The association against Henry consisted of Werner, archbishop of Magdebourg; Burchard, bishop of Halberstadt; Henry, bishop of Hildesheim; Werner, bishop of Mersebourg; Heilberg, bishop of Minden;

James, bishop of Paderborn; Frederic, bishop of Mimmergardefurt; Benno, bishop of Misnia; Otho, duke of Saxony; the marquises of Thuringia, Uko, and Dedo; Frederick, count palatine of Saxony, with several counts and other noblemen (2).

(1) Chron. Hildeburg. ex Meib. p. 452. xi. cap. 9.

(2) Heifs, lib.

virtue to his appetite. The vigilance of his wife being an obstruction to his amours, he conceived an unjust antipathy to that unfortunate princess, and even engaged one of his courtiers to undermine her chastity, that he might have a pretence for obtaining a divorce; but her conduct was so blameless and discreet, that his design miscarried, and he in vain solicited the pope to dissolve the marriage, which he said had never been consummated^w.

This misconduct gave such umbrage, that he was abandoned by his best friends and most powerful adherents, even before the dissolution of the assembly which he had convened, and which he dismissed soon after the conclusion of the treaty with the Saxons; betaking himself to Nuremberg, where he proposed to reside. Here he understood, that one of his domestics, called Reginger, had deserted from his service, and informed the dukes of Suabia and Carinthia, that the emperor had tampered with him to assassinate these two noblemen. This report was of infinite prejudice to the emperor; who, finding himself forsaken by almost all his friends in consequence of this malicious calumny, offered to prove his innocence by single combat upon the body of Rodolphus duke of Suabia, who thought proper to refuse the challenge, or at least to refer it to the decision of the princes of the empire (P). Even this condescension was of no effect in his justification, and he found himself so persecuted by his enemies, that he fled for refuge to Worms, where he was hospitably received by the inhabitants, notwithstanding the ill offices of the bishop, who had used all his influence in persuading them to shut their gates against this unfortunate prince*.

While he remained in this city, the princes of the empire assembling at Mentz, in order to deliberate upon the means of depriving him of his crown, and of choosing another emperor in his place, he found means, by secret negotiations, to prevail upon some of them to favour him with a conference at Oppenheim. There he intreated them to excuse the irregularities of his youth, protested that he would for the future behave in a manner suitable to the dignity they had conferred upon him; and, in order to manifest his abhorrence of the crime which was laid to his charge, insisted upon fighting with Reginger himself. The

Henry is deserted by his friends on account of his misconduct;

sends a challenge to the duke of Suabia;

retires to Worms.

He finds means to appease the princes, and acknowledges his fault.

^w Adzlr. p. 444.

^{*} Heifs, ubi sup.

(P) At the same time a gallant cavalier, named Cosheim, Reginger; but Rodolphus interposed, and prevented the begged permission to fight with combat.

propofal was accepted, and a day appointed for the combat; but in the mean time his antagonist difappeared, the princes were appeafed, and Henry enjoyed fome repose (Q).

The Saxons rebel again, but are defeated by Henry.

The Saxons, however, again revolted, and the emperor, affifted by the princes, raifed an army of fixty thoufand men, with which he entered Saxony, ravaging the country, and abandoning the towns to the pillage of his troops. Notwithftanding thefe advantages, he, at the interceffion of fome princes of the empire, granted a favourable peace to the rebels, difbanded his troops, and even trusted his perfon to the Saxons, who conducted him in triumph to Goffar, after having obtained in this treaty almoft every thing they demanded in their former remonftrance. One of the articles of this peace was the demolition of his caftles in Saxony, in the execution of which the peafants not only razed the fuperb feat of Harlefsberg to the ground, but alfo plundered the church belonging to it, destroyed the tombs, and violated the afhes of the dead. The emperor, who was then at Worms, being informed of thefe abufes, took the opportunity of laying his complaints before feveral princes, who were affembled at Bamberg for the celebration of Eaſter, when the archbifhop of Mentz, in the name of the eccleſiaſtics, as well as of Rodolphus, duke of Suabia, Berthold, duke of Carinthia, and other ſecular princes, declared, that, God being offended, and the empire treated with indignity by the authors of that ſedition, they were ready to affiſt him in raiſing forces to reduce and chaſtiſe the rebels. He accordingly began to levy troops, and ſent a formal declaration of war to the ſtates of Saxony affembled at Goffar.

Harlefsberg destroyed, for which Henry declares war againſt the ſtates of Saxony.

A.D. 1075.

He makes himſelf maſter of their country;

Preparations were made on both ſides for the war, the Saxon army being commanded by Otho, duke of Bavaria, who had been proſcribed; and the imperial troops by Henry in perſon, who gave battle to the rebels, and totally defeated them in a bloody engagement; after which he made himſelf maſter of all Saxony, and diſmiſſed his troops, on condition that they ſhould re-aſſemble at Gerſtingen at a certain day, in order to put the finiſhing ſtroke to the war. Mean while he himſelf returned to Worms.

7 Lamb. Schaf. ad. an. 1073.

(Q) He is ſaid to have been carried off by the devil; a very lucky interpoſition for Henry, who (as Heiſs juſtly obſerves)

had conſulted his courage more than his dignity in this propoſal.

During

During this interval, the Saxons endeavoured at an accommodation; which was effected in the next campaign, while both armies were in the field. The chiefs of the rebellion asked pardon of the emperor in public, and begged to be re-admitted into his favour: their submission was accepted, both armies were disbanded, and Henry returned to the city of Worms^z. *and grants a peace.*

But he was not long suffered to enjoy the tranquillity which was thus restored, being exposed to another storm from Italy, which was attended with much more dangerous consequences. Cardinal Hildebrand, upon the death of Alexander II. had been elected pope, by the name of Gregory VII. without the authority or knowledge of the emperor. Henry, hearing of this transaction, had convoked a diet at Mentz, and, by the advice of that assembly, sent an ambassador to Rome, to complain of this encroachment upon his right, and to insist upon Hildebrand's being deposed, unless he would solicit the emperor's confirmation. The pope, finding it his interest to temporize, had received the ambassador with great civility, protesting that the papacy had been forced upon him by the people; but that he had no intention to accept of the honour, without the approbation of the emperor and princes of the diet, having delayed the ceremony of his confirmation until he should have obtained that sanction. *Hildebrand is chosen pope without the knowledge of Henry*

Henry, satisfied with these excuses, had confirmed his election; so that seeing himself firmly established in the chair, and universally acknowledged as pope, he began his pontificate with a number of excommunications levelled against the German princes, ecclesiastic as well as secular; in particular, against the archbishops of Saltzburg and Bremen, and the bishops of Bamberg, Spire, and Strasbourg; because they were either married or publicly kept concubines^a. He moreover excommunicated every ecclesiastic, who should receive his investiture from a laic, together with the laic by whom it should be conferred. This, however, was no more than an experiment, to try the thunder of the holy see; which he intended to launch against the emperor himself. For this purpose, he had sent four legates into Germany to hold a council, the convocation of which was opposed and prevented by the bishops, and their representatives had orders to treat the emperor as an excommunicated person until he should clear himself from the charge of simony, of which he had been accused before the preceding pope. Nay, to such a degree of animosity was he

A.D. 1075.

The pope tampers with the Saxons.

^z Heiss, Hist. de l'Emp.

^a Barr. tom. iv. p. 224.

incensed against Henry, that he employed emissaries among the Saxons, who, by their insinuations, were prevailed upon to send ambassadors to Rome, to complain of the injury they had suffered in the last treaty with the emperor, and to beg that the pope would depose him on account of his immorality and misconduct.

*Henry is
reconciled
to the pope.*

Although Henry had dispersed the league that was formed against him, and restored peace to the empire, he dreaded new revolutions from the intrigues and resentment of the court of Rome; which, in order to avert, he wrote a very submissive letter to the pope, accusing himself of simony and debauchery, and craving the forgiveness of his holiness; who, after having rebuked him for his crimes, commended him for his candour, and absolved him in consequence of his penitence and contrition^b.

His holiness afterwards proposed a crusade, in order to deliver the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, offering to head the Christians in person, and desiring Henry to serve as a volunteer under his command: a project so wild and extravagant, that nothing but the enthusiasm of the times can exempt the memory of the proposer from the imputation of frenzy and delirium.

*Disturbances in
Hungary.*

But this harmony subsisting between Gregory and the emperor was soon interrupted by the disturbances of Hungary, where Solomon had been dethroned by his brother Geyza, and fled for refuge to Henry, by whom he was protected, after having done homage to him for his dominions. Gregory, who favoured Geyza, exclaimed against this act of submission, and wrote a letter to Solomon, giving him to understand, that the kingdom of Hungary belonged to the Roman church, and demanding that he would acknowledge its dependence on the holy see, and not upon the king of Germany.

Gregory, having thus laid the train, sent new legates to the diet of Goslar; which was assembled on account of the German princes, who had been taken prisoners in the last battle; and there, being seconded by the nuncio, they complained, that the emperor still continued to bestow (R) investitures, without having published the decrees of the

^b Aquila Franca, lib. i. p. 176. Annal. de l'Emp. tom. i. p. 192.

(R) Henry IV. enjoyed in common, with almost all other princes, the right of nominating bishops and abbots, and of investing them by the cross and the ring; and though he had

abused this power, by setting benefices to sale, surely the pope had no right to release his subjects from their oath of allegiance,

last council against these investitures, as well as against simony, and the incontinence of the clergy. They then demanded that the princes, who were prisoners, should be set at liberty; that the archbishops and bishops, who were excommunicated, should be deprived of their dignity and estates; and that the emperor should appear at Rome, on the first Sunday of Lent, to answer to the crimes laid to his charge; adding that, if he should fail to yield due obedience to the church, he must expect to be excommunicated and dethroned.

The emperor threatened.

Henry, incensed at this presumptuous declaration from the pope, whom he considered as his vassal, dismissed the legates with very little ceremony, and called an assembly of all the dignified ecclesiastics at Worms; where, after due deliberation, they concluded, that Gregory, having usurped the chair of St. Peter by indirect means, infected the church of God with a great number of novelties and abuses, and deviated from his duty to his sovereign in several scandalous attempts, the emperor, by his supreme authority, derived from his predecessors, ought to divest the pope of his dignity, and appoint another in his place.

A.D. 1076.

He deposes Hildebrand,

In consequence of this resolution, Henry sent an ambassador to Rome, with a formal deprivation of Gregory; who, in his turn, convoked a council, at which were present a hundred and ten bishops, who unanimously agreed, that the pope had just cause to depose Henry, to dissolve the oath of allegiance which the princes and members of the empire had taken in his favour, and to prohibit them from holding any correspondence with him on pain of excommunication; which was immediately fulminated against the emperor and all his adherents.

and is excommunicated.

He knew that this step would be attended with civil wars: he interested the German bishops in his party; the prelates gained over the noblemen; Henry's old enemies, the Saxons, seized this pretext of declaring against him; and even Guelfe, to whom he had given the duchy of Bavaria, supported the malecontents with that wealth which he owed to the emperor's bounty; at last, those very princes and bishops, who had joined in deposing Gregory, gave up their emperor to be tried by the pope, and his holiness was solicited to come to Augsbourg for that purpose.

By this severe sentence, which filled a great part of Christendom with troubles and divisions, and involved Germany in long and bloody wars, the emperor was reduced to such

c Gob. Perf. Cosm. æt. vi. Chron. Magdeburg. Heiss, Hist. de l'Emp. lib. ii.

extremity, that he set out for Italy in the middle of winter, with his wife and son Conrad, an infant, in order to humble himself before the pope, who was then at Canosa, a place belonging to Godfrey and Mathilda (S), of whom mention hath already been made.

The barbarous treatment he received from the pope.

After a journey attended with great fatigue and inconvenience, Henry alone was admitted within the outer gate, and given to understand, that he had no favour to expect, until he should have fasted three days, standing from morning to evening bare-footed among the snow, and then asked pardon of the pope for the offences he had committed. This penance was literally performed; and, on the fourth day, being the 25th of January, he was forgiven, and received absolution.

This extraordinary accommodation gave great disgust to the princes of Italy, who never could forgive the insolence of the pope, nor the abject humility of the emperor. Henry himself was ashamed of his own meanness, which, however, he excused to the Italian cities and states, by representing the cruel necessity to which he had been reduced; and, in order to shew how sensible he was of the outrage he had suffered, he soon after declared himself the pope's mortal enemy ^d.

A.D. 1077.

Henry is deposed.

Gregory's revenge being thus re-inflamed, he exerted himself in embroiling the affairs of Germany, and succeeded so well in his endeavours, that the princes of the empire, under pretext of being discharged from their allegiance to Henry, by the pope's excommunication, deprived that prince

^d Barr. tom. iv. p. 245.

(S) This countess Mathilda was the true cause of all the wars, which, since this period, have raged between the emperors and popes. She, in her own right, possessed great part of Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almost all that is now called the Patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvieto, together with part of Umbria, Spoleto, and the March of Ancona. Her mother, who was sister of Hen-

ry III. had educated this powerful princess in the most implacable hatred towards the family of Henry, by whom she had been maltreated. Mathilda paid the most submissive obedience to pope Gregory, who was her director in all things, and, according to some authors, her gallant: nay, her attachment to him, and her hatred to the Germans, proceeded so far, that she made over all her estates to the pope (1).

(1) Annal. de l'Emp. tom. i. p. 195.

of the sovereign dignity, and in his place elected Rodolphus, duke of Suabia, whom they solemnly crowned at Mentz °.

A.D. 1080.

The emperor, apprised of this deposition, set out from Italy with all imaginable dispatch, and, taking the field with what troops he could assemble, attacked Rodolphus, whom he defeated in a battle fought near Wurtzburg, from which the duke narrowly escaped with his life. Next year, however, he was in a condition to take the field again, and another engagement ensued, in which, after an obstinate dispute, the emperor was a second time victorious, and his adversary entirely overthrown; so that Henry reduced the whole duchy of Suabia, from which he expelled Berthold, the son-in-law of Rodolphus, who had been left for the defence of the country. From this conquest, the emperor proceeded into Saxony, where he understood the partizans of his rival were re-assembling forces, and, giving them battle in the month of January, obtained a third victory, which was decisive †.

Rodolphus elected emperor. Henry takes the field against his rival, whom he defeats.

His enemies, finding themselves unable to cope with him in the field, solicited the pope to excommunicate him a second time; and Gregory, being very well disposed to grant their request, thundered out another sentence against him, confirming at the same time the election of Rodolphus, to whom he sent a crown, on which were engraven these words ‡ (T):

PETRA DEDIT PETRO, PETRUS DIADEMA RODOLPHO.

Henry, in order to defend himself from the bad consequences of this second excommunication, called an assembly of the German bishops at Mentz, where he asked their opinions about this pretended right of the pope to dethrone an emperor, and whether or no he might not, with justice, depose Hildebrand, and appoint another in his room. Nineteen bishops then present, after having maturely considered the affair, proposed that Henry should call in the other bishops to the consultation, to be held at Brixen; where they accordingly met in a national council. Here it was the unanimous opinion of all, Italians as well as Germans, that the pope, instead of having power over the emperor, owed him obedience and allegiance; and that Gre-

Henry calls a national council at Brixen, by which the deposition of Gregory is confirmed and Clement III. chosen pope.

° Hist. Bell. Saxon. p. 135.
tom. iv. p. 294.

† Heiss, ut supra.

‡ Barr.

(T) Schiphowerus, in his Chronicon Oldenburgensium Archicomitum, says, the in-

scription was,
PETRA DEDIT ROMAM PETRO,
TIBI PAPA CORONAM.

gory,

*Rodolphus
dies of a
wound re-
ceived in a
battle a-
gainst the
emperor ;*

gory, having rendered himself unworthy of the papal chair; by his misconduct and rebellion, ought to be deposed from the dignity he so little deserved. On this supposition, those prelates elected, in the room of Hildebrand, cardinal Wilberti, alias Guibert, or Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, a person of unquestioned merit, who assumed the name of Clement III. The emperor promised to put this new pope in a condition to repair to Rome and expel Gregory ; but in the mean time, he was obliged to employ his whole forces to frustrate the new efforts of Rodolphus, who had already re-assembled some troops in Saxony. Henry, therefore, advanced against him with great expedition, and the two armies, engaging near Mersberg, fought with great fury ; the fortune of the day inclining towards Rodolphus, until his hand being cut off by Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorrain, who was in the service of the emperor, the rebels were discouraged by the misfortune of their chief, and gave up the advantage they had gained. That nobleman, perceiving his end approaching, ordered the hand he had lost to be brought to him, and addressing himself to the officers then present, " Behold," said he, " the hand with which I took the oath of allegiance to Henry, which I have violated at the instigation of the court of Rome, in perfidiously aspiring to an honour that was not my due^b." Having pronounced these words with marks of sincere penitence, he expired, and was pompously interred at Mersburg, in Saxony ; his tomb being adorned with the figures of a crown, and other ensigns of royalty. The Saxons being afterwards afraid, that Henry would take umbrage at these honours paid to his rival, would have removed the ornaments ; but were prevented by the emperor, who said he should be glad to see all his enemies as magnificently interredⁱ.

A.D. 1081.

*who afterwards
marches in-
to Italy.
Takes
Rome after
a long siege,
and expels
Gregory ;*

Thus delivered from such a formidable antagonist, he soon dissipated the rest of his party ; and after having, in some measure, composed the disturbances in Germany, set out for Italy, in order to settle Clement in the papal chair ; but, finding the gates of Rome shut against him, he was obliged to attack the city in form, and the siege continued upwards of two years and a half ; at the end of which it was taken by assault, and with difficulty prevented from being plundered, in consideration of a sum of money offered by the inhabitants, with which Henry obliged his soldiers to be satisfied.

^b Chron. Oldenburg. Archicom. ex Meib. p. 135. Chron. Magdeb. ⁱ Krantz. lib. v.

Gregory, dreading no fate so much as that of falling into the hands of Henry, escaped into the castle of Saint Angelo, which was extremely well fortified; and while he defended himself in that retreat, the emperor published the reasons which had induced him to depose Gregory and substitute Clement in his place (U). The Romans acquiesced in his motives, and the new pope, being consecrated with all the usual ceremonies in the church of St. Peter, expressed his gratitude by crowning the emperor on Easter-day, in presence, and with the applause, of the Roman senate and people; who took the oath of allegiance, as usual on such occasions ^k.

Mean while the attacks were still carried on against the castle of St. Angelo; but the emperor being called into Lombardy upon some particular affairs, Guichard duke of Apulia went to Rome in his absence; and having found means to release Gregory from his confinement, conducted him to Salerno, where he died in the course of the following year ^l.

who retires to Salerno.

Germany being re-involved in new troubles, the emperor did not long enjoy the success of this Italian expedition. The Saxons, who were his inveterate enemies, began to re-embroil the empire; and, several other princes joining in the conspiracy, they, at the solicitation of Gregory, elected count Herman of Luxemburg king of the Romans, and marching into Franconia, made war upon those who had adhered to the emperor. Henry, alarmed at these transactions, returned with all possible speed to Germany, where understanding that, in some particular assemblies of the ecclesiastics, several decrees had been made contrary to his interest, in consequence of the excommunications under which he laboured, he called a general assembly at Mentz; where, by the unanimous consent of all the bishops there present, whether Italian, French, or German, the decrees made by Gregory against Henry were annulled, and those of the emperor against the pope approved and confirmed. The prelates, who espoused the cause of the rebels, were deprived of their benefices, as well as count

A.D. 1085.

Count Herman chosen king of the Romans.

^k Chron. Verd. pag. 287.
p. 200.

^l Annal. de l'Emp. tom. i.

(U) The Romans having promised to Henry they would oblige Gregory to crown him, that pope, in order to acquit them of their promise, offered to lower down the crown upon the emperor's head from the castle of St. Angelo; but Henry did not relish this pleasant expedient (1).

(1) Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. cap. 39.

Herman

Herman of the title of king of the Romans, which he had unjustly obtained ^m.

A.D. 1086. Some days after this assembly broke up, Henry was informed that pope Gregory was dead at Salerno ⁿ, as we have already observed, and that the Romans, without paying the least regard to Clement III. had resolved to promote to the chair cardinal Didier, abbot of Monte Cassino, who happened to be at Rome, and fled to his abbey from this elevation; upon which his election was delayed till the feast of Pentecost of the following year.

Gregory dies.

A.D. 1089. Mean while the emperor, understanding that count Herman, although deposed, was making strong efforts to support his pretensions, he pursued him from place to place, compelled him to abandon his enterprize, and to fly into Saxony for refuge. The rebels, thus deprived of their king, elected in his room Ecbert marquis of Thuringia, who like his predecessor sunk under the victorious arms of the emperor, and both came to an untimely end, Herman being killed by a stone which was dropped upon his head from a high place, and Ecbert being slain in a mill, to which he had escaped after the loss of a battle against the emperor ^o.

Herman is defeated, and Ecbert elected in his room.

A.D. 1091. While Henry was employed in reducing these two competitors, his enemies were busy in embroiling his affairs in Italy. Victor III. who had succeeded Gregory, enjoyed his promotion but about ten months; but his successor, Urban II. knowing that his election must give umbrage to the emperor, who had not been consulted in the affair, and being moreover instigated against him, not only by the countess Mathilda of Tuscany, who, after the death of her first husband, had married duke Welfphon of Bavaria (Y), but also by the Normans, he exerted himself so successfully, in conjunction with these confederates, that a great part of Italy was seduced from its allegiance. Henry, apprised of these transactions, passed the Alps with a good army, retook all the towns on this side the the Po, and, among the rest, made himself master of Mantua, after a siege of twelve months. He then reduced almost all the rest of Lombardy, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of Mathilda, who put herself at the head of her troops, and personally faced

Fresh disturbances in Italy.

^m Barr. tom. iv. pag. 303.
cap. 55.

ⁿ Gob. Perf. Cosmod. æt. vi.

^o Barr. tom. iv. pag. 324.

(Y) This duke, otherwise while the word Gibelin was in called Guelph, gave his name the sequel applied to the emperor's party, because Henry, which was afterwards distinguished by the name of Guelphs, son of Conrad III. was born at Gibeling (1).]

(1) Annales de l'Emp. tom. i. p. 202.

him in the field. The Romans seeing the progress, and dreading the resentment of Henry, in order to appease his wrath, took the opportunity of Urban's absence to recall Clement to Rome; upon which the other renewed his excommunications against the emperor and the antipope P.

Mean while Conrad, the emperor's eldest son, disobliged at some hasty expressions of his father, lent an ear to the insinuations of Mathilda and the Normans, and revolted against him; he was joined in this rebellion by his mother-in-law, the empress Adelaide, daughter of Udo marquis of Brandenburg, whom the emperor had lately married (A). Milan and several other cities of Lombardy joined with this young prince, who assumed the title of king of Italy, and was actually crowned by Anselmo, archbishop of Milan, with the consent of pope Urban, Welfon, Mathilda, and several dukes and noblemen. Some time after this election, he married the daughter of Roger, king of Sicily, and succeeded so well in his usurpation, that the greatest part of the cities and noblemen were alienated from their obedience to the emperor, who was reduced to the necessity of cantoning his army in some places of strength, till his affairs should take a more favourable turn⁹.

Conrad revolts.

A.D. 1093.

All the provinces of Italy, declare against the emperor.

Urban was at this time in France, holding the famous council of Clermont, in Auvergne, in which two very important subjects were discussed; namely, the excommunication of Philip I. of France, and the resolution to promote a crusade, for the relief of the Christians in the Levant, and the recovery of the Holy Land. Henry considered the pope's absence as a favourable opportunity of retrieving his affairs in Italy by the intrigues of Clement at Rome; but he found his son Conrad so well established on his throne, and so powerfully reinforced by the alliance of the king of Sicily, that he despaired of reducing him to obedience, and returned to his German dominions. He was no sooner arrived at Cologne than he assembled the princes, who put Conrad to the ban of the empire, and declared his son Henry king of the Romans; upon which this prince was crowned at Aix la Chapelle, after having promised, upon oath, never to meddle in the affairs of the empire without

A.D. 1095.

a crusade resolved upon.

A.D. 1099.

Henry the emperor's second son, chosen king of the Roman.

P Annal. de l'Emp. tom. i. pag. 203.
cap. ix. Oth. de Frisingh. in Chron. Sigebeert.

9 Heiss, Hist. lib. xi.

(A) Henry, who was of a very capricious disposition, had from her prison, fled to Rome, maltreated and even confined and joined Conrad (1).

(1) Barr. tom. iv. p. 331.

the consent of his father^r (B). Mean while the city of Ratibon was assigned as the place of his residence, and the emperor entertained hopes of enjoying that tranquillity which hitherto he had never known; for the chiefs of the rebels were by this time dead, and an accommodation was made with the Saxons and Bavarians. But the very measures he took to re-establish justice and good order, which had been banished by the licence of war, produced fresh disturbances and disquiets, which incessantly harraressed him in the latter part of his life.

The archbishop of Mentz, conscious to himself of having been concerned in some considerable disorders, of which the emperor intended to take cognizance, fled into Thuringia and declared in favour of the other faction, which now began to revive, and bestir itself; at the instigation of Gebhard, bishop of Constance; for Pascal II. who succeeded Urban in the papacy, had sent a commission to this prelate to support the pretensions of Henry, whom he resolved to set up in opposition to his father. Nothing chagrined the emperor so much as the presumption of the Roman church in electing popes in contempt of his authority; and his resentment of this conduct, which he looked upon as downright rebellion, was the rock upon which he split; for after the death of Clement, he appointed successively three antipopes, Albert, Theodoric, and Maniulphus; two of whom were shut up in cloisters, and the third overtaken by sudden death. These measures, which he took in order to preserve the rights of the empire, served to foment the enmity of the Romans, so that Pascal II. finding himself in peaceable possession of the chair, called a council at Rome, where the emperor was summoned to appear; and as he did not obey the citation, excommunicated anew, for having introduced those schisms into the church. At the same time they confirmed all that Urban and Gregory had done to his prejudice^s. But it was by the arts and industry of his adversaries in Germany, that his own son Henry was engaged in a rebellion against him. The pretext, however, of the

A.D. 1105.

He is persuaded to take arms against his father.

^r Chron. Magdeb. Ofenburg. Archicom. Gob. Pers. ex Meib.
^s Baron. ad ann. 1102.

(B) Gobelinus Persona says, position, and virtuous life that Conrad consented to this and to have ended his days election. He is said to have Florence, in the year of 1101 been a prince of a mild disposition, Lord, 1101 (1).

(1) Job. Avent. lib. v. Ann. Boic. Krantz. lib. v. Sax. cap. 1. p. 472.

you

young prince, whose ambition had been flattered, was necessity and zeal for religion. He alleged, that the subjects, being discharged from their allegiance to his father, he was obliged to take the reins of government into his own hands; and that, the laws of the church being preferable to those of nature, he could not acknowledge Henry for his father, until he should be absolved from the excommunication of the pope^t. In vain did the emperor use paternal remonstrances to dissuade his son from proceeding to extremities. The breach became wider and wider, and at last they openly took the field against each other, and the armies met at Ratibon, when the father, finding himself too weak to hazard a battle, retreated towards Bohemia; while the son, marching to Spire, made himself master of that city, and seized upon the treasures of the emperor, which were there deposited.

Elated with this success, he fixed a day for the princes to assemble at Mentz; and, understanding that the emperor was resolved to be present with a very powerful army, he, in order to frustrate this intention, which might be fatal to his cause, had recourse to an expedient, which was equally perfidious and effectual. Knowing the tenderness of his father's disposition, he repaired to Coblentz, and throwing himself at the emperor's feet, begged pardon for his undutiful behaviour, which he imputed to the advice of evil counsellors. Being, in consequence of this submission, immediately taken into favour, he persuaded him to disband his army, for fear of giving umbrage to the princes. Then they set out together for Bingenheim, where the son insinuating that his father might run some risk of being detained by the archbishop of Mentz, should he enter that city, and undertaking to go thither and negotiate a reconciliation between him and the princes of the diet, the emperor agreed to remain where he was, in expectation of that happy event; but he was next day confined to his chamber by this ungracious son, who forthwith repaired to the diet; at which the pope's legates having repeated the sentence of excommunication, Henry IV. was divested of the imperial dignity, and his son proclaimed emperor with the unanimous consent of the whole assembly^u (C).

A.D. 1106.

The emperor is solemnly deposed.

This

^t Spicileg. tom. xii. p. 446.
on. cap. 18, & 20. Barr. tom. iv. p. 375.

^u Ibid. Krantz. lib. v. Sax.

(C) We find in the Constitutions of Goldastus a letter from the emperor to his son, couched in these terms: "Allow me to remain at Liege, if not as an emperor, at least as a refugee."

H h 2

This ceremony being performed, the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, together with the bishop of Worms, were sent as deputies to the father to intimate his deposition, and demand the crown and other regalia. Henry received this deputation with equal surprize and concern; and desiring to know for what reason he was so cruelly dealt with by his own subjects; the archbishop of Mentz replied, that on account of the schisms he had introduced in the church, and the scandalous manner in which he had set bishopricks to sale, he had been deemed unworthy of partaking the holy communion, and consequently of wearing the imperial crown. The emperor, extremely mortified at this insolent declaration, "If (said he) we have prostituted the benefices of the church for hire, you yourselves are the most proper persons to convict us of that simony. Say then, I adjure you, in the name of the eternal God, what have we exacted, or what have we received, for having promoted you to the dignities you now enjoy?" When they acknowledged he was innocent as far as regarded their preferment: "And yet, (continued he) the archbishopricks of Mentz and Cologne being two of the best in our disposal, we might have filled our coffers by exposing them to sale; nevertheless we bestowed them upon you out of our free grace and favour; and a worthy return you now make for our benevolence. Do not, we beseech you, become partizans of those who have lifted up their hands against their lord and master, in defiance of faith, gratitude, and allegiance. Alas! we already begin to sink under the burden of years and sorrow, and but a little of our mortal pilgrimage is left unperformed. Suffer that little to be concluded in peace, and seek not to terminate our glory with misery and shame." The deputies unmoved by this pathetic address, and insisting upon his complying with the purport of their errand, he retired into his chamber, where he put on his royal ornaments; then returning to the apartment which he had left, and seating himself in a chair of state, renewed his remonstrance to this effect. "Here are the marks of that royalty, with which we were invested by God, and the

refugee. Let it not be said to my shame, or rather to your's, that I am forced to beg a new asylum in Easter time. If you grant me this request, I shall think myself greatly obliged to you for the favour; if you re-

fuse me, I will rather live as a cottager in some foreign country, than stroll about in this manner from one disgrace to another, through an empire which was once my own (1)."

princes of the empire; if you disregard the wrath of Heaven, and the eternal reproach of mankind, so much as to lay violent hands on your sovereign, you may strip us of them by force; we are not in a condition to defend ourselves from the insult." This expostulation had no more effect than the former upon the bishops, who forthwith snatched the crown from his head, and dragging him from his chair, pulled off his royal robes by force. While they were thus employed, "Great God! (cried he, the tears tickling down his cheeks,) thou art the God of vengeance, and wilt avenge this outrage. I have sinned, I own, and merited this shame by the follies of my youth; but thou wilt not fail to punish these traitors for their perjury, insolence, and ingratitude w."

He is stripped of his royal ornaments,

Henry the son, having thus got possession of the throne, was desirous of acquitting himself in some shape of the violence which had been exercised upon his father, who justly complained, that he had been condemned unheard. With this view he convened, at Ingelheim, those of the princes who were entirely devoted to his interest, in order to oblige the old emperor to make a voluntary resignation in his favour. There, this unfortunate prince, looking upon himself as a dying man, is said to have implored forgiveness of all those whom he had offended, and to have thrown himself at the feet of the pope's legate, who was present; beseeching that prelate to absolve him from the sentence of excommunication; but his request was refused, on pretence that he could receive absolution from no other than the pope himself.

and afterwards makes a voluntary resignation of his crown.

To such a degree of wretchedness was this unhappy prince reduced, by the barbarity of his son, that, being destitute of the common necessities of life, he intreated Gertrad, whom he had created bishop of Spire, to bestow upon him a canonicate for his subsistence, in that very cathedral which had been founded, built, and endowed, by his ancestors and himself. Here again he met with a repulse from the bishop, who told him that he durst not grant his request without permission from the pope; upon which the emperor shed a flood of tears, and turning to those who were present, said, with a deep sigh. "My dear friends, at least have pity on my condition, for I am touched by the hand of the Lord." Thus was Henry IV. reduced from the highest pinnacle of greatness, to the lowest abyfs of indigence and mortification, being divested of his honours, deprived of support, abandoned by his own son, his relations, and even those whom

His extreme wretchedness.

w Ibid. Heiss, Hist. lib. xi. cap. ix.

his bounty had enriched; and, to crown his misfortunes, he was kept in close confinement, by order of the new emperor.

*He makes
an effort
to retrieve
his affairs,
but dies at
Liege.*

In the midst of these distresses, when every body thought his courage was utterly extinguished, and his soul overwhelmed with despondence, he found means to escape from his keepers and reach Cologne, where he was received and recognized as lawful emperor. From thence he repaired to the Low Countries, where he found friends, who raised a considerable body of troops to facilitate his restoration, and sent circular letters to all the princes in Christendom, in order to interest them in his misfortune. He even wrote to the pope, giving him to understand he was inclined to an accommodation, provided it could be made without prejudice to his crown; but before any thing material could be executed in his favour, he died at Liege, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign. His body was magnificently interred in the cathedral of that city; but, his son afterwards ordered it to be dug up, and deposited in the chapel of St. Atron, where it remained five years unburied, on account of his excommunication.

Such was the end of Henry IV. a prince of great courage and excellent endowments, who, had not he alienated the affections of his subjects by the excesses of his youth (C), and attracted the enmity and opposition of the Roman church, in obstinately adhering to the rights of his prerogative, would have probably eclipsed the glory of all his ancestors, and finished his reign with honour and universal applause. There was an air of dignity in his appearance, that bespoke the greatness of his soul: he possessed a natural fund of eloquence and vivacity, was of a mild and merciful temper, extremely charitable (D), and an admirable paterfamilias of fortitude and resignation. From the twelfth year of his age he

(C) He is charged with having maltreated his wife, and even to have hired a person to seduce her from her conjugal faith, that he might have a pretence for obtaining a divorce. He is also accused of having entered into engagements with the Danes, by which he obliged himself to yield to them all the provinces that were contiguous to their kingdom, in consideration of their assisting him against all his enemies, particularly the Sax-

ons. There are many more circumstances of his profligacy and wickedness related; but as the authors of these stories are either monks or Saxons, they ought to be read with caution.

(D) He is said to have entertained the blind, the lame, and the sick, at his own table, and even to have lodged them in his own apartment, that he might be at hand to minister to their necessities.

had

had been continually engaged in war, commanded personally in threescore pitched battles, in which he was generally victorious, and survived a great many secret attempts that were made upon his life * (E).

H E N R Y V.

HENRY V. surnamed the Young, having (as above related) obtained possession of the throne (F), was, in the beginning of his reign, so favourable to the clergy, in every particular, that he seemed to neglect entirely, those rights of the imperial authority, which his father had defended at the hazard of his honour, his fortune, and his life. Nevertheless, he soon changed his conduct; whether he thought himself sufficiently established upon the throne, to pull off the mask which he had hitherto wore through policy, or, that he found himself deceived in the intentions of the Roman church. The first mortification he received, was from Paschal II. who, about two months after the death of the late emperor, held a council at Guastala upon the Po, by which all the decrees of his predecessors against investitures were renewed †.

Henry, though extremely piqued at these proceedings, disssembled his resentment, because he did not as yet find himself in a condition to oppose the court of Rome, and invited the pope into Germany, where their difference might be brought to an amicable termination: but Paschal, who was well acquainted with Henry's haughty and implacable

*Henry V.
invites the
pope to a
conference.*

* Heiss, lib. ii. cap. ix. Gob. Pers. æt. vi. Chron. Magdeburg. Bremens. Oldenburg. Archeomit. ex Meibom. tom. ii. Baron. tom. xiii. p. 43. Leo Ostiens. Mach. Istori di Firenz. † Conc. Gener. tom. x. p. 748.

(E) While he was at Rome, after the deposition of pope Gregory VII. a person had placed himself upon a beam in the church, with a great stone, which he intended to have let fall upon Henry's head, while he should be employed at his devotion: but before he could execute his purpose, he fell down and dashed his brains out, in sight of the emperor. Some other people were taken

in the very fact of endeavouring to thrust a spear up his body, while he was in the house of office; who being brought before him, he dismissed them with impunity (1).

(F) While he was at Goslar, holding the diet, he was struck with a ball of fire that wounded him in the right leg, broke off the point of his sword, and shattered his buckler in pieces. (2)

(1) Heiss, liv. ii. cap. ix.

(2) Gob. Pers. Cosmod. æt. vi.

disposition, instead of complying with his request, thought proper to take a different route, and put himself under the protection of Philip, king of France.

A.D. 1107.

Though the emperor was very much disturbed at the honourable reception which the pope had met with from that monarch, he did not chuse to embroil himself with such a powerful neighbour; but, on the contrary, solicited his friendship, and desired that he would mediate an accommodation between him and his holiness. A conference was accordingly held at Chalons, in Champagne, where nothing was agreed upon, because the pope would not consent to the article of investiture, which Henry's ambassadors would by no means give up.

After this unsuccessful meeting, Paschal held a council at Troyes, and the emperor convoked a diet at Mentz. The German bishops declared for the emperor's right of investiture, and the fathers of the council adhered to the decrees of the preceding popes, unless Henry should, within a year, repair to Rome, and leave his cause to the determination of a general council.

In the midst of these disputes, the emperor would not neglect his other affairs. Borziwoi, duke of Bohemia, being expelled his dominions by his nephew Suantopelkon, had recourse to the assistance of the emperor, who summoned the usurper to his court, where he was put in irons, and furnished Borziwoi with some troops, to re-conduct him to his own dominions: but Suantopelkon's brother, Otho, being at the head of a good army, opposed his re-establishment; and the usurper finding means to detach Henry from his interest with a very large sum of money, Borziwoi was obliged to take shelter with Boleslaus, king of Poland, who received him with great hospitality.

He invades Hungary.

The emperor, thus furnished with the sinews of war, resolved, with the approbation of a diet convened at Frankfurt, to punish Coloman, king of Hungary, for having been concerned in the massacre of the German crusaders, during the preceding reign, and marching into his kingdom, penetrated to Presburg, which he invested in vain; for his army being greatly diminished by sickness, he raised the siege, and laid waste the country. Mean while Coloman engaged in a league, offensive and defensive, with Boleslaus, who not only sent him a reinforcement of troops to oppose the progress of the emperor, but also, under pretence of assisting his guest Borziwoi, advanced into Bohemia, and laid the country under contribution; so that

^a Suger. Vit. Ludovicⁱ, cap. ix. ^a Suger. Abb. S. Dion. de Vit. Lud. Gros. Du Chesne, tom. iv. p. 291.

Suantopelkon,

Suantopelkon, who had joined the emperor, was obliged to quit Hungary, in order to defend his own dominions ^v.

Henry, thus weakened, retired into Bavaria, in order to recruit his forces; and being inflamed with resentment against Boleslaus, for having frustrated his revenge against Coloman, he resolved upon the conquest of Silesia, which, though at that time belonging to the Poles, had formerly been part of the empire. With this view he advanced as far as Glogau, which he invested; but the inhabitants making a gallant defence, he was obliged to raise the siege and retire. He then attacked Breslau, when Boleslaus, duke of Poland, who had assumed the name of king, coming to its relief, a general battle ensued, in which the Poles were vanquished, and obliged to send an ambassador to Henry to sue for peace ^z (G). Boleslaus, however, not relishing the terms which the emperor wanted to impose, resolved to try once more his fortune in the field, and the two armies engaging near Breslau, the Germans were defeated after a very obstinate dispute ³. The loss of this battle induced Henry to desist from his enterprize upon Silesia, and return to the discussion of his affairs with the pope. With this view he assembled a diet at Ratisbon, which, after mature deliberation, granted him the necessary succours to maintain the rights of his crown in Italy. Thus reinforced, he crossed the Alps with an army of eighty thousand men, being also accompanied by a great part of the nobility, and a number of persons who understood the rights and constitution of the empire, that he might be in a condition to do himself justice, either by negotiating or force of arms: but before his departure, he married Mathilda, daughter of Henry I. king of England, with whom he received an immense sum of money by way

A.D. 1109.

Goes to war with the Poles, and is worsted.

A.D. 1110.

Marches into Italy, and makes peace with the pope.

^v Hist Bohem. lib. x. lib. ii. chap. x.

^z Gob. Pers. ubi supra.

³ Heifs,

(G) The name of this ambassador was Scrobisus, to whom the emperor talked in very high terms, telling him, the Poles had no peace to expect, unless they would become tributary to the empire: and, in order to convince him that they were not able to support a war against him, he ordered his people to shew his treasures to the

ambassador, who taking off his ring threw it into the heap, saying with a smile, "Here is something to augment the store." Upon which Henry replied in the German language. *Habdank*, which signifies *I thank you*; and the family of Scrobisus was distinguished by that name (1).

(1) Heifs, liv. ii. chap. x.

of dower, levied by a tax upon every hide of land in that kingdom. In his march through Tuscany, he took some cities that attempted to dispute his passage, and kept his Christmas at Florence. From thence he sent a splendid embassy to Paschal, with solemn professions of veneration for the holy see, and the pope did not fail to return the civility. Then a convention was held at Sutri, and a treaty of peace concluded to the entire satisfaction of the emperor, who obtained all, and even more than he demanded. But all these concessions were made merely with a view to amuse him, until the pope could take more effectual measures for his own interest.

A.D. 1117.

*Makes his
entry into
Rome,*

On the very day of the emperor's entry into Rome, which was also fixed for his coronation, several persons belonging to his train were insulted, and even imprisoned by the populace. When the treaty of peace was read, in presence of the princes of the empire and Italian prelates, it was formally opposed by these last, who were by the pope privately tutored for the purpose, and the debates which their objections occasioned continued till night. The emperor finding himself duped, gave orders to seize the person of the pope, who had equivocated in such a scandalous manner; and the soldiers, employed in the execution of this order, rushing tumultuously into the churches, maltreated the cardinals and bishops without distinction. The consul put the citizens in arms, and next day a battle ensued, in which Henry fought in person with great courage. In a word, the Romans were defeated, and the carnage was so great, that the waters of the Tiber were stained with blood^b. The pope was taken prisoner, together with several cardinals, bishops, and principal citizens of Rome; and the emperor having ordered the walls to be razed in several places, encamped in the open field, where he detained his prisoners during the whole time of Lent, and the Easter holidays. The pope was earnestly entreated by his fellow-prisoners to renounce the right of investiture to the emperor, and crown him according to his desire, that they might obtain their liberty; but he resisted all their importunities, until Henry gave orders to behead his friends in his presence: upon which he thought proper to comply with the emperor's demands, and the former accommodation was renewed and ratified^c (H).

*where his
troops
make
dreadful
havock.*

*The pope is
prevailed
upon to re-
new the
treaty;*

This

^b Chron. Oldenb. Arch. ex Meib. p. 139. Du Chesne ubi supra.
^c Ibidem ibid.

(H) This accommodation the emperor should use the contained these articles: that cross and ring, in investing those
wh

This treaty being concluded, the pope and the other prisoners were released, and Henry was crowned on the first Sunday after Easter, when the pope dividing the host, gave one half to the emperor, and took the other to himself, in token of perfect reconciliation (1). A new bull was published to confirm the treaty, lest the pope should afterwards pretend the former was extorted from him, during his confinement. Then the emperor, having confirmed the privileges of the Romans, and distributed largesses among the clergy, set out on his return to Germany. the pope, with several cardinals and prelates, accompanying him as far as the Alps. The first thing he did, when he arrived in his own dominions, was to bestow a magnificent funeral upon the body of his father, which had remained so long unburied, merely because that prince had maintained the right of investiture, now solemnly confirmed by the pope himself. Indeed it soon appeared, that the court of Rome was not at all sincere in the concessions which it had made; for though Paschal himself still preserved the exteriors of friendship and good faith, his legates, and among the rest the archbishop of Vienne, in Dauphiné, did not fail to excommunicate the emperor in national councils. Nay, even the ecclesiastic princes of the empire refused to recognize or receive the bull, touching the investiture of benefices: and Albert, or Adelbert, whom the emperor had raised to the archbishoprick of Mentz, intrigued so successfully in favour of the pope, that the subsequent diet declared, his holiness had a right to revoke that bull in council. It was accordingly annulled by a council of the

and the emperor returns to Germany.

Is excommunicated by the archbishop of Vienne, in Dauphiné.

A.D. 1112.

^c Chron. Olpenb. Arch. ex Mnib. p. 139. Du Chesne ubi supra

who were canonically elected with his consent; and that they should afterwards be consecrated according to the forms of the church, but never before they should have received the investiture; that the archbishops and bishops might without scruple consecrate those who should be in this manner invested by the emperor; and, finally, that the pope should never excommunicate the emperor; nor, upon any pretext whatsoever, in-

fringe any condition of this treaty. To these articles, the pope and sixteen cardinals solemnly swore upon the holy evangelists (1).

(1) In dividing the host, he pronounced an anathema to this effect. "As I divide the body of the Lord, so may he be divided from Christ and his kingdom, who shall attempt to violate this accommodation (2)."

(1) Dodesbir. in. Append. ad Marian. Scot.

(2) Chronic. Belg. Lateran,

The council of Lateran annul his treaty with the pope.

Lateran, which ordered the bull to be burnt, and the emperor to be excommunicated^d, though the pope refused his assent to the decree, on account of the oath he had taken. The barchbishops, ishops, and chapters, finding themselves thus authorized by the court of Rome, resolved to maintain their power of filling their vacant sees without the interposition of the emperor, and the whole empire was re-involved in trouble and dissension.

A.D. 1114.

Troubles of Germany.

A rebellion breaking out in Saxony, Henry marched thither, secured the person of the archbishop, who had fomented the disturbance, and laid waste the whole country: but in his return he was encountered, in a place called Welfeshold, by Lotharius, duke of Saxony, Frederic, count Arnesberg, and Reynerus, bishop of Halberstadt, who had assembled a body of troops to oppose him; and after a very obstinate battle, he was obliged to retreat with great loss. After this battle, Lotharius entered Goslar in triumph, where an assembly of bishops and noblemen being convened, Henry and his adherents were excommunicated. Indeed, by this time he was almost quite abandoned by his subjects, and must have fallen a victim to rebellion, and the intrigues of Rome, had not his cause been supported by the valour and success of his nephew Frederic, duke of Suabia and Alsace, surnamed Monoculus, whom he promoted to the supreme command of his army^e.

A.D. 1115.

Henry marches to Italy.

Matilda dying about this time, Henry, as her nearest relation, claimed the succession, notwithstanding the steps she had taken in favour of the holy see, alleging, that it was not in her power to alienate her estates, which immediately depended upon the empire. He therefore set out for Lombardy, and sent ambassadors to Rome, beseeching the pope, to revoke the sentence of excommunication which had been fulminated against him, expressly contrary to their last agreement. Paschal would not even favour his deputies with an audience; but, that same year, convoked a council at Rome, where his treaty with the emperor was condemned, and all the steps which had been taken by the national councils, were confirmed.

A.D. 1117.

Henry, shocked and incensed at these proceedings, advanced towards Rome, in order to dissipate the pernicious projects which were daily formed to his prejudice; and the pope, who was well acquainted with his disposition, thought proper to retire into Apulia. In this march,

^d Gobel. Perf. æt. vi. cap. 57.
Frederic I. cap. 10.

^e Othon, Frising. de Gestis

Henry secured several towns and castles, and gained over divers noblemen to his interest, particularly Ptolemy, count of Tusculum, the chief of the adverse party, who prevailed upon the Roman people to decree a triumph to the emperor. He was accordingly received at Rome with extraordinary magnificence; and doubting the validity of his former coronation, which had been performed by a person who had retracted all he had done upon that occasion, he resolved that the ceremony should be repeated, and was actually crowned a second time in the church of St. Peter, by the hands of Maurius Burdinus, archbishop of Prague, who had attended him in this expedition ^f.

Is again crowned at Rome.

Henry having retired into Tuscany, on account of the heats, Paschal privately returned to Rome, where he died in two days; and on the third after his decease, cardinal Cajetan was elected in his room, under the name of Gelasus II. without the privity of the emperor, who, enraged at their presumption, made long marches, in order to surprise this new pope, who made his escape to Gaeta with great difficulty. Henry, however, declared his election void, and in his place appointed Burdinus, who assumed the name of Gregory VIII. revoked the sentence of excommunication against the emperor, and confirmed his right of investiture. But all these measures served no other purpose than that of giving a handle to Gelasus for excommunicating Henry, together with the antipope he had set up ^g.

Paschal dies, and is succeeded by Gelasus II. whom the emperor expels, and appoints Burdinus in his room.

This was all the fruit he reaped from his expedition into Italy; for seeing the true pope protected by all the princes of Apulia, against whom he had not a sufficient number of troops to make head, he returned to his German dominions, leaving a guard with Gregory at Rome, where Gelasus, having made an ineffectual attempt to establish himself, was fain to desist, after his life had been in imminent danger. He then retired into France, and died at the abbey of Cluny, when the cardinals then present elected the cardinal archbishop of Vienne, legate of the holy see in France, who, as we have already said, had excommunicated the emperor in the national councils. The noblemen of Saxony and Westphalia entered into an association, to defend themselves against the resentment of the emperor; and having levied troops, under the command of duke Lotharius, Frederic count Palatine, and the marquis Rodolphus, they sent deputies to Henry, demanding that he would acknowledge Calixtus for pope, and restore to the

Henry sets out for Germany.

A.D. 1119

Calixtus is chosen pope.

^f Heise, lib. ii. cap. 10. Du Chesne, tom. iv. p. 310. Petr. Diacon. lib. iv. cap. 6. ^g Baron, ad ann. 1118, p. 122.

right owners the fiefs and estates he had seized by violence and injustice. Henry refusing to give them audience, they took the field with a considerable army; and the emperor assembling troops to chastise them for their presumption, hostilities immediately ensued. The operations of the campaign were carried on with various success, until the ardour on both sides began to abate, and steps were taken towards an accommodation ^h.

*Between
whom and
the empe-
ror a ne-
gociation
is set on
foot;*

Mean while the new pope called an assembly at Rheims; and the states of the empire meeting that same year at Tribur, between Mentz and Worms, gave the emperor to understand, that they were quite tired with this long quarrel, which had been so troublesome to the empire. In consequence of this remonstrance, a negotiation was set on foot: the emperor abated somewhat in his pretensions, with regard to the form of investitures, the pope promised to take off the sentences of excommunication; writings were exchanged, and a day was fixed for an interview at Monzon. Towards this place the emperor advanced with an army of thirty thousand men; and the pope taking umbrage at such a train, halted by the way in a strong castle, from whence he sent his legates to Henry, desiring to know if he still persisted in the sentiments he had lately professed: but when he understood that the emperor had changed his mind, denied his own hand writing, and was become inexorable on the article of investiture, he set out on his return to Rheims without delay; nor could the repeated intreaties of the emperor prevail upon him to stay one single day, until the princes could be consulted. He had conceived such a terrible idea of the treatment his predecessor had met with at Rome, that he pursued his journey with incredible expedition; detained the council a few days longer, until a decree was passed, prohibiting ecclesiastics from receiving the investiture of bishopricks and abbies from the hands of laics; and the emperor, with the antipope and all their adherents, were again excommunicated ⁱ.

*but mis-
carries.*

A.D. 1120.

*Calixtus
repairs to
Rome,
and shuts
up the an-
tipope in a
convent.*

Next year Calixtus arrived at Rome, where he was honourably received. Upon which Gregory VIII. retired to Sutri, a strong town, garrisoned by the emperor's troops, who were not, however, able to protect him from the enmity of his rival; for the princes of Apulia sent an army to besiege the place of his retreat: and he at length fell into the hands of his competitor, who ordered him to be mounted on a camel, with his face towards the tail, and

^h Barre, tom. iv. p. 500.

ⁱ Act. Concil. p. 478.

conducted

conducted through the public streets of Rome, amidst the scoffs and insults of the populace; after which procession, he was shut up in a convent for life (K).

In the mean time the archbishop of Mentz, instigated by the intrigues and authorized by the decrees of Rome, formed a powerful league against the emperor and his partizans, who were branded with the name of schismatics: armies were raised on both sides, and a great deal of blood must have been spilt, had not the wisest and most considerable of each party, interposed and effected an accommodation. The emperor was unanimously supplicated to give peace to the empire. That prince referred himself entirely to the decision of the states; and a diet being assembled at Wurtzburg, it was decreed, that an embassy should be immediately sent to the pope, desiring he would convoke a general council at Rome, by which all contests might be determined ^k.

Foment a rebellion in the empire which is terminated by accommodation.

In compliance with this request, Calixtus called the famous council, which was opened during Lent, and at which were present three hundred bishops, and about seven hundred abbots. The ambassadors being heard before this grand assembly, the affair of investitures was at length regulated with their consent, in the following articles: that the emperor should leave the chapters and communities at liberty to fill up their own vacancies, without his bestowing investitures with the cross and ring; that he should restore all that had been unjustly taken from the church; that all elections should be made in a canonical manner, in presence of the emperor or his commissaries; and whatever disputes might happen, should be referred to the decision of the emperor, assisted by the metropolitan and his suffragans; that the person elected should receive from the emperor the investiture of the fiefs and secular rights, not with the cross, but with the sceptre, and that he should pay allegiance to him for these rights only; lastly, that for this ceremony six months should be allowed to those who lived at a distance from the empire ^l.

A.D. 1122.

The affair of investitures settled to the mutual satisfaction of Henry and the pope.

^k Barre, tom. iv. p. 518.

^l Arn. Buch. in Notis ad Wilhelm.

Hedam, p. 154.

(K) In this procession, the antipope was clothed with raw and bloody goats skins: and afterwards a picture was hung up in the palace, representing him trampled upon by the true pope (1).

(1) Sug. Abb. de Vit. Lud. Gros. ex Du Chesne, tom. iv. p. 312.

This treaty being read and ratified by the diet at Worms, the cardinal of Ostia, the pope's first legate, who had accompanied the ambassadors in their return, gave absolution to the emperor, and all his schismatic adherents^m; then said mass in his pontificals, and administered the sacrament to Henry, as the last mark of a perfect reconciliation.

Thus ended that tedious contest which had raised so many disturbances, and cost such a waste of blood and treasure. But as, in this accommodation, no mention had been made of the emperor's right to create or intermeddle in the election of popes, Calixtus was no sooner dead, than the cardinals, clergy, and people of Rome, without the participation of Henry, proceeded to a new election, which was carried on with such disorder, that two persons were chosen at the same time, namely, Theobald, who was called Celestin, and Lambert, cardinal bishop of Ostia. This last assumed the appellation of Honorius II. and was confirmed in the papacy, upon the voluntary resignation of his competitor.

A.D. 1124.

Honorius II. is elected pope.

Henry is engaged in a civil war.

After his accommodation with Rome, the emperor was engaged in a civil war, by the revolt of Holland (L), which he reduced by force of arms, as well as the city of Worms, which had also rebelled. Nevertheless, the spirit of sedition still continued to spread from town to town; so that he himself was obliged to fly from Ruffac, at the hazard of his life, in consequence of a sudden insurrection of the people.

A.D. 1125.

Dies at Utrecht.

In a little time after this misfortune, which made a deep impression on his spirits, he died at Utrecht, aged forty-four, after a reign of eighteen years, and his body was interred at Spire, among his ancestorsⁿ. He married Maud, daughter of Henry I. king of England, by whom he had no issue, so that his heirs were Conrad, duke of Fran-

^m Gob. Pers. ubi supra.

ⁿ Chron. Magd. ex Meib. p. 325.

(L). A little before the death of Calixtus, Henry made a sudden irruption into France, at the instigation of his father-in-law Henry, king of England, but was forced to retreat without having obtained any advantage. Though all the German authors (Krantz excepted)

are silent with respect to this expedition, it is particularly mentioned by the French writers, and an exact detail of the preparations made by Lewis le Gros, to oppose this invasion, is given by Sugerius, abbot of St. Denis, who was an eye-witness of the whole (1).

(1) Sug. de Vit. Lud. Gros. ex Du Chesne, tom. iv. p. 312. et seq.

conia, and Frederic, duke of Suabia, who were his own sister's sons, and he certainly intended, that one of them should be his successor in the empire. Henry is said to have been haughty, cruel, and avaricious °; but he was certainly a wise, politic, and resolute prince; and, exclusive of his unnatural behaviour to his father, of which he sincerely repented in the sequel, he may be justly ranked among those emperors who did not disgrace the diadem they wore.

LOTHARIUS II.

AFTER the death of this emperor, it was believed that the states would confer the empire upon one of the sons of his sister, they being princes of great courage, generosity, and power, and very much esteemed by the principal members of the empire. But Albert, archbishop of Mentz, who bore an implacable enmity to the memory of the late emperor and all his adherents, having obtained the regalia from Henry's widow, by cajoling her with a promise of preserving them for one or other of her nephews, found means to influence the princes of the empire to give their suffrages in favour of Lotharius, duke of Saxe-Supplem-
bourg P, who had befriended and supported him in all his contests with the late emperor. He was accordingly crowned at Aix la Chapelle, in presence of the pope's nuncio, while his two competitors neglected nothing in their power to support their pretensions to the throne. Frederic, duke of Suabia, being actually elected king of the Romans, by some princes, noblemen, and cities of the empire, and the other solemnly crowned at Milan by the archbishop of that city q. The first expedition of the new emperor was against the Bohemians, whom he hated, because they had assisted the late emperor against him, while he was in rebellion. But his pretence for marching into Bohemia at this juncture, was a quarrel between Otho and Sobieslaus, brothers of the deceased duke, who had left the guardianship of his children to Sobieslaus, although Otho was his elder brother. This preference, given contrary to the custom of nations, was resented by Otho, whom, however, Sobieslaus expelled by dint of arms. Thus injured he repaired to the diet at Ratisbon, in order to solicit redress. The emperor interesting himself in his cause, marched into Bohemia, where, though he sustained some damage and disgrace, he compelled Sobieslaus to sue for peace, which

*Lotharius
is chosen
emperor.*

° Chron. Magd. ex Meib. p. 326.
Duchefne.

P Gest. Ludov. VII. ex

q Aventin. Ann. Boi. lib. vi. p. 492.

*Surmounts
all opposi-
tion.*

was granted, on condition that he should restore Moravia to Winceflaus, the son of Otho, release the prisoners he had made, and do homage to the emperor for Bohemia^r. In a word, after a short opposition, which, however, was obstinate and bloody, the two princes dropped their pretensions, and were reconciled to Lotharius, who honoured them with his friendship, particularly Conrad, whom he loaded with extraordinary proofs of esteem and benevolence^s.

A.D. 1130.

*Espon-
ses
the cause of
Innocent II.*

Honorius II. dying on the 24th of February, Innocent II. succeeded him that same day in the papacy, by virtue of a canonical election; notwithstanding which, cardinal Petrus Leonis, who had a powerful faction at Rome, was proclaimed pope by the name of Anacletus: the other finding himself too weak to oppose this rival, retired into France, where his interest was openly espoused by St. Bernard, who persuaded Lotharius to declare in his favour. He likewise proposed and effected an interview between the emperor and his holiness at Liege^t; where, after some disputes upon the article of investiture^u, Lotharius acquiesced in the pope's refusal to part with that prerogative, and even undertook to re-establish Innocent in Rome (M).

A.D. 1133

*Having
re-establish-
ed him in
the papal
chair is
crowned at
Rome.*

This expedition being concerted, the pope set out for Italy, taking France in his way, where he received a considerable sum for the expence of his journey: then proceeding to Placentia, he waited for the emperor, who in a few days joined him with his army, and conducting him to Rome, re-established him in the chair, in spite of all the efforts and opposition of the antipope. It was, perhaps, with a view to give more weight to this re-establishment, and to excite other people, by example, to honour the true pope, that the emperor at his coronation^x, which was soon after performed, kneeled before Innocent, who was seated upon a throne; and having promised obedience to the holy see, received the crown in that posture. After this solemn-

^r Hist. Bohem. lib. ii.

^s Annal. de l'Empire, tom. i. p. 215.

^t Sug. Abb. vit. Lud. Gross. ex Du Chesne, p. 318.

^u Contr.

Ursperg. ex Meib. de Jure Investit. Episc.

^x Ann. Boior.

Jean. Avent. lib. vi. p. 495.

(M) The emperor hearing of the pope's approach, mounted his steed and rode forth to receive him: at meeting Lotharius alighted, and running

to Innocent, lifted him in his arms from his horse, and accompanied him to the place where he was to lodge (1).

(1) Heiss, Hist. liv. ii. chap. xi.

nity the emperor returned to Germany, where, by the advice of one Werner Ursperg, alias Ernerius, he ordered that justice should be administered in the empire according to the Digesta or Code of Justinian, the use of which had been laid aside five or six hundred years. These laws were introduced in Italy, Germany, and afterwards in France and Spain, in lieu of peculiar statutes and particular customs (N).

The emperor had no sooner quitted Italy, than Roger, duke of Apulia, who had lately erected his dominions into a royalty, under the name of the kingdom of Sicily, raised an army in favour of Anacletus, and made himself master of almost all the places belonging to the holy see; upon which pope Innocent retired to Pisa, and again implored the assistance of Lotharius, who did not forsake him in his adversity. On the contrary, he levied a powerful army, and, dividing it into two parts, gave the command of one to his son-in-law, the duke of Bavaria, and put himself at the head of the other. All the places of St. Peter's Patrimony were soon retaken, and the true pope was re-conducted in triumph to Rome; a circumstance which is said to have hastened the death of Anacletus, who died of grief at the success of his competitor.

The emperor afterwards drove Roger from city to city, and at length obliged him to retire into Sicily; then subduing the provinces of Apulia and Calabria, and all Roger's Italian possessions, he formed them into a principality, and bestowed it, with the title of duke, upon Renaud, a German prince, and one of his own relations.

On his return to Germany, after this glorious expedition, he was seized with a dangerous distemper at Verona, notwithstanding which he proceeded on his journey, in hopes of being recovered by his native air; but death overtook him among the Alps, near Trent, in the twelfth year of his reign. This prince is celebrated on account of his passionate regard for public peace, and the administration of justice; though from the great number of commentaries that were made upon the Pandects, he is taxed with hav-

A. D. 1137.

*Restores
Innocent,
who had
been ex-
pelled by
the duke of
Apulia.*

*Makes a
conquest of
his domi-
nions in
Italy.*

A. D. 1138.

*Dies at
Trent.*

(N) In the summer of the year 1135, the heats were so excessive in Germany, that the corn and fruits of the earth withered in the field, and the most considerable rivers, even the Rhine itself, became dry, so that almost all the cattle perished for want of water (2).

(2) Note upon Heifs, lib. xi. p. 290.

ing introduced chicanery instead of facilitating the investigation of truth.

C O N R A D III.

A.D. 1139

*Conrad III.
elected.*

THE princes of the empire assembling at Coblenz, in order to choose a new emperor, unanimously elected Conrad, duke of Franconia, nephew of Henry V. and conducted him to Aix la Chapelle, where he was crowned by cardinal Thiery, the pope's legate, he officiating for the archbishop of Cologne, who was not at that time in priest's orders^y.

*Henry duke
of Bavaria
refuses to
deliver the
regalia,
and is di-
vested of
his domi-
nions.*

Henry, duke of Bavaria, surnamed the Haughty, who had married the only daughter of Lotharius, and received the duchy of Saxony as her dower, was not present at this election, which he considered as a violation of his right, because Lotharius, who died without male issue, had put the regalia into his hands, and even designed him for his successor in the empire. In consequence of this designation, he refused to surrender the royal ornaments to Conrad, after he had been lawfully elected: upon which the princes, assembled at the diet of Goslar, publicly divested him of his duchies of Saxony and Bavaria; the first of which they gave to Albert, marquis of Brandenburg^z, and the other to Leopold, marquis of Austria; an alienation which made such a deep impression on the mind of Henry, that he died that same year of grief and mortification (O).

*Guelphe,
with
the assist-
ance of Ro-
ger king of
Sicily, takes
the field a-
gainst Con-
rad.*

About this time, Roger, king of Sicily, had made himself master of the dominions which belonged to the empire in Apulia. That he might be able to maintain his conquest, he excited Welf, or Guelphe, brother of Henry the Haughty, to make war with the emperor for the recovery of the two duchies which had been confiscated, and furnished him with a considerable sum of money for the

^y Gob. Perf. Cosmod. æt. vi. cap. 59. Krantz. Sax. lib. vi. cap. 8.
^z Ann. Boior. Joan. Avent. lib. vi. p. 499.

(O) The emperor gave his widow in marriage to his own brother, together with the duchy of Austria, the princes of which (though it is the youngest duchy of the empire) assume the title of archduke (1).

In the second year of this emperor's reign, died Johannes de Temporibus, who is said to have been armour-bearer to Charlemagne, and to have lived three hundred and sixty-one years (2).

(1) Krantz, lib. vi. Sax. cap. 8.
æt. vi. cap. 59.

(2) Gob. Perf. Cosmod.

expence of his army. After several engagements that were not decisive, Guelphe was besieged by the emperor in the castle of Weinsberg, and, resolving to make a sally, gave for the word *Hievvelf*. Frederic, duke of Suabia, brother to the emperor, and general of his troops, having discovered this word, gave to his own army that of *Hiegi-belin*, the name of a village in Suabia, in which he himself had been educated. This was the origin of the *Guelfs* and *Ghibellines*, which afterwards grew into such vogue in Italy, where the pope's party was distinguished by the name of the first, and that of the emperor by the other (P). Guelphe, however, sustained great loss in this sally, and, having defended himself to the last extremity, was obliged to surrender at discretion. The emperor, however, instead of using his good fortune with severity and rigour, gave the duke liberty to retire unmolested; but the duchess, suspecting this excess of generosity in Conrad, who had been known to entertain a particular enmity against her husband, sent a gentleman to the emperor, intreating him to grant a safe-conduct for her, and the other women belonging to the castle, that they might come out with as much as each could carry, and be conducted to a place of safety. The emperor complied with her request, and this evacuation was made in the sight of the whole army, who expected to see them come forth with jewels, gold, and silver; but they were not a little surprised when they saw the duchess, and other ladies of quality, staggering under the load of their husbands, who had offended the emperor. Conrad was so much moved with this spectacle, which was an undoubted proof of their tenderness and courage, that the tears ran down his cheeks; he applauded their conjugal fidelity, entertained them at dinner, and came to an accommodation with Guelphe, and his other enemies, notwithstanding the efforts of his own generals, who opposed his generosity on this occasion ^a.

*Origin of
Guelfs and
Ghibellines.*

A. D. 1141.

Mean while this civil war furnished several towns of Italy with an opportunity of withdrawing themselves from the dominion of the empire, and setting up for independent republics. Even the Romans formed a design of re-establishing the ancient commonwealth, and of retrieving the

^a Heifs, lib. ii. cap. 12.

(P) This is the most probable of several accounts given of the origin of these names (1).

(1) See Blond. ii. dec. vii. Sigon. lib. xi. Krant. Sax. lib. viii. cap. viii.

A.D. 1144.

*Jordanus
heads a se-
dition at
Rome.*

*Pope Lu-
cius II. is
killed by a
stone.*

sovereignty of the city, together with the patrimony of the church. They had already renewed the order of senators, and the rank of patrician, to which they had promoted one Jordanus, investing him with the same authority which Charlemagne had possessed in that station. This new patrician, accompanied by the senators and the people, went to pope Lucius II. and representing that the popes originally applied themselves to ecclesiastic affairs, contented with the tithes they received for their subsistence, they desired him to desist from intermeddling in politics, and leave the care of the administration to those to whom it properly belonged. Nay, they went so far as to take possession of the revenues of the city, and turn out the pope's officers, who had been appointed to collect them. Lucius, with his cardinals and clergy, vehemently opposed this innovation, and, after obstinate disputes, it was agreed, that recourse should be had to Conrad, who was at the diet at Spire when the ambassadors arrived. But before his decision could be obtained, the pope put himself at the head of some troops he had levied, and besieged the senators in the Capitol, from which he received such a wound with a stone, as in a few days put an end to his life; so that the ambassadors returned without an answer. Lucius was succeeded by Eugenius III. who, though disturbed by those seditious people in the beginning of his papacy, found means to reduce the rebels to reason, and re-establish the authority of St. Peter's chair. Quiet being thus restored to the city, the pope applied himself vigorously to the famous crusade, which was at that time set on foot against the Saracens for the defence of the Holy Land; an enterprize in which the emperor Conrad was engaged by the admonitions of St. Bernard, from whose hands he actually received the cross.

At a general diet convened at Frankfort, the preparations for the crusade were adjusted, the emperor's son Henry was elected king of the Romans, and an imperial council established at Rotweil (Q), to govern the empire under

(Q) This council, which is still in force at Rotweil, though deprived of its former authority, must be composed of twelve gentlemen, or, in default of gentlemen, the members must be chosen from among the citizens of Rotweil, and the president must be the count de Schutz, to whose fa-

mily that honour belongs in fief. Its jurisdiction extends over the provinces of Suabia, Franconia, Austria, and the Rhine. Nevertheless, the archbishops of Triers and Cologne, the archdukes of Austria, the knights of the Teutonic order, and of the order of Malta, the subjects of the duke of Deux-ponts,

der his authority. In this assembly, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, demanded the duchy of Bavaria, which had been taken from his father, and bestowed on Henry of Austria; and even threatened to retake it by force, in case his remonstrances should not avail. Conrad replied, with great moderation, that the affair should be discussed and equitably decided at his return from the Holy Land; and in the mean time he desired Wiebold, abbot of Corbie, who had a great share of his confidence, to keep a vigilant eye over the Saxons in his absence, and to persuade the duke to undertake a crusade against the pagans of the North.

The winter being consumed in making preparations for the eastern expedition, Conrad, accompanied by his nephew, Frederic Barbarossa, duke Guelphe, and many other noblemen, set out for Palestine, at the head of sixty thousand horse, in excellent order; but the undertaking was not crowned with success; one half of his troops perished by the treachery of Comnenus, the Greek emperor, who ordered lime to be mixed with the meal which he furnished for their subsistence^b, and the remainder were entirely defeated by the Turks; he made shift, however, with the wreck of his army, to make head against the Saracens for some time, and then returned to his own dominions (R).

A.D. 1147.

Conrad engages in a crusade.

The bad success of this undertaking filled the empire with grief, consternation, and clamour, and entailed the reproaches and curses of the people upon St. Bernard, who had not only preached up the crusade, but, by virtue of a pretended commission from heaven, promised victory, honour, and wealth, to all those who should embark in the expedition. They reviled him with the appellation of false prophet, impostor, and incendiary, and accused him of having drained the country of all the riches and men,

^b Krant. Sax. lib. vi. cap. 14. Gob. Perf. Cosm. æt. vi. cap. 59.

ponts, and of the duke of Wirtemberg, the abbot of St. Blaife, the counts of Hanau, and some others, have a right to decline pleading before this tribunal (1).

(R) Conrad having joined his forces with those of Lewis the Young, they undertook the

siege of Damascus, and sustained a furious sally; in which the emperor, with his own hand, cleft a Turk through the middle, to the astonishment and terror of the Mohammedans, who, at sight of this achievement, fled with great precipitation (2).

(1) Munster, lib. iii. p. 406.

(2) Gesta Ludov. VII. ex Du Chesne,

who could have defended it against the insults and encroachments of their enemies.

*Another
crusade is
formed
against the
Moors.*

Yet, notwithstanding these complaints, which were extremely just, such was the epidemic madness of the times, that another crusade was formed against the Moors, who were in possession of Portugal: a great number of Germans, from the neighbourhood of the Rhine and the Weser, took the cross, and embarking in a fleet of two hundred English and Flemish vessels, set sail for Spain to the assistance of king Alphonfus Henriquez. After having been dispersed by a violent storm, they entered the Tagus; and, joining the Spanish forces, invested the city of Lisbon, which, after a siege of five months, was taken by assault ^c.

A.D. 1148.

*A third
against the
pagans of
the North.*

About the same time the Saxons engaged in a third crusade against the pagans of the North, raised two armies, amounting to one hundred thousand men, under the command of Conrad the Saxon, and Henry duke of Saxony; who, penetrating into Sclavonia, destroyed the country, and converted the natives, with fire and sword, to the Christian religion.

At Conrad's return from Palestine, Henry the Lion renewed his demands touching Bavaria, and as he did not receive a definitive answer, had recourse to arms; but the emperor took such measures as defeated his design against Bavaria, and he was fain to desist, for the present, from his pretensions.

During the remaining part of Conrad's reign, nothing extraordinary happened, except the revolt of Guelphe; who, in his return from the Holy Land, was instigated and bribed by Roger, king of Sicily, to rebel against the emperor; but he was afterwards reconciled to him through the mediation of Frederic, duke of Suabia, who was nephew to both ^d.

*He settles
the suc-
cession.*

Soon after this accommodation he was very much afflicted with the death of Henry, his eldest son, who had been elected king of the Romans before he set out on his expedition against the Saracens (S). This event made the deeper impression, as Frederic, the only surviving son, was yet in his nonage. He therefore convoked a diet at Bamberg, where, on account of his ill state of health, he recommended his nephew Frederic, duke of Suabia, to succeed him in the empire, a prince of great courage and capacity,

^c Marian. Hist. Heifs, lib. x.

^d Avent. lib. vi.

(S) We have here followed father, and was poisoned in the Heifs, in opposition to Krantz, reign of Frederic. who says Henry survived his

and in every respect worthy of the throne; the recommendation was therefore approved by all the princes, and the regalia were deposited in his hands. Soon after this settlement of the succession, Conrad died at Bamberg, after having reigned about thirteen years with virtue and reputation ° (T).

A.D. 1152.

Dies.

° Othon. Frising. de Gest. Fred. lib. ii. Barre, tom. iv. p. 708.

(T) Conrad married Gertrude, daughter of Berenger, prince of Saltzbach, by whom he had two sons and one daughter. Henry, the eldest, who had been elected king of the Romans at Franckfort, died in the year 1150. The second, called Frederic, was duke of Franconia and Rotembourg, and lived till the year 1166, when he died of the plague. The daughter, whose name was Judith, married Lewis, landgrave of Thuringia (1).

(1) Barre, tom. iv. p. 708.

END OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH VOLUME.

the first of the year, the weather was
 very cold, and the snow was deep.
 The people were very poor, and
 the government was very weak.

The people were very poor, and
 the government was very weak.
 The people were very poor, and
 the government was very weak.

The people were very poor, and
 the government was very weak.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

